

JÖB

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

Herausgeber / Editors

CHRISTIAN GASTGEBER (ÖAW, ABF)
JOHANNES PREISER-KAPPELLER (ÖAW, ABF)
CLAUDIA RAPP (Universität Wien / ÖAW, ABF)
ELISABETH SCHIFFER (ÖAW, ABF)

Christian.Gastgeber@oeaw.ac.at
Johannes.Preiser-Kapeller@oeaw.ac.at
Claudia.Rapp@univie.ac.at
Elisabeth.Schiffer@oeaw.ac.at

Administrative Assistenz / Administrative Assistance

PETRA GREGER (Universität Wien)
INGRID WEICHSELBAUM (ÖAW, ABF)

Petra.Greger@univie.ac.at
Ingrid.Weichselbaum@oeaw.ac.at

ÖAW, ABF: Abteilung Byzanzforschung des Instituts für Mittelalterforschung
der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
A-1020 Wien, Hollandstraße 11–13, 4. Stock

Universität Wien: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien
A-1010 Wien, Postgasse 7–9, 3. Stock

Wissenschaftlicher Beirat / Advisory Board

Wolfram Brandes (Frankfurt / M.), Leslie Brubaker (Birmingham),
Salvatore Cosentino (Bologna), Arne Effenberger (Berlin), Olivier Delouis (Paris),
John Haldon (Princeton), Wolfram Hörandner (Wien), Sofia Kalopissi-Verti (Athen),
Johannes Koder (Wien), Taxiarchis Kolias (Athen), Andreas E. Müller (Wien),
Günter Prinzing (Mainz), Alexander Riehle (Princeton), Maciej Salamon (Krakau),
Werner Seibt (Wien)

Internet-Homepage

http://www.austriaca.at/joeb_collection
<https://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/publikationen/jahrbuch-der-oesterreichischen-byzantinistik/>



JÖB

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

Band 68 / 2018



VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

Herausgegeben vom Institut für Mittelalterforschung, Abteilung Byzanzforschung der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und vom Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien

Fortsetzung des Jahrbuches der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien



universität
wien

Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie, detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Lektorat: Nicola Wood (Englisch), Magdalena Delaunay (Französisch)

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen Begutachtungsverfahren unterzogen.

Die verwendete Papiersorte in dieser Publikation ist DIN EN ISO 9706 zertifiziert und erfüllt die Voraussetzung für eine dauerhafte Archivierung von schriftlichem Kulturgut.

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

Copyright © Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2019

AU ISSN 0378-8660

ISBN 978-3-7001-8589-5

Satz: Crossdesign Werbeagentur GmbH (Graz), Christian Gastgeber (Wien)

Druck und Bindung: Prime Rate, Budapest

<https://epub.oeaw.ac.at/joeb>

<https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

Made in Europe

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

<i>Abbildungsverzeichnis</i>	VII
<i>Siglenverzeichnis</i>	IX
Johannes KODER, Peter E. Pieler (14. Dezember 1941 – 1. Oktober 2018)	XIII
 <i>Artikel</i>	
Fabio ACERBI – Divna MANOLOVA – Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN, The Source of Nicholas Rhabdas’ <i>Letter to Khatzykes</i> : An Anonymous Arithmetical Treatise in Vat. Barb. gr. 4	1
Pangiotis AGAPITOS – Dimiter ANGELOV, Six Essays by Theodore II Laskaris in Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 321: Edition, Translation, Analysis	39
Pietro D’AGOSTINO, Un nouvel exemple de <i>compendium logicum</i> byzantin attribué à Théodore Abū Qurra	77
Börje BYDÉN, The Byzantine <i>Fortuna</i> of Alexander of Aphrodisias’ Commentary on Aristotle’s <i>De sensu et sensibilibus</i>	93
Arne EFFENBERGER, Klöster zwischen Aspar-Zisterne, Deuteron und Goldenem Horn. Eine topographische Untersuchung	111
Karin KRAUSE, Celebrating Orthodoxy: Miniatures for Gregory the Theologian’s “Unread” Orations (Ms. Basiliensis AN I 8)	133
Dirk KRAUSMÜLLER, Two Middle Byzantine Treatises in Defence of the Care of the Dead	187
Vincent NICOLINI, Empereurs et préfets du prétoire chez Jean le Lydien: les conditions du bon gouvernement	211
 CLUSTER: THEODORE THE STOUDITE ON TRADITIONS OF THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT	
Christophe ERISMANN, Introduction	223
Christophe ERISMANN, “To be circumscribed belongs to the essence of man”. Theodore of Stoudios on Individuality, Circumscription and Corporeality	225
Dirk KRAUSMÜLLER, On the Relation between the Late Antique and Byzantine Christological Discourses: Observations about Theodore the Stoudite’s Third Antirrheticus	239
Byron MACDOUGALL, Aristotle at the Festival: The Orations of Theodore the Stoudite and Byzantine Logical Culture	251
Ken PARRY, Theodore the Stoudite: The Most “Original” Iconophile?	261
 <i>Besprechungen</i>	
The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. A. Kaldellis – N. Siniossoglou (<i>Anna Sklaveniti</i>)	277
Sarah GADOR-WHYTE, Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium: The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist (<i>Antonia Giannouli</i>)	280
Derek KRUEGER, Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium (<i>Daniel Galadza</i>)	283
The Syriac Manuscripts of Tur ‘Abdin in the Fondo Grünwald, ed. V. Ruggieri (<i>Grigory Kessel</i>)	285
 <i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>	291
<i>Verzeichnis der MitarbeiterInnen dieses Bandes</i>	295

ABBILDUNGSVERZEICHNIS

NACHRUF PETER PIELER

Textabbildung

- 1 Peter E. Pieler (© Christine Pieler)

PANAGIOTIS AGAPITOS – DIMITER ANGELOV

Figures

- 1 ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 74^r (© Austrian National Library)
- 2 ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 108^r (© Austrian National Library)
- 3 ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 141^r (© Austrian National Library)
- 4 ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 127^r (© Austrian National Library)

ARNE EFFENBERGER

Tafelabbildungen

- 1 Diagramm der Lagebeziehungen der Klöster südlich der Aspar-Zisterne (Bearbeitung: Guido Petras, Berlin)
- 2 Ausschnitt aus dem Plan von W. MÜLLER-WIENER, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Tübingen 1977, mit zusätzlichen Eintragungen des Autors (Bearbeitung: Guido Petras, Berlin)
- 3a/b Siegel des Klosters der Theotokos τῶν Παναγίου. Avers und Revers. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, DO 58.106.223 (Quelle: Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, Vol. 5: The East (continued), Constantinople and Environs. Unknown Locations. Addenda. Uncertain Readings, ed. by E. McGeer – J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C. 2005, 111–112, Nr. 52)
- 4 Siegel des Nikephoros Myron. Avers. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Seyrig, Inv. 288 (Quelle: J.-C. CHEYNET – C. MORRISSON – W. SEIBT, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Les sceaux byzantins de la Collection Seyrig. Paris 1991, Taf. 21, 313)
- 5 Grundriss der Kirche der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης (Mouchliotissa) (Quelle: Ch. BOURAS, Η αρχιτεκτονική της Παναγίας του Μουχλίου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. *DChAE* 26 [2005] Abb. 8)
- 6 Kirche der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης (Mouchliotissa). Aufnahme: Verfasser

KARIN KRAUSE

Figure

- 1 Schematic rendering of two facing pages in a Byzantine manuscript showing the typical arrangement of text blocks or images shifted toward the fold of the quire (© Author)

Plates

- 1 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, Reconstructed original arrangement of the two author portraits on facing pages, ff. A^v-C^r (© www.e-codices.ch) (Photomontage)
- 2 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. E^r: Frontispiece to Or. 30, Gregory of Nazianzus, *The Fourth Theological Oration* (© www.e-codices.ch)
- 3 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. I^r: Frontispiece to Or. 22, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Third Discourse on Peace* (© www.e-codices.ch)
- 4 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, Example of a double page (ff. F^v-148^r) with the image shifted to the *correct* side (toward the book's center) within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle (© www.e-codices.ch)
- 5 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, Example of a double page (ff. 250^v-H^r) with the image shifted to the *wrong* side within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle; the frontispiece was conceived to serve as a *verso* (the arrow marks the limit of the lacquer coating applied around the outer black frame line) (© www.e-codices.ch)
- 6 Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, Example of a double page (ff. L^v-304^r) with the image shifted to the *wrong* side within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle; the frontispiece was conceived to serve as a *recto* (the arrow marks the limit of the lacquer coating applied around the outer black frame line) (© www.e-codices.ch)

SIGLENVERZEICHNIS

AA	Antichità Altoadriatiche
AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Antwerpen – Bruxelles 1643–1925
ABME	Ἀρχεῖον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. SCHWARTZ [et al.]. Berlin 1927–
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
AHC	Annuario Historiae Conciliorum
AHG	Analecta Hymnica Graeca, I. SCHIRÒ consilio et ductu edita, I–XII. Rom 1966–1980
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
ArchMed	Archeologia Medievale
ArchPont	Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου
ASCL	Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania
ASM	Archivio Storico Messinese
ASN	Archivio Storico per le provincie Napolitane
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia
ASP	Archivio Storico Pugliese
ASS	Archivio Storico Siciliano
ASSO	Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale
BBA	Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca. 3 ^e éd. par F.HALKIN. I–III. Novum Auctarium. Bruxelles 1957. 1984
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ	Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
BNV	Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia
BollGrott	Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
BSI	Byzantinoslavica
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
Byz	Byzantion
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca, I–XXIII. Berlin 1882–1909
CahArch	Cahiers Archéologiques
CARB	Corsi di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantine
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. I–IV. Berlin 1828–1877
CIMAGL	Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum, ed. M. GEERARD. I–V. Supplementum. Turnhout 1974–2018
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DACL	Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. I–XV. Paris 1913–1953
DChAE	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
DGE	F. ADRAPOS [et al.], Diccionario griego-español. Madrid 1980–
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques. Paris 1912–
DIEE	Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
DNP	Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. I–XVI. Stuttgart – Weimar 1996–2003
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts

X

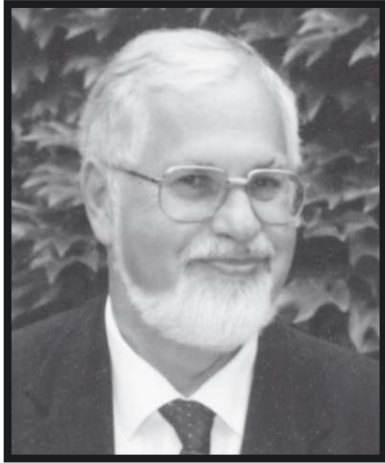
Siglenverzeichnis

EEBS	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
EO	Échos d'Orient
EpAnt	Epigraphica Anatolica
EPhS	Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος
FM	Fontes Minores
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
Hell	Ἑλληνικά
JNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration
IRAIK	Izvestija Russkago Archeologičeskago Instituta v Konstantinopol'e
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JHSt	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1969–)
JÖBG	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft (1951–1968)
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRSt	Journal of Roman Studies
KyprSpud	Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί
LBG	Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität, erstellt von E. TRAPP [et al.] I–VIII. Wien 1994–2017
LCI	Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. I–VIII. Rom u.a. 1968–1976
LexMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters. I–IX. München 1980–1998
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL – R. SCOTT – H. STUART JONES – R. MCKENZIE, A Greek-English Lexicon. Oxford 1925–1940. Revised Supplement, ed. by P.G.W. GLARE with the assistance of A.A. THOMPSON. Oxford 1996
LThK ²	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–X. Freiburg 1957–1968
LThK ³	Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. I–XI. Freiburg 1993–2001
Maked	Μακεδονικά
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MEFRA	Melanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Ecole Française de Rome
MEG	Medioevo Greco. Rivista di storia e filologia bizantina
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Mill	Millennium
MiÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MM	F. MIKLOSICH – I. MÜLLER, Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi I–VI. Wien 1860–1890
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
NE	Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν
OC	Orientalia Christiana
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. by A.P. KAZHDAN [et al.]. Vol. I–III. New York – Oxford 1991
PAA	Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, ed. J.-P. MIGNE. 1–161. Paris 1857–1866
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina, ed. J.-P. MIGNE. 1–221. Paris 1844–1880
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit, erstellt von E. TRAPP [et al.]. Wien 1976–1996
PLRE	The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, ed. A.H.M. JONES – J.R. MARTINDALE – J. MORRIS. 1–2. Cambridge 1971–1980
PmbZ I/II	R.-J. LILIE [et al.], Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867), Zweite Abteilung (867–1025). Berlin 1999–2013
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. GRAFFIN – F. NAU. 1–. Paris 1904–
PRK	Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, hrsg. v. H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN [et al.]. 1–. Wien 1981–
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum. I–. Stuttgart 1950–
RbK	Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst. I–. Stuttgart 1966–
RE	PAULYS Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung ... v. G. WISSOWA [et al.]. 66 Halbbde, 15 Suppl.-Bde. Stuttgart – München 1893–1978.
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
RESEE	Revue des Études Sud-Est-Européennes
RGK	Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten. I–. Wien 1981–
RHM	Römische historische Mitteilungen

ROC	Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
RSBN	Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
RSL	Rivista di Studi Liguri
SBN	Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici
SBS	Studies in Byzantine Sigillography
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
Script	Scriptorium
SicArch	Sicilia Archeologica
SIFC	Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica
StT	Studi e Testi
Symm	Σύμμεικτα
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
Tgl	Thesaurus Graecae Linguae I–VIII. Paris 1831–1865
ThEE	Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία. I–XII. Athen 1962–1968
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini. I–. Wien 1976–
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Digital Library, ed. M. C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine, jeweils aktuelle Version unter www.tlg.uci.edu
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VTIB	Veröffentlichungen d. Kommission für die TIB
VV	Vizantijskij Vremennik
WBS	Wiener Byzantinistische Studien
WSt	Wiener Studien
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZMNP	Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvěščenija
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZRVI	Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

Peter E. Pieler

14. DEZEMBER 1941 – 1. OKTOBER 2018



Am 1. Oktober 2018 verstarb der Rechtshistoriker Peter E. Pieler nach schwerer, von ihm mit großer Fassung ertragener Krankheit im 77. Lebensjahr. Pieler studierte nach der Matura an der Universität Wien Rechtswissenschaften und außerdem Byzantinistik. 1967 wurde er zum Doktor der Rechtswissenschaften promoviert; 1980 erfolgte seine Habilitation aus römischem Recht und antiker Rechtsgeschichte. 1983 wurde er an der Universität Wien zum Ordentlichen Professor für Römisches Recht berufen und lehrte hier bis zu seiner 2010 erfolgten Emeritierung. Pielers Leistungen als akademischer Lehrer und Forscher und seine großen Verdienste um die Wiener Juridische Fakultät in den Jahren von 1984 bis 2006, als Dekan und als Vorsitzender der Studienkommission bzw. als Studienprogrammleiter, werden an anderer Stelle gewürdigt¹.

Im Folgenden soll hier vor allem seiner vielfältigen Forschungen im Bereich des byzantinischen Rechts gedacht werden, wie sie schon in seiner Habilitationsschrift „Studien zur Gerichtsorganisation der Polis des Imperium Romanum: Kaisergericht und kaiserliche Gerichtsorgane von Augustus bis Justinian“ angelegt waren. Vorweg sei hier hervorgehoben, dass er die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen auch an der damaligen Philosophischen Fakultät in seinen regelmäßig abgehaltenen Vorlesungen über Byzantinische Rechtsgeschichte in der Lehre weitergab.

Bereits durch seine humanistische Gymnasialbildung wurde seine Liebe zum Griechentum im Allgemeinen und besonders zum heute gesprochenen Griechisch geweckt, das er gerne und fließend praktizierte. Er liebte Griechenland, und Griechenland dankte es ihm, nicht zuletzt im November 2016 durch die Verleihung des Ehrendoktorats der Universität Athen.

Seine Zuwendung zur griechischen Kultur wurde von Walter Selb bestärkt, der seit 1963 als Ordinarius für Römisches Recht an der Universität Wien lehrte. Pieler reiste mit Selb in Klosterbibliotheken Syriens und der Türkei, um dort Handschriftenforschungen im Zusammenhang mit einer kritischen Edition des „Syrisch-Römischen Rechtsbuches“ vorzunehmen, das später von Walter Selb und Hubert Kaufhold publiziert wurde.

Pielers byzantinistischer Mentor war Herbert Hunger, seit 1962 erster Lehrstuhlinhaber für das damals an der Universität Wien neu eingerichtete Studienfach Byzantinistik; er lenkte Pielers Aufmerksamkeit besonders auf die vertiefende Auseinandersetzung mit den mittelalterlichen Gesetzestexten in griechischer Sprache. Die daraus erfließende Zusammenarbeit trug reiche Früchte: 1978 erschien Pielers Beitrag „Rechtsliteratur“ zu Hungers Handbuch über die hochsprachliche profane

¹ N. BENKE, Peter E. Pieler. *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* (im Druck); F.-St. MEISSEL, <https://geschichte.univie.ac.at/de/personen/peter-e-pieler-prof-dr>; Ph. SCHEIBELREITER, Peter E. Pieler. *Index. Quaderni camerti di studi romanistici / International survey of Roman Law* (im Druck).

Literatur der Byzantiner² – eine minutiöse, analytische Aufarbeitung der byzantinischen Rechtsquellen von Konstantin dem Großen bis in die frühe Neuzeit, die nach wie vor *das* byzantinistische Standardwerk der byzantinischen Rechtsliteratur in deutscher Sprache darstellt. Mit der Weiterentwicklung der byzantinischen Rechtssammlungen befasste sich Pieler dann auch in den folgenden Jahrzehnten immer von Neuem³.

Auch für die Wiener byzantinistischen Forschungsvorhaben war Pielers Mitarbeit wertvoll: Bei der Edition und Übersetzung des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel⁴, die vor etwa fünfzig Jahren von Herbert Hunger in Angriff genommen wurde, nahm er an der Übersetzung und Interpretation dieser Synodalprotokolle regen Anteil und erwarb sich nicht nur große Verdienste um die sachgerechte Wiedergabe griechischer Termini der Rechtssprache, sondern trug auch wesentlich zur sprachlich-stilistischen Qualität der deutschen Übersetzung bei, nachdem er sich bereits zuvor mit dem Patriarchatsgericht und allgemein mit der byzantinischen Gerichtsbarkeit auseinandergesetzt hatte⁵.

Pieler forschte unter vielfältigen Aspekten zu Fragen des byzantinischen Rechts und publizierte allein zu diesem Themenkreis etwa vierzig Beiträge. So ging er den spezifischen Prägungen des byzantinischen Rechtsdenkens in ihren der römischen Tradition verhafteten Wurzeln und in ihrer ideologischen Neuausrichtung am Christentum nach⁶. Er untersuchte in diesem Zusammenhang die religiöse Komponente besonders in Hinblick auf den Einfluss des Alten Testaments, speziell die Übertragung der Bezeichnung der Israeliten als *laos perisusios* („auserwähltes Volk“) im 7. bis 10. Jahrhundert auf die Byzantiner⁷. Auch behandelte er die politische Instrumentalisierung von Gesetzen⁸.

Von grundlegender Bedeutung erscheinen mir Pielers Überlegungen zur Frage einer „Verfassung“ des Byzantinischen Reiches⁹. Kritisch diskutiert er die Darlegungen von Hans-Georg Beck,

² „Rechtsliteratur“ in: H. HUNGER, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, Zweiter Band (*Byzantinisches Handbuch im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaften* 5.2). München 1978, 343–480. – Eine aktualisierte Übersetzung erschien unter dem Titel Νομική φιλολογία in: H. HUNGER, Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία, Band 3. Athen 1994, 183–379.

³ Ανακάθαρσις των παλαιών νόμων und Makedonische Renaissance. *Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law* 3 (1988) 61–77; Η συμβολή του Κωνσταντίνου Πορφυρογεννήτου στη νομική φιλολογία, in: Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and His Age. Second Int. Byz. Conference Delphi, 22–26 July 1987. Athen 1989, 79–86; Erwägungen zur Novelle Justins II. über die „Wahl“ der Provinzstatthalter. *Subseciva Groningana. Studies in Roman and Byzantine Law* 4 (1990) 177–193; Johannes Zonaras als Kanonist, in: Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα, hrsg. von N. Oikonomidès. Athen 1991, 601–620; Konstantin Armenopoulos im Umfeld der geistigen und politischen Strömungen seiner Zeit. *Österr. Archiv für Recht und Religion* 50 (2003) 336–347; Die byzantinischen Rechtsquellen, in: Hermeneutik der Quellentexte des Römischen Rechts, hrsg. von M. Avenarius. Köln 2008, 355–380.

⁴ Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, ed. H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN et al., bisher erschienen die Teile 1–3 (*CFHB* 19.1–3). Wien 1981, 1995, 2001.

⁵ Die Entscheidungen des Patriarchatsgerichts von Konstantinopel in zivilrechtlichen Streitfällen und das System der Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts, in: Österreichische Landesreferate zum VIII. Internationalen Kongreß für Rechtsvergleichung in Pescara. Wien 1970, 7–16; Gerichtsszenen im Roman der Palaiologenzeit, in: Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines. Bukarest 1971, 233–238; Gerichtsbarkeit, in: *RAC* 10 (1978) 359–491.

⁶ Entstehung und Wandel rechtlicher Traditionen in Byzanz, in: Entstehung und Wandel rechtlicher Traditionen, hrsg. von W. Finkentscher – H. Franke – O. Köhler. Freiburg – München 1980, 669–722; Lex Christiana, in: Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechtshistorikertages, hrsg. von D. Simon. Frankfurt/Main 1987, 485–503.

⁷ Η Παλαιά Διαθήκη στη νομική σκέψη των Βυζαντινών. *Byzantinai Meletai* 4 (1992) 3–17; Das Alte Testament im Rechtsdenken der Byzantiner, in: *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius byzantinum spectantia* (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte*). Athen 1997, 81–113.

⁸ Kodifikation als Mittel der Politik im frühen Byzanz, in: *BYZANTIOS*, Festschrift für Herbert Hunger. Wien 1984, 247–260; Die justinianische Kodifikation in der juristischen Praxis des 6. Jahrhunderts, in: *Legislazione, cultura giuridica, prassi dell'impero d'Oriente in età giustiniana tra passato e futuro: atti del convegno*, Modena, 21–22 maggio 1998, ed. S. Puliatti. Mailand 2000, 211–228.

⁹ Zum Problem der byzantinischen Verfassung. *JÖB* 19 (1970) 51–58; Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates. *JÖB* 31 (1981) 213–231; s. auch Potestas, in: *RAC* 28 (2018) 77–85.

aber auch ältere Meinungen, zur Mitbestimmung der Staatsbürger; während Beck „Senat und Volk“ (σύγκλητος / βουλή / γερουσία vs. πολῖται / δῆμος / ἐργαστηριακοί / θέματα) „als integrierende Bestandteile des politischen Lebens ... für ein ganzes Jahrtausend“¹⁰ sieht, analysiert Pieler demgegenüber die Beziehungen des Herrschers und seiner weltlichen und kirchlichen Organe zum Individuum dahingehend, dass man nicht von einer – und sei es auch „ungeschriebenen“ – Verfassung sprechen könne, sondern allenfalls von einem „Verfassungsgewohnheitsrecht“. Die Kodifikationen der spätantiken / frühbyzantinischen Zeit wirken, so Pieler, vornehmlich propagandistisch. Sie waren von geringer gesellschaftlicher Relevanz¹¹.

Spezielleren Problemstellungen waren seine Beiträge zu den byzantinisch-sasanidischen Beziehungen im 6. Jahrhundert gewidmet, in denen er Details des byzantinisch-persischen Vertrags von 562 und des seltsamen Vorganges der „Adoption“ eines persischen Großkönigs durch den byzantinischen Kaiser behandelte¹². Auch sein Beitrag zum Rechtsschutz von Ausländern ist hier anzuführen¹³, ein Thema, dem heute – unter anderen Voraussetzungen – eine besondere Aktualität anhaftet.

Peter Pielers wissenschaftliches Interesse erstreckte sich auf Wechselwirkungen zwischen (staatlicher) Gesetzlichkeit und den Bereichen der byzantinischen Gesellschaft und Kultur. In der einen Richtung untersuchte er den Wiederhall von Recht, Staat und Gesellschaft im spätbyzantinischen Roman¹⁴, in der Gegenrichtung gesetzliche Normierungsversuche der Realität des Alltagslebens. Hervorzuheben sind seine Beiträge zum *Nomos Georgikos*. In einem Beitrag zeigt er auf, „dass der Autor neben der für eine Reihe von Kapiteln aufgedeckten Vorbildfunktion des biblischen Rechts sich jedenfalls auch an der römisch-byzantinischen Tradition orientiert hat“¹⁵. In einem weiteren Beitrag diskutiert er anhand eines Paragraphen dieses vieldiskutierten, jedenfalls aber praxisnahen Regelwerks den dort behandelten Ausgleich der Rechte der Grundeigentümer und der Grundstücksnutzer¹⁶.

Der Realität des Alltagslebens galten auch manche Beiträge zu Fachtagungen. Hier ist mir sein Vortrag zu dem von Despina Ariantzi und mir 2014 veranstalteten Symposium „Coming of age – adolescence and society in medieval Byzantium“ in guter Erinnerung. Aus diesem Anlass behandelte er in seinem Vortrag „Die rechtlichen Kriterien der Adoleszenz (Der rechtliche Rahmen des Übergangs von der Kindheit zum Erwachsensein)“ das Spannungsfeld zwischen gesetzlicher Heiratsfähigkeit (im Alter von zwölf bzw. vierzehn Jahren) und der Realität des deutlich späteren Erwachsenwerdens.

In Peter Pieler verband sich fundierte Kenntnis der für Byzanz relevanten Quellen mit beeindruckender Belesenheit in der Sekundärliteratur. Dank seiner Vertrautheit mit dem kulturellen und sozialen Umfeld, verbunden mit seinem Realitätssinn in Bezug auf die Effizienz der Durchsetzung von Recht und Gesetz konnte er ein pragmatisches Bild der Rechtswirklichkeit in Byzanz erstellen. Wir

¹⁰ H.-G. BECK, Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel. Probleme der byzantinischen Verfassungsgeschichte (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sb.* 1966, 6). München 1966, 74; s. auch DENS., Res Publica Romana. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner (*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Sb.* 1970, 2). München 1970.

¹¹ Der Versuch (des Patriarchen Photios?), in den Titeln 2 und 3 der *Eisagoge* die Macht des Kaisers ansatzweise gesetzlich zu regulieren, scheiterte sogleich am *Procheiros Nomos* Kaiser Leons VI.

¹² Der Friedensvertrag von 562 zwischen Byzanz und Persien, in: Festschrift für Herbert Hausmaninger, hrsg. von R. Gamauf. Wien 2006, 231–243; L’aspect politique et juridique de l’adoption de Chosroès proposée par les Perses à Justin. *Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité* 19 (1972) 399–433.

¹³ Rechtsschutzeinrichtungen für Ausländer in der Spätantike und in Byzanz unter dem Aspekt des internationalen Handels, in: Festschrift für Josef Aicher, hrsg. von F. Schuhmacher u. a. Wien 2012, 531–546.

¹⁴ Recht, Gesellschaft und Staat im Byzantinischen Roman der Palaiologenzeit. *JÖB* 20 (1971) 189–221.

¹⁵ Neue Überlegungen zum byzantinischen „Bauerngesetz“, in: Spuren des römischen Rechts, Festschrift für Bruno Huwiler, hrsg. von P. Pichonnaz. Bern 2007, 489–497, hier 497.

¹⁶ Die Bauführung auf fremden Grund nach § 21 Νόμοι γεωργικοί, in: KATEYOΔION in memoriam Nikos Oikonomides (*Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte, Athener Reihe* 28), ed. Sp. N. Troianos. Athen – Komotene 2008, 107–125.

teilten im Übrigen die Skepsis bezüglich der Effektivität und Reichweite byzantinischer Gesetze, besonders wenn es um deren konkrete Anwendung außerhalb von Konstantinopel ging – eine Skepsis, die bereits unter den Byzantinern verbreitet gewesen sein dürfte¹⁷.

Dem Gesagten ist hinzuzufügen, wie hilfsbereit und aufgeschlossen Peter Pieler gegenüber Studierenden und Fachkollegen war, wie entgegenkommend er sein Wissen und seine Kompetenz mit anderen teilte. Als langjähriges Vorstandsmitglied der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft und der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für neugriechische Studien stand er beiden Gesellschaften stets gerne mit rechtlicher und organisatorischer Beratung zur Seite. Gemeinsames Forschungsinteresse und Freundschaft verband ihn mit Fachgenossen im In- und Ausland, besonders mit Spyros Troianos und Eleftheria Papagianni in Athen und mit Andreas Schminck und Marie Theres Fögen am Max-Planck-Institut für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte in Frankfurt.

Persönlich verdanke ich Peter Pieler wertvolle Anregungen, besonders im Zusammenhang mit zwei meiner Vorhaben, schon vor dreißig Jahren anlässlich einer Edition und Übersetzung des *Eparchikon Biblion*, das eine an den Präfekten von Konstantinopel adressierte Sammlung von mehr als zwanzig „Zunftordnungen“ enthält. In den letzten Jahren gab er mir im Zusammenhang mit einer in Arbeit befindlichen deutschen Übersetzung des *Nomos Georgikos* viele Ratschläge. Dass sich zwischen uns auch eine dauerhafte persönliche Freundschaft entwickelte, dafür danke ich ihm besonders. Peter Pieler bleibt mir als hilfreicher Kollege und guter Freund in Erinnerung, mit dem ich noch gerne über viele Themen gemeinsamen Interesses diskutiert hätte.

Johannes Koder

¹⁷ Auf die Anfrage des Patriarchen Markos von Alexandria, ob er dafür getadelt werden könne, das ihm unzugängliche Gesetzeswerk der Basiliken nicht zu kennen, antwortet Theodoros Balsamon (RALLS – POTLES IV 45): „Nur die Bewohner Roms, der Kaiserin der Städte, die reich ist an Rechtskundigen, sind an deren Fesseln geschmiedet. Wer sich aber außerhalb von Rom befindet, die Landbewohner und die übrigen, um vieles mehr noch die Alexandriner, sind für ihre Unkenntnis des Gesetzes der Stadt entschuldigt.“

FABIO ACERBI – DIVNA MANOLOVA – INMACULADA PÉREZ MARTÍN

The Source of Nicholas Rhabdas' *Letter to Khatzykes*: An Anonymous Arithmetical Treatise in Vat. Barb. gr. 4

Abstract: The article presents the edition and a detailed discussion of an anonymous treatise of elementary arithmetic that served as the source of the so-called *Letter to Khatzykes* authored by the Byzantine scholar Nicholas Artabasdos Rhabdas. An updated survey of the extant evidence about the logistic treatises composed in the Nicaean period and in the early Palaiologan era, and a discussion of the *prima facie* surprisingly widespread phenomenon of appropriation of scientific treatises written by other contemporaries in late Byzantine times will also be provided.

This article presents the edition of an anonymous treatise of elementary arithmetic (henceforth called “*Anonymus B*”) contained, in slightly incomplete form, in ff. 171r–186v of the manuscript Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 4 (*Diktyon* 64552), to be dated to the beginning of the 14th century. The most important point of our study, however, does not lie in assessing *Anonymus B* in its own terms, but in showing that it served as the source of the so-called *Letter to Khatzykes*¹ authored by the Byzantine scholar Nicholas Artabasdos Rhabdas². That the *First Letter* and the anonymous treatise are very closely connected is obvious from their verbatim agreeing over large stretches of text; two series of facts decisively support our stronger claim about their filiation. First, the Barberini codex, produced within the circle of Maximos Planudes’ (d. ca. 1305) pupils, dates at the latest to the period of Rhabdas’ early activity. Second—and crucially, on account of the fact that the paleographical record does not completely settle the issue of priority—the involved variant readings, starting from the very titles of the two texts, strongly corroborate the hypothesis that *Anonymus B* is the source of Rhabdas’ *First Letter*, and not the inverse. As it also happens that an anonymous arithmetical treatise dated 1252 (henceforth “*Anonymus 1252*”) underwent a similar treatment in the hands of Planudes himself, resulting in his celebrated *Great Calculation According to the Indians*, we shall provide a revised outline of the extant evidence about the logistic treatises redacted in the Nicaean period (1204–61) and in the early Palaiologan era; we shall also argue, on grounds of style and contents, that *Anonymus B* and *Anonymus 1252* were not composed by the same author. Consequently, we shall discuss the *prima facie* surprisingly widespread phenomenon, in late Byzantine times, of appropriation of scientific treatises written by other Byzantine scholars.

The structure of the article is as follows. We first survey the evidence about Rhabdas’ scientific career; we then briefly describe Barb. gr. 4. The edition of *Anonymus B*, including the accompanying tables, is followed by an analysis of the textual differences with respect to Rhabdas’ *First Letter*, and by an assessment of the flourishing of logistic treatises in the middle of the 13th century. In the last

* We are grateful to F. Valerio for a preliminary check of Vat. gr. 1481, to O. Delouis for pointing out a relevant text to us. This manuscript, Barb. gr. 4, and Chis. R.IV.20 have been collated at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana on June 6–8 and July 10–12, 2018. FA and IPM have been supported by the Research project “The Byzantine Author (II)” (MICINN, FFI2015-65118-C2-2-P). DM’s contribution was written as part of the project UMO-2015/19/P/HS2/02739, supported by the National Science Centre, Poland; this project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement no. 665778.

¹ Henceforth called *First Letter*. We shall see that there are two “letters” of arithmetical content authored by Rhabdas.

² Rhabdas was born in Smyrna and was active in Constantinople about 1320–40; see *PLP*, no. 1437; *ODB*, 1786–1787; and the discussion in the next section.

section, we present factual evidence and some considerations on the issue of “scientific plagiarism” in Palaiologan Byzantium.

NICHOLAS RHABDAS, LIFE AND WORKS

Enough of Nicholas Rhabdas’ scholarly production has been preserved for us to acknowledge his expertise in the mathematical sciences and especially his significant contribution to the domain of Byzantine logistic³. This is a branch of arithmetic in which a unit can be divided and that deals with counting numbers and with calculations on them⁴. Logistic developed greatly in Late Antiquity as a support to mathematical astronomy, and retained this role in Byzantine times⁵. As we shall see, Rhabdas was also engaged in astronomical matters and, in addition, composed a grammatical treatise for his son Paul Artabasdos⁶.

³ His production, however, was assessed in a way that is paradigmatic of a generalized dismissive attitude to Byzantine science; P. TANNERY, Manuel Moschopoulos et Nicolas Rhabdas. *Bulletin des Sciences mathématiques*, 2^e série, 8 (1884) 263–277, repr. Id., *Mémoires Scientifiques IV*. Toulouse–Paris 1920, 1–19: 15, in fact, passed the following judgment on Rhabdas’ writings, whose edition he nevertheless published two years later: “L’intérêt de ses écrits est surtout de montrer jusqu’où étaient tombés les héritiers dégénérés du nom hellène, ceux-là même qui avaient alors Diophante entre leurs mains”.

⁴ According to the 6th-century Neoplatonic commentator Eutocius, dividing the unit does not pertain to arithmetic but to logistic (J. L. HEIBERG (ed.), *Archimedis opera omnia cum commentariis Eutocii*. I–III. Lipsiae 1910–15, III 120.28–30: ὥστ’ ἐπ’ ἐκείνων [scil. superparticular and superpartient ratios] διαίρετέον τὴν μονάδα, ὃ εἰ καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον τῇ ἀριθμητικῇ ἀλλὰ τῇ λογιστικῇ τυγχάνει “so that, for them one has to divide the unit, even if this does not happen to fit to arithmetic, but to logistic”). An earlier definition of logistic—which can almost certainly be ascribed to Geminus (a 1st-century BCE mathematically-minded philosopher, maybe a pupil of Posidonius)—does not allow dividing the unit. This definition can be found in pseudo-Hero, *Def.* 135.5–6 (J. L. HEIBERG – L. NIX – W. SCHMIDT – H. SCHÖNE (eds.), *Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia*. I–V. Lipsiae 1899–1914, IV 98.12–100.3), and is also preserved, through a different line of tradition, as a scholium to Plato, *Chrm.* 165E6 (Scholium 27 in D. CUFALO, *Scholia Graeca in Platonem*. I. Scholia ad dialogos tetralogiarum I–VII continens [Pleiadi 5.1]. Roma 2007, 173). It is possible that the domain of logistic was expanded to include fractional parts as a consequence of the adoption of the sexagesimal system in Greek mathematical astronomy. In fact, logistic developed greatly in Late Antiquity as a support to mathematical astronomy, and also played this same role in the Byzantine period. The first known treatise of this kind is included in the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*, and amounts to the (non-redacted) lecture notes of a course held in the circle of the Neoplatonic philosopher Ammonios. This treatise is a computational primer to the *Almagest*: a tightly organized “handbook of logistic” featuring as its main themes an introduction to the sexagesimal system, a description of computational algorithms for multiplication, division, and extraction of an approximate square root, a presentation of interpolation techniques, and an exposition about compounded ratios and removal of a ratio from a ratio. According to the anonymous author, no comprehensive previous exposition of this kind existed—and in fact no such one has been transmitted to us. See also note 125 below. The best introduction to Greek logistic is still K. VOGEL, *Beiträge zur griechischen Logistik*. Erster Teil (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Abteilung*). Munich 1936, 357–472.

⁵ Cf. the explicit statement opening *Anonymus* 1252: A. ALLARD, *Le premier traité byzantin de calcul indien: classement des manuscrits et édition critique du texte*. *Revue d’Histoire des Textes* 7 (1977) 57–107: 80.2–4, and, in a smoother formulation, Planudes’ *Great Calculation*: A. ALLARD (ed.), *Maxime Planude, Le grand calcul selon les Indiens*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1981, 27.1–5. Despite its title (and the author’s statement similar to that of Planudes: P. CARELOS [ed.], *Βαρλαάμ τοῦ Καλαβροῦ, Λογιστικῇ*, Barlaam von Seminara, *Logistiké* [*Corpus philosophorum Medii Aevi. Philosophi byzantini* 8]. Athens–Paris–Brussels 1996: 1.10–26), Barlaam’ *Logistic* is not a writing of logistic, but a fully-fledged treatise of theoretical arithmetic formulated in an impeccable demonstrative style. Barlaam (*PLP*, no. 2284), undisputably the Byzantine scholar best versed in mathematical matters and a major actor in the hesychastic controversy, died in 1348.

⁶ See *PLP*, no. 1438. The unpublished grammatical synopsis addressed to Paul is preserved in the miscellaneous ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2650 (*Diktyon* 52285), ff. 147r–150v. The copying is dated December 6, a.m. 6836 [= 1427] (f. 204v), certainly referring to ff. 201r–204v and possibly also to ff. 153r–167v and 168v–198v, penned by the same hand. However, the script of Rhabdas’ synopsis (located in quire no. 10⁹, a ternion closed by the blank ff. 151r–152r) seems earlier, perhaps dating back to the middle – third quarter of the 14th century. The synopsis is presented as a grammatical compendium whose aim is expounding the appropriate use of words, in order to avoid barbarisms and solecisms. The exposition is based on analytical divisions of the main grammatical issues, treated by means of μικροὺς τινὰς ὑπομνηματισμούς “some short notes”. It starts from letters (γράμματα and στοιχεῖα) and goes on dealing with syllables and words insofar as they are

Much less is known about Rhabdas' life, education, personal and professional networks. Until recently, the only temporal clue was provided by the fact that, in the Easter Computus expounded in his *Letter to Tzavoukhes* (see below), 1341 is assumed as the current year. More recently, however, A. Riehle has proposed a new periodization of Rhabdas' lifetime pushing the date of his birth as early as ca. 1295⁷. Riehle's dating is based on the evidence provided by a previously unedited letter addressed to Andronikos Zarides (ca. 1275–after 1327; *PLP*, no. 6461), in which Rhabdas informs his addressee that a partial solar eclipse will occur on June 26, 1321, while a lunar eclipse will take place on July 10, 1321⁸. Rhabdas provides the hours in which the Sun and the Moon will be eclipsed and expresses hopes that his calculations are correct⁹. Using the dating of the letter to Zarides (1321), its style and content (suggesting that Rhabdas was still a young man when he composed it), the level of astronomical expertise demonstrated in the letter, and the dedication of Manuel Moschopoulos' ¹⁰ treatise on magic squares to Rhabdas¹¹, Riehle has concluded that the latter cannot be born later than 1295¹². Riehle also suggested the possibility of identifying Rhabdas with the promising student from Smyrna mentioned in an anonymous and unedited letter to an equally unnamed addressee preserved in Laur. Plut. 59.35, f. 183r, namely, in the same manuscript transmitting Rhabdas' letter to Zarides. In addition to his native town of Smyrna, Rhabdas must have resided at least temporarily in Constantinople, since his correspondence and the titles of his logistic treatises both indicate Constantinople as Rhabdas' residence. The identification of Rhabdas' teachers can only be a matter of speculation.

Through Andronikos Zarides and Manuel Moschopoulos, both pupils of Maximos Planudes, Rhabdas might have been connected to the latter's circle and school. The Planudean connection carries through Rhabdas' scientific output as he prepared a slight revision—including a couple of

the usual μέρη τοῦ λόγου. Title: γραμματικῆς σύνοψις ἡκριβωμένη | ζητεῖ μαθεῖν πόνημα τίς τίνος τόδε, ἐξ Ἀρταβάσδων τοῦ Παβδᾶ Νικολάου, *inc.* τῆς γραμματικῆς τέχνης πολυσχιδοῦς καὶ ἀπείρου σχεδὸν εὐούσης (*sic*), φιλτατὲ νιῇ Ἀρτάβασδε Παῦλε, *des.* καὶ διὰ κανόνος ἐνὸς τοῦ βωκὸς τὴν κλίσιν τούτων ὁμοίαν γνωρίσας ἐν τούτῳ τελειοῖ τὴν εἰς ξ κατάληξιν.

⁷ A. RIEHLE, *Epistolographie und Astronomie in der frühen Palaiologenzeit*. *JÖB* 65 (2015) 243–252, on which we partly rely in this paragraph.

⁸ Discussion of the astronomical data in A. TIHON, Nicolas Eudaimonioannes, réviseur de l'Almageste? *Byzantion* 73 (2003) 151–161: 153–154; RIEHLE, *Epistolographie* 246; edition of the letter *ibid.*, 251. The letter can only be found in the ms. Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 59.35 (*Diktyon* 16486) (ca. 1325), f. 204r–v. In 1321, the approximate dating of the letter, Zarides was in Thessalonike; on this and on Zarides, see A. COHEN-SKALLI – I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, La Géographie de Strabon entre Constantinople et Thessalonique: à propos du Marc. gr. XL6. *Scriptorium* 71 (2017) 175–207: 195–197.

⁹ Thus, Rhabdas' letter to Zarides compares with the letters his contemporary Nikephoros Gregoras (d. ca. 1360) addressed to John Chrysoloras and Michael Kaloeidas in order to discuss the calculation of both past and future solar eclipses: *Epistulae*, no. 53, 103 ed. P. A. M. LEONE, Nicephori Gregorae epistulae. I–II. Martino 1982 (= no. 33, 51 ed. R. GUILLAND, Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras. Paris 1927). Gregoras also redacted a tract on the solar eclipse of July 16, 1330 (ed. J. MOGENET – A. TIHON – R. ROYEZ – A. BERG, Nicéphore Grégoras, Calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 16 juillet 1330 [*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins* 1]. Amsterdam 1983) transmitted with autograph corrections in the ms. Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 325 (*Diktyon* 69796).

¹⁰ On Moschopoulos, who died after ca. 1306, see *PLP*, no. 19373, and C. CONSTANTINIDES, Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204 – ca. 1310) (*Texts and Studies of the History of Cyprus* 11). Nicosia 1982, 103–108. As a matter of fact, the title of Moschopoulos' treatise gives more prominence to Rhabdas than to its author: the former is qualified ἀριθμητικὸς καὶ γεωμέτρης “arithmetician and geometer”, whereas Moschopoulos is simply λογιώτατος καὶ μακαριώτατος “most learned and most happy”—and thus he was already dead—and he redacted the treatise βιασθεῖς “spurred on” by Rhabdas. All of this strongly suggests that Rhabdas himself took care of the edition after Moschopoulos' death. As we shall see, it is highly significant in this respect that the most authoritative manuscript witness of Moschopoulos' treatise is Vat. gr. 1411 (*Diktyon* 68042).

¹¹ See P. TANNERY, Le traité de Manuel Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques. Texte grec et traduction. *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* (1886) 88–118, repr. *Id.*, Mémoires scientifiques IV. Toulouse–Paris 1920, 27–60: 32.1–4. An analysis of Moschopoulos' treatise is in J. SESIANO, Les carrés magiques de Manuel Moschopoulos. *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 53 (1998) 377–397; see also TANNERY, Moschopoulos et Rhabdas.

¹² RIEHLE, *Epistolographie* 246–248. For arguments against setting Rhabdas' birthdate earlier than 1295, see *ibid.*, 247 n. 31.

short additions—of Planudes’ *Great Calculation*. This recension is transmitted in a number of manuscripts; other, disparate texts were added to it during the 14th century¹³.

Direct evidence of Rhabdas’ connection with Nikephoros Gregoras comes from a square roots table¹⁴, preserved in the ms. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Palatinus gr. 129 (*Diktyon* 32460) (mainly 14th century), ff. 11v–12r, comprising an additional bifolium¹⁵. The current inscription of Rhabdas’ table only acknowledges its content and its author as it pens with black ink ὅρα πλευράς ἀρρήτους τοῦ Ῥαβδᾶ Νικολάου “here, unexpressible square roots by Nicholas Rhabdas”. This inscription, however, is the result of an intrusive revision of the original title, written in red ink by the same scribe who copied the table, which identified Gregoras as the dedicatee and was transcribed by Biedl as follows: πλευράς ἀρ{ρ}ήτους, Γρηγορᾶ σοφέ, δέχου ἐξ Ἀρταβάσδου τοῦ Ῥαβδᾶ Νικολάου “accept, wise Gregoras, unexpressible square roots from Nicholas Artabasdos Rhabdas”. The clause was subsequently partly covered with black ink and revised as indicated above; the outcome is to omit mentioning the dedicatee Gregoras, thus erasing in an act of *damnatio memoriae* the only place the latter’s name figured in a codex he himself compiled and owned. The square roots table ranges from 1 to 120 but, for reasons that escape us, its second half is empty; thus it is unlikely that the bifolium Gregoras added was the actual table sent to him by Rhabdas. The table, the values in which are given in the sexagesimal system and are approximated to second minutes, is not calculated according to the procedure expounded in Rhabdas’ *Letter to Tzavoukhes*.

Rhabdas’ scientific production includes two logistic treatises in the form of “letters”, namely, the so-called *Letter to Khatzykes* and *Letter to Tzavoukhes*. While nothing else is known of Theodore Tzavoukhes of Klazomenai (*PLP*, no. 27609), a richer surviving evidence concerns George Khatzykes (*PLP*, no. 30724). He served under Andronikos II as προκαθήμενος τοῦ κοιτῶνος (1305–

¹³ That Rhabdas authored a revision of Planudes’ treatise is borne out by its title in the manuscripts themselves. Again, the title appears to downplay Planudes’ contribution, clearly alluding to the fact that a source is to be understood (Vat. gr. 1411, f. 122r): Ψηφοφορία κατ’ Ἰνδοῦς ἡ λεγομένη μεγάλη. ταύτης ἡ φράσις τοῦ φιλοσοφώτατου ἐν φιλοσόφοις καὶ τιμωτάτου ἐν μοναχοῖς κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανουδῆ καὶ τοῦ Ῥαβδᾶ Νικολάου *Great Calculation According to the Indians. This formulation of it is by the most scholarly scholar and most honourable monk Maximos Planudes and by Nicholas Rhabdas*. The main witness of Rhabdas’ revision of Planudes’ treatise is in fact Vat. gr. 1411 (early 15th century, copyist <John Eugenikos>: A. Gioffreda), in which the revision is possibly (but not necessarily) incomplete, as it ends in the middle of f. 126v, at ALLARD, Planude 61.8 εἰρηται. The Vatican manuscript is important since P. TANNERY (Notice sur les deux lettres arithmétiques de Nicolas Rhabdas. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 32.1 [1886] 121–252, repr. Id., *Mémoires scientifiques* IV. Toulouse–Paris 1920, 61–198: 73, 76, and 82–83) surmised, rightly in our opinion, that it was a copy of a codex, maybe of logistic and arithmetical contents, conceived and realized by Isaak Argyros (*PLP*, no. 1285) and, before him and in part, by Rhabdas. Tannery’s contention is based on the title of Moschopoulos’ treatise on magic squares, on the presence, in Vat. gr. 1411, of three short arithmetical texts ascribed to Argyros, of *recensio* II of Philoponos’ commentary on Nikomachos’ *Introduction*—a recension Tannery ascribes to Argyros himself—and of two additions to Rhabdas’ additions (!) to his revision of Planudes’ *Calculation*, marked in the margin by a mysterious τοῦτο ἡμέτερον (Vat. gr. 1411, ff. 123v and 125v). The edition of Rhabdas’ additions is in ALLARD, Planude 203–211. On this issue and on Vat. gr. 1411, see now F. ACERBI, I problemi aritmetici attribuiti a Demetrio Cidone e Isacco Argiro. *Estudios bizantinos* 5 (2017) 131–206.

¹⁴ See A. BIEDL, Der Heidelberger cod. Pal. gr. 129 — die Notizensammlung eines byzantinischen Gelehrten. *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 3 (1948) 100–106: 104–106 (the inscriptions of the table are also transcribed), and I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, El Escorialensis X.I.13: una fuente de los extractos elaborados por Nicéforo Gregorás en el Palat. Heidelberg. gr. 129. *BZ* 86–87 (1994) 20–30. See also D. BIANCONI, La biblioteca di Cora tra Massimo Planude e Niceforo Gregora. Una questione di mani. *Segno e Testo* 3 (2005) 391–438: 412. Relying on the original inscription of Rhabdas’ table and on its presence in a volume compiled and partially copied by Gregoras himself (but the original inscription is not in Gregoras’ hand), Biedl concluded that Rhabdas and Gregoras must have been close associates. The Heidelberg manuscript can be accessed at <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpgraec129>.

¹⁵ The bifolium consisting of ff. 11 and 12 appears to be an addition that was first appended to the body of the codex and then completed with disparate texts. On f. 11r, Gregoras copied several excerpts from Plutarch, whereas f. 12v features a rudimentary addition table. On f. 12v we can see the reinforcement flap added along the spine, with an annotation in Gregoras’ hand; this means that he was probably the one who secured the incorporation of the bifolium. However, he did not copy Rhabdas’ table.

10) and as ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (until 1325); he corresponded with Manuel Gabalas and, like Zarides, with Michael Gabras.

The *Letter to Khatzykes* contains the following (references are to the pages of Tannery's edition)¹⁶: denominations of numbers and how to represent integers from 1 to 9,999 on the fingers of the hands (86.1–96.12)¹⁷; abstract descriptions of the five elementary arithmetic operations on integers, extraction of an approximate square root included (96.13–102.9); denominations of numerical orders and their multiplication (102.10–110.5)¹⁸. A structured set of tables of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and partition is found at the end of the treatise and was apparently meant to complete it; it also contains an introduction to the partition table (114.1–17)¹⁹. This is the (short) treatise whose source is *Anonymus B*. One must stress that no arithmetic operation is actually carried out, and that no instructions for use are provided for the tables.

Next, the *Letter to Tzavoukhes*²⁰ contains the following: multiplication and division (by reduction) of unit fractions (118.1–126.29); two methods of extraction of an approximate square root, the one a refinement of the other (128.1–134.22); an Easter Computus, assuming 1341 as current year (134.23–138.28)²¹; a so-called Μέθοδος πολιτικῶν λογαρισμῶν *Procedure of Civil Life Calculations*, namely: an exposition of the several species of the rule of three (140.1–144.9); generalities

¹⁶ Edition TANNERY, Notice 86–110, 114. The main manuscript witnesses are organized as follows: Vat. gr. 1411, ff. 10r–13r; its apographs are El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de S. Lorenzo, Φ.I.10 (*Diktyon* 15142), ff. 84r–90v (1542), an immediate copy of which is Par. gr. 2428 (*Diktyon* 52060), ff. 194r–202v (mid-16th century), copies of which (by the renowned scholar A. J. H. Vincent) are Par. suppl. gr. 819 (*Diktyon* 53520) (19th century), ff. 128–153, and the entire Par. suppl. gr. 820 (*Diktyon* 53521) (19th century); earlier copies of Vat. gr. 1411 are Vat. Ross. 986 (*Diktyon* 66453) (mid-15th century), ff. 142r–148v; Par. suppl. gr. 652 (*Diktyon* 53387), ff. 154v–160r (15th century). On all these manuscripts see ACERBI, Problemi. The treatise is also present, anonymous (title Παράδοσις σύντομος καὶ σαφειστάτη τῆς ψηφοφορικῆς ἐπιστήμης) and without the tables, in Marc. gr. Z. 323 (*Diktyon* 69794), ff. 9r–13v (beginning 15th century), and Vat. gr. 1058 (*Diktyon* 67689), ff. 84r–86v (same copyist as the Venice codex), and, preceded by the tables, in Par. Coislin 338 (*Diktyon* 49479) ff. 1r–8v (15th century). Tannery did not use these three manuscripts in his edition. He did not know of Vat. Chis. R.IV.20 (*Diktyon* 65207), ff. 183v–186v, either, to be dated 1360–80 and thereby constituting the oldest witness of Rhabdas' treatise. This is a slightly debased version, without the tables, of the *First Letter*, which, quite surprisingly, retains a designation used in *Anonymus B* (see note 113 below); this, and the other variant readings, might even corroborate the hypothesis (on which we shall not dwell) that the Chigi manuscript carries an inaccurate copy of a redaction of Rhabdas' treatise a subsequent revision of which emerges in Vat. gr. 1411. As for the other witnesses listed in the *pinakes* database, Par. gr. 3100 (*Diktyon* 52745) does not contain the treatise; the manuscript Cambridge, University Library, Kk.V.26 (gr. 2068) (*Diktyon* 12209), has it on ff. 44(3?)–51 (16th century); the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 30 (*Diktyon* 48098), ff. 227r–228v (16th century), has only the section on finger-notation. The New Haven manuscript is a very late transcription.

¹⁷ This is the only such description surviving in Greek. The oldest source on finger-notation is the section *De computo uel loquela digitorum* in Bede's (d. 735) *De temporum ratione* (namely, an Easter Computus), in CCSL 123B, 268–273 = PL 90, 689–693.

¹⁸ Throughout this article, the noun phrase “numerical order” designates any of the monadic numbers, decads, hundreds, thousands, myriads, and so on. As we shall see on page 31, standard numerical tables normally operate on numerical orders.

¹⁹ They carry the title ψηφοφορικόν· εὑρεμα Παλαμήδους “computational (set-out): Palamedes' discovery”; they were only partly edited in TANNERY, Notice 110–116. Rhabdas refers to them at the end of the section on subtraction (*ibid.*, 96.25–27). Tables with instructions of use partly identical to those in Rhabdas' *First Letter* can also be found in Marc. gr. Z. 323, ff. 25r–37v, and Vat. gr. 1058, ff. 33r–40r. Similar tables make the Ψηφάρτιον *Counting Booklet* comprising the entire Vat. gr. 1550 (*Diktyon* 68181) (14th century); they are edited in J. L. HEIBERG, *Kleine Anekdoten zur byzantinischen Mathematik. Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik. Historisch-literarische Abtheilung* 33 (1888) 161–170: 165–170.

²⁰ Edition TANNERY, Notice 118–186, but two problems at the end are omitted because they were already published (on the basis of the ms. Zeitz, Stiftsbibliothek 67 (*Diktyon* 72776) [John Argyropoulos]), ff. 97v–98r in R. HOCHÉ (ed.), *Nicomachi Geraseni pythagorei Introductionis Arithmeticae libri II*. Lipsiae 1866, 152.4–154.10. The main manuscript witnesses are the same as for the *First Letter*, with the addition of Par. suppl. gr. 682 (*Diktyon* 53417), f. 34r–v (15th century), containing only the worked-out example of the Easter Computus (TANNERY, Notice 136.24–138.28). See TANNERY, Moschopoulos et Rhabdas 12–14, for a summary description of the contents of the treatise. On the Easter Computus see O. SCHISSEL, *Die Osterrechnung des Nikolaos Artabasdos Rhabdas. Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 14 (1938) 43–59.

²¹ The actual date is a.m. 6849, fitting the assumed date of Easter (April 8) and the other calendrical data.

and some problems of conversion involving weight²², measure, and currency units of measurement, solved by application of the previous rules (144.10–154.5); the same for a problem involving alloying (154.6–24); twenty *Rechenbuch*-style problems²³, with solutions and associated procedures (156.25–186.19). As is apparent even from this summary, the contents of the *Letter to Tzavoukhes* are less homogeneous than those of the *Letter to Khatzykes*. In both *Letters*, Greek numerals are used.

ANONYMUS B IN BARB. GR. 4 AND IN OTHER MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

The manuscript Barb. gr. 4 is a very small (128×85 mm) codex of III + 188 leaves (= 1–187 + 186^a) in oriental paper. It contains a complex series of excerpts from grammarians, metricists, philosophers, and, most importantly, poets and tragedians; these extracts count as witnesses of some importance in the editions of almost all excerpted texts²⁴. The three final quires, ff. 160–186, feature in particular Planudes' Greek translation of the so-called *Disticha Catonis* (ff. 160r–167r)²⁵, the Pythagorean *Carmen Aureum* (ff. 167r–168v)²⁶, a poem by Theodoros Prodromos (ff. 168v–169r)²⁷, twenty-two epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology* (in the margins of f. 167v and on ff. 169r–170v), and finally *Anonymus B* (ff. 171r–186v), which occupies exactly two quires. These last three quires have the following structure: ff. 160–170 (a senion lacking leaf 5); ff. 171–179 (a quinion lacking leaf 7); ff. 180–186 (a quaternion lacking leaf 6)²⁸. As we shall see, this quaternion was originally a quinion that has lost its most external bifolium²⁹.

The composition of the codex is as follows—a triple vertical line marks a quire boundary characterized by the beginning of a fresh textual unit *and* by a variation of hand or of *ductus* of the same hand (both pointing to a non-sequential transcription), a double vertical line is present when the last of these three conditions does not apply:

²² The metrological portion at TANNERY, Notice 144.11–146.8, is reprinted in E. SCHILBACH, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen* (*Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα καὶ Μελέται* 19). Thessalonike 1982, 135–136; see also *ibid.*, 30–31.

²³ Some of these problems coincide with problems edited in K. VOGEL, *Ein byzantisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts* (*Wiener Byzantinische Studien* 6). Vienna 1968: no. 13 = example at TANNERY, Notice 142.26–144.9; no. 14 = Rhabdas' problem I; 18 = problem III; 20 = IV; 21 = VI; 22 = VII; 9 = X; 11 = XII; 24 = XIII; 35 = XVI. Algebraic formulations of the problems in this section are in TANNERY, Moschopoulos et Rhabdas 14. The entire *Μέθοδος πολιτικῶν λογαρισμῶν* is in fact a *Rechenbuch*: this is a collection of computational techniques and of arithmetical or metrological problems unrelated to each other, sometimes in (fictitious) daily-life guise. As a matter of fact, the “mathematical content” of some *Rechenbuch*-problems can be undressed and rewritten as Diophantine problems. On Byzantine *Rechenbücher* see F. ACERBI, *Byzantine Rechenbücher: An Overview, with an Edition of Anonymi L and J. JÖB* 69 (2019) in print.

²⁴ For Pindar (ff. 56r–64v), see J. IRIGOIN, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris 1952, 139–141 and 247–269; for Euripides, see K. MATTHIESSEN, *Exzerpte aus Sieben Tragödien des Euripides im Codex Vaticanus Barberini Graecus 4. Hermes* 93 (1965) 148–158 (only the excerpts at ff. 9v–18r and 26r–32v); for Theocritus (ff. 72v–81v), see C. GALLAVOTTI (ed.), *Theocritus quique feruntur Bucolici Graeci*. Roma 1946, 254; for Oppianus, *Halieutica* (ff. 22r–26r), see A. ZUMBO, *Gli Halieutika di Oppiano nella tradizione gnomologica. RSBV* 34 (1997) 77–81; for the *Septem Sapientum Sententiae* (ff. 152r14–156v7), see M. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, *Die Sprüche der sieben Weisen. Zwei byzantinische Sammlungen*. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1994, 11–21 and 448–450; for the epigrams, see below.

²⁵ On the manuscript tradition of this writing see V. ORTOLEVA, *Massimo Planude e i Disticha Catonis. Sileno* 15 (1989) 105–136; the edition is V. ORTOLEVA, *Disticha Catonis in Graecum translata*. Rome 1992.

²⁶ The Barberini codex is not mentioned in E. DIEHL – D. YOUNG (eds.), *Theognis, ps.-Pythagoras, ps.-Phocilides, Chares, Anonymi Aulodia, Fragmentum Teliambicum*. Lipsiae 1971, or in F. W. KÖHLER (ed.), *Hieroclis in aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*. Stutgardiae 1974.

²⁷ Edited in W. HÖRANDNER, *Visuelle Poesie in Byzanz. Versuch einer Bestandsaufnahme. JÖB* 40 (1990) 1–42: 30–32.

²⁸ In all cases, no portion of text is lost because of this structure: the quires were purposely assembled in this way.

²⁹ See item 20 on pages 28–29 for details.

quire no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
quire type	IV-3	IV	IV	IV-2	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV
last f.	5	13	21	27	35	43	51	59	67	75	83	91
quire sign.				α'	β'	γ'	δ'	ε'	ζ'	ζ'	η'	θ'
hand	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>abc</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>

quire no.	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
quire type	IV	IV	IV	IV	IV	V-1	V-1	V	VI-1	V-1	V-3	1
last f.	99	107	115	123	131	140	149	159	170	179	186	186a
quire sign.	ι'	ια'	ιβ'	ιγ'	ιδ'							
hand	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>

Capocci's distribution of the hands must be corrected³⁰. A main copyist penned the entire volume. A second hand, very similar to the main hand and therefore contemporary to it, subsequently added some texts; these additions may occupy the central space of the page, whenever it had been left blank. Note that dubious attributions of some pages remain.

The main hand of the codex displays a script typical of the small galaxy of Planudes' students active in Constantinople during the first quarter of the 14th century³¹. These hands share the main features of the master's handwriting to variable degrees. They are quick, upright or leaned, small or medium-sized; they use a high variety of letter shapes, abbreviations and ligatures; the modular contrast typical of 13th-century cursive scripts is altogether absent. These post-Planudean hands are usually not easy to read (even for contemporaries); therefore, they were used, as Planudes was also accustomed to, to copy texts intended for non-commercial use within restricted circles. However, the round and pleasing handwriting of Barb. gr. 4 is skilled and professional enough to allow for a commercial use of the codex' ambitious selection of texts. In turn, the codex' small size suggests that its readers availed themselves of it for their leisure.

Barb. gr. 4 was probably designed to gather prominent excerpts from a literary canon available and broadly studied in the period in a small book, supplemented by some grammatical texts and by the short arithmetical tract we study in these pages. Planudes' (and his students') wide-ranging interests would fittingly provide enough reasons for the presence of an elementary mathematical treatise at the very end of a codex otherwise decidedly oriented towards grammar and poetry. Note, however, that the contents and the sectional nature of the last three quires seem to mark a slight departure from the principles underlying the collection of the preceding material.

³⁰ According to V. CAPOCCI, *Codices Barberiniani Graeci. Tomus I. Codices 1–163*. Città del Vaticano 1958, 6, hand *a* penned ff. 1r–18r6, 22r–143r, 160r–186v, and 186a; hand *b* ff. 18r7–21v, 152r14–159v, and marginal additions at ff. 28r and 30r; hand *c* ff. 143v–152r13 (this segment coincides with an anonymous rhetorical treatise). J. IRIGOIN (*Histoire* 247 n. 5), apparently referring to ff. 56–64, asserted that “le type d'écriture, assez carrée, et celui du papier, un bombycin à pontuseaux triples, nous permettent d'attribuer ce manuscrit à la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle”. D. Harlfinger (*apud* M. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI, *Sprüche* 11–12) likens the script of hand *a* to that of George Gemistos Plethon (d. 26/6/1452; *PLP*, no. 3630). Of course, this must not be taken as an indication that Barb. gr. 4 must be dated to the 15th century. The anonymous rhetorical treatise at ff. 143v–152r13 of Barb. gr. 4 is wrongly ascribed to Plethon in Par. gr. 2926 (*Diktyon* 52565), ff. 287v–291r (and as a consequence in Ch. WALZ, *Rhetores graeci. I–IX*. Stuttgart–Tübingen–London–Paris 1832–36, VI 546–598), penned in the second half of the 15th century (*RGK* II, no. 72).

³¹ C. GALLAVOTTI (Planudea. *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'edizione nazionale dei classici greci e latini*, n.s., 7 [1959] 25–50: 48–50) pointed out that the epigrams at ff. 167v and 169r–170v were copied from the so-called “silloge laurenziana” contained in ff. 3r–6v and 381v–384r of Laur. Plut. 32.16 (*Diktyon* 16280), the celebrated collection of hexametric poetry realized in 1280–83 within Planudes' atelier. This sets a *terminus post quem* to the transcription of Barb. gr. 4. On some of these epigrams and for literature on Laur. Plut. 32.16, see most recently F. VALERIO, *Planudeum. JÖB* 61 (2011) 229–236. The “silloge laurenziana” was penned by Planudes himself.

Even if the volume was a clear and neat product, the copyist had no qualms in filling the margins with supplementary texts, creating in most pages an impression of overcrowding. However, the organization of the contents is made clear through the use of rubricated headbands, initials and titles in the margin³², a procedure that would have eased the elaboration of a table of contents that was never redacted or that the volume no longer has in its present form³³.

The hand of the main copyist (hand *a*) can be found on ff. 1r–18r6, 18v–19v5 a.i., 21r–25r, 26r6, 29r, 30v–56r, 64v–152r13, 160r–186v. Its general appearance may change, as happens on ff. 143v–152r, which Capocci attributed to a different hand and where the handwriting of copyist *a* is of a slightly greater size and more solemn³⁴.

The main copyist's handwriting is characterized by the following features:

- frequent use of majuscule *alpha*
- almost general absence of majuscule *beta* and *delta* and of minuscule *gamma*
- the elegant ligatures ελ and ελλ
- the ligature εξ, tall and mostly shaping a right angle at the top
- slim *zeta* and *ksi*
- open *theta* starting from the base line without the usual initial curve
- the group ου, written in ligature upon the text line, in the middle of a word, not as an ending
- the group ουν and the similar ligatures σα, σο, σω, featuring a long C-shaped *sigma*
- the frequent ligature of *omega* with its circumflex accent
- the large abbreviation signs of μ(εν), ον, etc. in the shape of a crescent moon
- the abbreviation of καί with the first two strokes shaping a L

This round and agile script may be compared with those of copyist C of Par. gr. 1040 (*Diktyon* 50633), dated from 1325³⁵, of the monk Kassianos who copied Planudes' writings and belonged to Gregoras' circle at the Chora³⁶, or of Manuel Gabalas (Matthew of Ephesos)³⁷.

Two further copyists (hands *b* and *c*) transcribed ff. 25v–26r5 and ff. 26r7–28v, 29v–30r, 56v–64r³⁸, respectively. As for hand *b*, a wider spacing of the letters, a closed *theta* with an elongated crossbar, and an upright *epsilon* suggest it should not be identified with *a*. As for hand *c*, differences with respect to *a* include a swollen *alpha*, *omicron*, *sigma*, and *ypsilon*, majuscule *beta*, *my* with thick vertical strokes, a closed long *omega* made by a horizontal stroke and two loops. These letters differentiate handwriting *c* from that of the main copyist; nevertheless, on ff. 56v–64r such differences are less prominent, casting doubts on the individuality of the hand.

³² The copyist draws simple but not clumsy headbands at the beginning of the main texts. On f. 113r he makes an attempt at writing in epigraphic capital letters.

³³ The last f. 186a should be placed before f. 1; since the resulting first quire has six folios (186a + 1–5), the table of contents might have been located in the first two folios of the volume.

³⁴ As previously stated, these pages contain the Συνομὴ περὶ τινῶν μερῶν τῆς ῥητορικῆς published by Walz under the name of George Gemistos Plethon. A fact corroborating the contention that this text was copied at a different time is that a darker ink is used, also for the initials. Other leaves such as ff. 18v–19v display a similar *ductus*.

³⁵ P. GÉHIN, Les manuscrits grecs datés des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de France. Vol. 2. Première moitié du XIV^e siècle (*Monumenta palaeographica Medii Aevi. Series Graeca* 1). Paris–Turnhout 2005, 34–36 and pl. 25.

³⁶ RGK III, no. 353 (wrongly dated to the second half of the 14th century); I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, El scriptorium de Cora: un modelo de acercamiento a los centros de copia bizantinos, in: Ἐπίγειος οὐρανός. El cielo en la tierra. Estudios sobre el monasterio bizantino, ed. P. Bádenas – A. Bravo – I. Pérez Martín (*Nueva Roma* 3). Madrid 1997, 203–223: 220–221.

³⁷ PLP, no. 3309 (b. 1271–2, d. 1355–60); RGK I, no. 270; II, no. 370; III, no. 445.

³⁸ This section of the manuscript does not contain a sharply distinguished set of excerpts.

Subsequently to the work of the main copyist, a second hand (*r*)³⁹ added some texts in the margins or in blank pages, using two different inks. An ochre ink is used on ff. 18r7–17r, 19v5 a.i.–20v5, bottom margin of f. 30r, upper margin of f. 36v, interlinear space of f. 52v, ff. 152r14–159v (end of quire 20), and bottom margin of ff. 160r and 166v. With common brown ink, *r* penned the text on f. 20v, from line 6 as far as the end, after his own ochre-colored addition, and the two lines in the bottom margin of f. 21r; the texts in the bottom margin of ff. 3v, 9v, 11v, side margin of f. 25v, bottom margin of f. 28r, side margin of ff. 30v, 32r, 35r, bottom margin of f. 56r, bottom and side margin of f. 163v. In *Anonymus B*, its interventions, in brown ink, can be found in the interlinear space of ff. 173v, 177v, 179r, in the margins of ff. 174r, 176r–v, 177v, 178v, as corrections to the text in ff. 176r–v, 177r–v. This handwriting shares some features with that of copyist *a*; still, it looks like as a simplified, edgy, and rough version: it consistently spaces letters more than copyist *a* does and uses slightly different letter shapes (see for instance *theta* and *ksi*) as well as majuscule *delta*. We may thus safely regard this reviser as contemporary to the copy, perhaps the person who commissioned it or who shared its use shortly it had been copied.

We shall see in note 110 that Rhabdas' *First Letter* seems to retain traces of the reviser's correction on f. 177v. One might thus be tempted to identify the reviser with Rhabdas himself. It is also true, on the other hand, that the character of the reviser's main additions to the collection in Barb. gr. 4 attests for interests not confirmed by the extant documentary record on Rhabdas. The main texts transcribed by copyist *r* include the entire set of extracts from philosophical writings: Plato at f. 18r7–17; Epictetus and Heraklitos at 19v5 a.i.–20v5; a consistent set of excerpts dealing with sapiential lore at 152r14–159v.

The contents of Barb. gr. 4 are described in detail in V. Capocci's catalogue⁴⁰. However, he could not identify the treatise at ff. 171–186 as a version of Rhabdas' *First Letter*. Therefore, he simply recorded its title, *incipit*, and *desinit*. The latter is found at f. 179r since, as Rhabdas' *First Letter* does, *Anonymus B* ends with a series of tables. As the treatise is located at the end of the manuscript, it has suffered from damage typically arising in this position: f. 186v is severely faded; moreover, we shall see that the last quire has lost its most external bifolium, to be located before f. 180 and after f. 186⁴¹.

During his *iter italicum* of 1886 and after publishing his edition of Rhabdas' *Letters*⁴², Tannery discovered a further witness of *Anonymus B*: Vat. gr. 1481 (*Diktyon* 68112), ff. 180r–201v, copied at the beginning of 17th century by John Santamaura⁴³. Tannery briefly described the treatise but satisfied himself with asserting that it was a new witness of Rhabdas' *First Letter*. Still, he should have noticed that the text was remarkably different from the one he himself had published; maybe he was deluded by his own assessment of this version of the text as a revision (see just below). Certainly, he had to work in a hurry, checking hundreds of manuscripts in one month and travelling between Turin, Milan, Venice, Rome, and Naples.

³⁹ There are additions by a third, elegant hand using black ink; they are in the upper margin of f. 5v, in the side margin of f. 113r, and in the upper margin of ff. 132r, 133r, 135r, 138r, 140v–141r.

⁴⁰ See also the detailed description, with bibliography, at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.4, where a reproduction of the manuscript can be accessed.

⁴¹ This loss was not noted by Capocci.

⁴² P. TANNERY, Rapport sur une mission en Italie du 24 Janvier au 24 Février 1886. *Archives et Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3^e série, 13 (1888) 409–455, repr. ID., *Mémoires Scientifiques II*. Toulouse–Paris 1912, 269–331: 318.

⁴³ Self-ascription on f. 190v, see page 12 below. On Santamaura, see *RGK* I, no. 179; II, no. 238; III, no. 299; M. D'AGOSTINO, Giovanni Santamaura. Gli ultimi bagliori dell'attività scrittoria dei greci in Occidente. Cremona 2013. None of these reference works mentions Vat. gr. 1481.

We know in fact of another, very partial, witness of *Anonymus B*: f. 47r–v of the composite 16th-century manuscript Par. gr. 2535 (*Diktyon* 52167)⁴⁴. It contains the very beginning of the treatise, partly collated with a manuscript containing Rhabdas' *First Letter*; the transcription breaks off in the middle of a sentence⁴⁵. Tannery availed himself of this manuscript in his edition; on the basis of such scanty evidence, he could only regard the text in Par. gr. 2535 as a “recension spéciale”, “d’une date relativement récente sans aucun doute”⁴⁶. Tannery also remarked that this text was noteworthy because of the “suppression” of a conspicuous part of the preface, amounting in fact to a long extract from the introduction of Diophantos' *Arithmetica* and repeated verbatim in both of Rhabdas' *Letters*.

As we shall see, there is not the slightest doubt that Santamaura used Barb. gr. 4 as his model. We might press the story of this transcription a little further. In 1614, F. Morel published a plaquette containing two texts on the representation of numbers on the fingers of the hands. The two texts are the section *De computo uel loquela digitorum* in Bede's *De temporum ratione*, and the dedicated section in Rhabdas' treatise. At least, this was what Morel and Tannery believed, and rightly so on the basis of the information they had: Morel declares that he used a collation by Lelio Ruini, a renowned book collector and then Apostolic Nuncio to Poland⁴⁷; Ruini had in his turn used a unspecified *codex Vaticanus*. Now, on the one hand, Morel expressly declares that the extract comes from a treatise by Rhabdas; on the other hand, the variant readings involved unquestionably show that Morel's text coincides with *Anonymus B*. To Tannery, thus, what Morel published was a fragment of the *First Letter*, “d’après une copie du manuscrit 1411 du Vatican”⁴⁸, namely, a part of the debased version that had already surfaced in Par. gr. 2535. As Santamaura customarily copied for Ruini, we might surmise that, on the occasion of Morel's request, Santamaura first achieved a complete copy of *Anonymus B*, extracting then the part on finger-notation to be sent to Morel. This hypothesis is refuted by a complete collation of Santamaura's copy in Vat. gr. 1481: it bristles with mistakes, including several *saut du même au même*; no conjunctive variant readings with Morel's edition have been found.

Thus, things are less simple than Tannery might have supposed. It might even be that Ruini used a manuscript containing *Anonymus B* different from Barb. gr. 4 but ascribing this version to Rhabdas. This manuscript, if any ever existed, has escaped our systematic searches in the catalogues⁴⁹. However, we must stress that this is not necessarily the case, since Morel obviously knew of the version of the same treatise expressly ascribed to Rhabdas: as he himself asserts, a mathematician and friend of his had uncovered both *Letters* in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris and it was for precisely this reason that he had renounced publishing the entire treatise.

EDITION OF ANONYMUS B

We first edit the treatise, passing then to its analysis. As will be apparent from the edition, the transcription of *Anonymus B* in ff. 171–186 of Barb. gr. 4 is almost faultless; we may take this as a sign that it is not much removed from the original. The text has marginal titles in red, mostly written in

⁴⁴ On this manuscript, see T. J. MATHIESEN, *Ancient Greek Music Theory. A Catalogue Raisonné of Manuscripts (International Inventory of Musical Sources B 11)*. Munich 1988, 245–248.

⁴⁵ The text runs as far as TANNERY, Notice 88.18 γράμμις. The last three words constitute a *reclamans*. No variants allow to identify the collation manuscript.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁴⁷ F. MOREL, Nic. Smyrnaei Artabasdae Graeci mathematici ἐκφρασις Numerorum Notationis per gestum digitorum ... Lutetiae 1614, 3–4, and TANNERY, Notice 74–75 and 80.

⁴⁸ Recall that Vat. gr. 1411 is the main witness of the *First Letter*. Tannery did not know of it when he published his edition of Rhabdas' *Letters*.

⁴⁹ Barb. gr. 4 is declared to be a belonging of the San Salvatore convent in Venice, there bequeathed by some *dominus de fosset* (f. 8r, a hand of 16th century), then (the date is 1734) to the Badia of Grottaferrata, under no. 295.

vertical, rubricated letters at the beginning of self-contained sections, and an initial decoration; the frames of the numerical tables at ff. 179v–186v are in red, as well as some leading numeral letters in the addition and subtraction table and some of the inscriptions contained in the tables themselves. Within the text, the initial list of numeral signs is in red. The main copyist is responsible for all of this. As previously stated, the text is also corrected by a hand different from that of the main copyist: this reviser integrates, in the margins of ff. 174r, 176v, 178v, some passages omitted in the transcription, and at f. 177v he appears to correct the text. The margins of ff. 171r–172v and 175v–176r contain short annotations that do not have anything to do with *Anonymus B*⁵⁰.

At f. 172r, a rough representation of a human hand partly illustrates the section on finger-notation⁵¹; the hand is accompanied by some short inscriptions, penned in red ink, indicating the names of the fingers: μύωψ μικρός or little finger; ἐπιβάτης καὶ παράμεσος or ring finger; σφάκηλος μέσος or middle finger; λχανός or forefinger, ἀντίχειρ or thumb. The only name written within the diagram in the area of the hand's palm is the designation κύαθος. The digits from α to ε are also inscribed at the base of the fingers, starting as usual from the little finger⁵². The school practice of representing numbers on the fingers of a hand is witnessed for Constantinople by Nicholas Mesarites' *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles*, written between 1198 and 1203⁵³.

The text of *Anonymus B* is edited on the basis of Barb. gr. 4; where the manuscript is now illegible⁵⁴, we resort to the readings of Vat. gr. 1481. That this manuscript is a (quite debased) direct copy of the Barberini codex is borne out by the following facts.

Vat. gr. 1481 is a composite manuscript; our interest will only be focused on ff. 180r–201v + 181a, 191a. Santamaura himself numbered the first nineteen pages of this textual unit, in the upper external corner and from 1 to 19. These numbers were partly deleted and replaced by the present folio num-

⁵⁰ The additions at ff. 171–172 are apparently lexicographical material. As seen, relevant texts inscribed in the margins are also found elsewhere in this manuscript.

⁵¹ Sometimes inappropriately called “finger-reckoning”: as a matter of fact, no computation is performed.

⁵² This illustration does not fit the description provided in the text: in the latter, numbers are assigned to specific and non-cumulative configurations of all fingers of one hand, not to single fingers—and the configurations representing the numbers from 1 to 5 (in which only three fingers are used) cannot in any way fit an assignment of digits from 1 to 5 like the one in the hand depicted in the Barberini codex. Thus, the functionality of the diagram is very limited. It is only useful insofar as, first, it instructs the reader about what each of the fingers is called and second, it indicates the succession in which the fingers are dealt with throughout the text, namely, starting from the little finger and proceeding towards the thumb. In other words, the diagram would rather suit the lexicographical needs of the reader, by extracting relevant vocabulary, than aid his or her knowledge of finger-notation. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the diagram is worth noting as a visual aid. Among the available copies of either *Anonymus B* or Rhabdas' *First Letter*, such a *depictio manus* is only preserved in Barb. gr. 4 and in Vat. gr. 1481. By contrast, the *De computo uel loquela digitorum* in Bede's *De temporum ratione* occasionally features hand diagrams and representations, as for instance in the 9th-century Vat. Pal. lat. 1449, f. 118v. In general, while there is a relatively rich tradition of hand diagrams used as mnemonic devices in the Latin West (both in the context of finger-notation and of the study of music), little is known of the Byzantine equivalent if such tradition indeed existed. A sample of late Byzantine depictions of cheironomic gestures (indicating intervals and melodic figures) is discussed in N. K. MORAN, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*. Leiden 1986.

⁵³ This is ch. 10.1 of Mesarites' writing: see G. DOWNEY, Nikolaos Mesarites: *Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47.6). Philadelphia 1957, 866 (transl.) and 899 (text). On the other hand, the recurrent use, in logistic and astronomical texts, *Rechenbücher*, and Easter Computi, of κρατεῖν for “keeping” a number in order to use it in a subsequent operation, does not imply anything as to a possible application of finger-notation. Even if the verb is sometimes qualified by expressions like ἐν χερσὶ “in your hands” (see for instance the Easter Computus in Matthew Blastares' Σύνταγμα, 414–415 ed. G. A. RHALLE – M. POTLE, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφύμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων, VI, Athens 1859, 31–518; we thank O. Delouis for pointing out this passage to us), and we must think that such a qualification is understood in every instance, the point is that it is simply impossible to represent a 4-digit number, as for instance an a.m. year date is, on the fingers of two hands only!—actually, this cannot even be achieved for 2-digit numbers made of decads and units.

⁵⁴ The restoration of the codex makes it impossible to use Wood's lamp.

bers. The first seven folios, ff. 180–185 (+ 181a) are a quaternion lacking leaf 6; the remaining folios, most of which are glued on reinforcement flaps, are not organized in a consistent quire structure. The bottom margin of f. 181v contains a *depictio manus* whose lower half has been cut off. One reads the digits γ δ ε on the fingers' bases; the inscriptions are κύαθος in the palm and, from bottom to top and in front of each fingertip: *cut off fingers*, παράμεσον καὶ ἐπιβάτης, σφάκηλος καὶ μέσος, λιχανός, ἀντίχειρ. On f. 181ar, a second *depictio manus* is present, traced on a paper rectangle glued on the page. No digits are marked on the fingers' bases; the inscriptions are κύαθος and, from bottom to top and in front of each fingertip, μύωψ, παράμεσος ὁ καὶ ἐπιβάτης, σφάκηλος ὁ καὶ μέσος, λιχανός, ἀντίχειρ. Folio 181av is blank.

Santamaura inserts all the corrections by copyist *r* in his transcription; see in particular, in our apparatus to the text, the difficulties he has in reading the set of interventions in Barb. gr. 4, f. 177v. Quite characteristically, Santamaura frequently comments on some features of his model.

On f. 189v, a first version of the table of numerals πλινθὶς ἀρίστη τῆς τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν στοιχείων καταγραφῆς is traced and is presently set out in a topsy-turvy manner. The table is deleted by two pen strokes. In the external margin, one finds the Latin inscription *ad maiorem intelligentiam*, under which the numerals in the last column of the table are repeated, the tremas characterizing myriads of myriads (see item 19 on page 28) being more appropriately located. The same table can be found at f. 190r.

Santamaura realized that the beginning of the addition and subtraction table was missing in his model. Accordingly, on f. 190v we read the inscription ὁ νῦν βιβλιογράφος {s.l. rubro pictum Ἰω(άννης) ὁ Σαγκταμαύρ(ας) ἐστὶν m.l.} εὐρών ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ ἀντιγράφῳ, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ παρὸν νέον ἀντίγραφον ἐξισοῦται, ἄρχεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν σύνθεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τ' ἑκατονταδικοῦ στοιχείου, ὅθεν ῥήθητι ἐλλειπὲς εἶναι τὸ ῥηθὲν παλαιὸν ἀντίγραφον, πρὸς οὗν [[την]] τελείαν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν στοιχείων κατέστρωσεν [[τὴν ὑποτεταγμένην]] οἴκοθεν τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα στοιχεῖα τῆς συνθέσεως, ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν μονάδων καὶ δεκάδων ὁμοῦ καὶ μέρους τῶν ἑκατοντάδων, τοῦ ρ καὶ σ. At the beginning of the sequence of reconstructed tables, we read the inscription ἑκατονταδικῶν μορίων. Every table on ff. 191r–191ar is headed ὁ βιβλιογράφος; on f. 191r this is followed by ἀρχὴ τῆς συνθέσεως, in red ink. In a cell within the table on f. 191av, before the beginning of the addition subtable for τ (300), we read the inscription ἕως ὧδε τὰ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρχεται τὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀντιγράφου.

Santamaura thought that the table of addition and subtraction had to be completed. Thus, before the end of the table at f. 192v, in two consecutive cells within the table, he writes ἄχρι τοῦδε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀντιγράφου and ἐντεῦθεν ὁ βιβλιογράφος ἄρχεται καὶ περὶ τῶν μυριάδων. The subsequent ff. 192v–194v set out an addition and subtraction table for myriads, absolutely identical to the previous table apart from the standard presence of tremas denoting myriads. Every table on ff. 192v–194v is headed ὁ βιβλιογράφος; before the end of the table on f. 194v, in three consecutive cells within the table, inscriptions ἕως ὧδε τὰ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου || *ex uetero exemplari* τέλος συνθέσεως καὶ ἀφαιρέσεως || *librarius uide in pagina 9* περὶ ἐκβολῆς ἥτοι ἀφαιρέσεως· καὶ ἀρκεῖ.

In the multiplication table, Santamaura corrects a repeated numerical order mistake of Barb. gr. 4; he justifies his corrections by marking a red cross by the side of the faulty numerals and by writing in the external margin ὁ βιβλιογράφος *corrig.* +ιβ *pro* ι,β || +ις *pro* ι,ς || +κδ *pro* κ,δ || +κη *pro* κ,η || +λβ *pro* λ,β || +λς *pro* λ,ς, where each digit not preceded by the lower left stroke carries a superimposed trema. On ff. 200v and 201r, corrections are effected by the marginal annotations *librarius* υπ *pro* υη || φξ *pro* φς || χμ *pro* χδ || ψκ *pro* ψβ ||; *librarius* ,βρ *pro* ,αρ; and *librarius* ,γξ *pro* ,γλ, each digit carrying a superimposed trema.

Most crucially, the last table contains, within a cell at the end of the first column, the inscription *desiderantur reliqua apud exemplare* [[*an*]] *antiquo desunt folii*; and at the beginning of the sec-

ond column, ὁ δὲ διπλοῦς καὶ τριπλοῦς καὶ ἐπέκεινα πολλαπλασιασμός ἀεὶ [[ψαφι]] γίνεται οὕτως. ψαφισάτω τὸ α μετὰ τοῦ α, τὸ β μετὰ τοῦ β, εἴτα καὶ εἰς γ. τὸ α μετὰ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ α, μετὰ τοῦ β καὶ τὸ β *et reliqua desunt*. We shall see that the last words, which, unlike us, Santamaura was able to read, provide a crucial piece of information.

All of this exactly fits the present status of Barb. gr. 4. For this reason, we shall not discuss the readings of Santamaura's transcription; we report in the apparatus those of his readings which help in deciphering difficult passages of Barb. gr. 4. We also resort once to Par. gr. 2535. Morel's text does not present any relevant readings.

Our edition normalizes the punctuation: in a technical treatise, there is really no point in adhering to Byzantine conventions in such matters. We adopt a "light" punctuation; in particular, short-range correlatives μὲν ... δὲ are not separated by a comma. The text in Barb. gr. 4 employs the *dicolon* for very strong pauses (frequently followed by a *paragraphos*; they are always followed by a conspicuous blank space and by a rubricated initial letter); upper point for strong pauses (sometimes followed by a blank space); lower point and comma (the latter quite frequently) for light pauses, and for separating units of meaning in a sentence—as is common in Byzantine punctuation—, the items of a list (the comma being subordinated to the lower point), and the result of an operation from the operands. We did not find examples of commas used as *diastolē*. Oxytone words are barytonized before a light pause. It is impossible to say whether the middle point is also used or not. In general, the copyist of Barb. gr. 4 is also parsimonious with punctuation. By contrast, we retain the original convention about the presence of movable *ny* and *sigma* and about the accentuation of enclitics. We put a paragraph and a capital letter whenever the manuscript has either a title in the margin or a rubricated initial letter; because of this convention, and since *all* titles of the sections of the treatise are located in the margins, we refrain from pointing out such characteristics of Barb. gr. 4 in our critical apparatus. We also publish the tables and regularize the use of tremas; a standard shortcut is put into effect in the tables: a single trema is superimposed to myriad numerals made of several digits; in principle, each such digit should instead receive the trema. A trema over a numeral letter is replaced by an apex in the present transcription; no apex is apposed to numeral letters as such. We generally do not correct the text of Barb. gr. 4, but record the expected or required reading in the apparatus.

Sigla:

- B** Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barberinianus gr. 4
- V** Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vaticanus gr. 1481
- P** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 2535

|_{171r}, παράδοσις σύντομος καὶ σαφειστάτη τῆς ψηφηφορικῆς ἐπιστήμης ῥάστη τοῖς ἐθέλουσι ταύτην μετελθεῖν, ἥτις καὶ ἔχει οὕτως.

Δεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον μετελθεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπιστήμην τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προχωρήσαι· πρῶτον μὲν μαθεῖν πόσα στοιχεῖα εἰσὶ τὰ συμβαλλόμενα εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ πόσον ἀριθμὸν σημαίνει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, εἴτα πῶς δεῖ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς κρατεῖν ἐν ταῖς δυσὶ χερσὶ, μετὰ τοῦτο τὰ παρεπόμενα αὐτῇ διδασχέσθαι, εἴτα ἑαυτὸν φέροντα δοῦναι τῷ τῆς ὑποθέσεως οἰονεῖ σώματι.

α. περὶ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων ἐκθέσεως

στοιχεῖα μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ τὰ δηλοῦντα τὴν ποσότητα καὶ τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν ἀριθμῶν ταῦτα, α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω ᾱ, καὶ τὸ μὲν α σημαίνει ἓν, τὸ β δύο, τὸ γ τρία, τὸ δ τέσσαρα, τὸ ε πέντε, τὸ ἐπίσημον ἕξ, τὸ ζ ἑπτὰ, τὸ η ὀκτώ, τὸ θ ἑννέα· ταῦτα μέχρις ὧδε μονάδας καλοῦμεν. πάλιν τὸ ι δηλοῖ δέκα, τὸ κ εἴκοσι, τὸ λ τριάκοντα, τὸ μ τεσσαράκοντα, |_{171v} τὸ ν πεντήκοντα, τὸ ξ ἑξήκοντα, τὸ ο ἑβδομήκοντα, τὸ π ὀγδοήκοντα, τουτὶ τὸ σημείον⁵⁵ ρ ἑνενήκοντα· ταῦτα μέχρι τοῦδε καλοῦμεν δεκάδας. καὶ αὖθις τὸ ρ ἑκατόν, τὸ σ διακόσια, τὸ τ τριακόσια, τὸ υ τετρακόσια, τὸ φ πεντακόσια, τὸ χ ἑξακόσια, τὸ ψ ἑπτακόσια, τὸ μέγα ω ὀκτακόσια, καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ᾱ χαρακτηρ ἑννακόσια· τὰ τοιαῦτα δὲ ἑκατοντάδας προσαγορεύομεν. ταῦτα δὲ γραμμῆς⁵⁶ μὲν ὑπογραφομένης αὐτοῖς χιλιάδας δηλοῦσιν ὅσας μονάδας ἐδήλουν ἀπουσίας τῆς γραμμῆς, δύο δὲ στιγμῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων μυριάδας. οἷον τὸ μὲν ,α μετὰ γραμμῆς ἀπτομένης αὐτοῦ καὶ λοξῶς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ καταφερομένης δηλοῖ χιλιάδα μίαν, τὸ ,β δύο, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δηλονότι τῶν στοιχείων οὕτω τὴν γραμμὴν δεξάμενα χιλιάδας δηλοῦσι τοσαύτας ὅσας ἐδήλουν μονάδας ἀπουσίας τῆς γραμμῆς. καὶ πάλιν τὸ α χωρὶς τῆς γραμμῆς⁵⁷ ἐπιτεθεισῶν αὐτῷ δύο στιγμῶν μύρια δηλοῖ, καὶ τὸ β' ὁμοίως δύο μυριάδας, καὶ τὸ γ' τρεῖς, καὶ ἑξῆς ὁμοίως. εἰ δὲ καὶ παρούσης τῆς γραμμῆς ἐπικείται αἱ στιγμαί, τότε τὸ ὑποκείμενον στοιχεῖον μυριάδας δηλοῖ χιλιονταδικὰς τοσαύτας ὅσας χιλιάδας ἐδήλου μὴ παρουσῶν τῶν στιγμῶν. |_{172r} εἰ δὲ ἐπάνω τῶν στιγμῶν ἕτεραι πάλιν τεθῶσι στιγμαί, δηλονότι μυριάκις ἐπιδίδωσι τὸ στοιχεῖον τὴν ἐνοῦσαν αὐτῷ ποσότητα, καὶ ἐτέρων ἔτι ἐπιτεθεισῶν στιγμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναλόγως συμβήσεται, καὶ ἔτι ἐτέρων, ἕως ἂν ὑπ' ἀπειρίας κωλύοιτό τις.

ἔκφρασις τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ μέτρου

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ καθέξεις τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς οὕτως. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ, αἱ ὀφείλεις τὰς μονάδας καὶ δεκάδας κρατεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ τὰς ἑκατοντάδας καὶ χιλιοντάδας⁵⁸. τοὺς δὲ ἐπέκεινα τούτων ἀριθμοὺς χαράττειν ἐν τινι· οὐ γὰρ ἔχεις ὅπως καθέξεις ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ. συστελλομένου τοῦ πρώτου καὶ μικροῦ δακτύλου – τοῦ μύωπος καλουμένου – τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἐκτεταμένων καὶ ἱσταμένων ὀρθίως, κατέχεις ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ μονάδα μίαν ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ χιλιοντάδα μίαν. πάλιν συστελλομένου καὶ τούτου καὶ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν δευτέρου δακτύλου – τοῦ παραμέσου καὶ ἐπιβάτου καλουμένου – τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ὡς ἔφημεν ἡλωμένων, κρατεῖς ἐν μὲν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ δύο ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ,β. τοῦ δ' αὖ τρίτου συστελλομένου – ἥτοι τοῦ σφακέλου καὶ μέσου κειμένου – καὶ τῶν ἐτέρων δύο τῶν δὲ⁵⁹ |_{172v} λοιπῶν δύο ἐκτεταμένων – τοῦ λιχανοῦ λέγω καὶ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος –, εἰσὶν ἄπερ κρατεῖς ἐν μὲν τῇ λαιᾷ γ ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ,γ. πάλιν συστελλομένων τῶν δύο – τοῦ μέσου καὶ παραμέσου ἡγουν τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τρίτου – καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄντων ἐξηλωμένων – τοῦ ἀντίχειρος λέγω καὶ τοῦ λιχανοῦ καὶ τοῦ μύωπος –, εἰσὶν ἄπερ κρατεῖς ἐν μὲν τῇ λαιᾷ δ ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ ,δ. πάλιν τοῦ τρίτου τοῦ καὶ μέσου συνεσταλμένου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τεσσάρων ἐκτεταμένων, δηλοῦσιν ἄπερ κρατεῖς ε ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ,ε. τοῦ ἐπιβάτου πάλιν τοῦ καὶ δευτέρου συνεσταλμένου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡλωμένων, κρατεῖς ἐν μὲν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ ς ἐν δὲ θατέρᾳ ,ς. τοῦ μύωπος πάλιν τοῦ καὶ πρώτου ἐκτεταμένου καὶ τῇ παλάμῃ προσψαύοντος τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἱσταμένων ὀρθίως, εἰσὶν ἄπερ κατέχεις ζ ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ ,ζ. τοῦ δευτέρου πάλιν τοῦ καὶ παραμέσου ὁμοίως ἐκτεταμένου καὶ κλίνοντος ἄχρις οὗ τῇ κυάθῳ τελείως προσεγγύση κειμένου καὶ τοῦ πρώτου, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν – τοῦ τρίτου, τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ τοῦ πέμπτου, ὡς |_{173r} προείρηται – ἱσταμένων ὀρθίως, τὸ γενόμενον σχῆμα ἐν μὲν τῇ λαιᾷ δηλοῖ η ἐν

⁵⁵ τουτὶ τὸ σημείον **P** : τουτὶ dein ἐν eras. et [...] τὸ σημείον add. s.l. m.1 **B** : τοῦτο ὁ ἐστὶ σημείον **V**

⁵⁶ des. **P**

⁵⁷ καὶ πάλιν τὸ α χωρὶς τῆς γραμμῆς s.l. m.1 **B** et teste **V**

⁵⁸ καὶ χιλιοντάδας s.l. m.1 **B**

⁵⁹ depictio manus marg. inf. **B**

δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ , η. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τοῦ τρίτου ὁμοίως γινομένου, κειμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δύο τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ δηλοῦσιν ἐννέα ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄλλῃ , θ. πάλιν τοῦ ἀντίχειρος ἠπλωμένου, οὐχὶ δ' ὑπεραιρομένου ἀλλὰ πλαγίως πῶς, καὶ τοῦ λιχανοῦ ὑποκλινομένου μέχρις ἂν τῷ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος προτέρῳ ἄρθρῳ συμπέσῃ ἕως ἂν γένηται σίγματος σχῆμα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν φυσικῶς ἠπλωμένων καὶ μὴ χωριζομένων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀλλὰ συνημμένων, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν μὲν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ δηλοῖ ι ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ρ. πάλιν τοῦ τετάρτου – τοῦ καὶ λιχανοῦ καλουμένου – ἐξηπλωμένου ἐπ' εὐθείας ὥσπερ ἴση γραμμῇ⁶⁰ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν συνημμένων καὶ πρὸς τὴν παλάμην ὡς ἐν σχήματι γωνίας ὑποκλινομένων μικρόν, τοῦ δὲ ἀντίχειρος ὑπεράνω τούτων κειμένου καὶ συνεγγύζοντος τῷ λιχανῷ, κ τὸ τοιοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σ. τοῦ λιχανοῦ πάλιν καὶ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος ἐκτεταμένως ὑποκλινομένων |_{173v} καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον αὐτοῖς ἐγγιζόντων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν τριῶν ἐκτεταμένων καὶ συνημμένων ὄντων ὡς ἄγονται παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, λ τὸ τοιοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τ. πάλιν τῶν τεσσάρων ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐκτεταμένων καὶ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος ὑπὲρ τὸν λιχανὸν ὥσπερ γάμμα κειμένου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐξωθεν ἀποβλέποντος μέρος, ἐν τῇ λαιᾷ δηλοῖ μ καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ υ. πάλιν ὡσαύτως τῶν τεσσάρων ἠπλωμένων κατ' εὐθείαν καὶ⁶¹ κεκολλημένων τοῦ δ' ἀντίχειρος ὥσπερ γάμμα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐξωθεν μέρους κειμένου ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει τοῦ λιχανοῦ, ν δηλοῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ φ. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων καὶ τοῦ λιχανοῦ κυκλικῶς τῷ ἀντίχειρι ἐπιφερομένου ἄχρις ἂν προσψαύσῃ τῷ μέσῳ κονδύλῳ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ δευτέρου ἄρθρου τὸ δ' ἄκρον τοῦ αὐτοῦ λιχανοῦ τῷ στήθει συμπέσῃ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος, ξ δηλοῖ καὶ χ. πάλιν ὁμοίως τῶν τριῶν ἠπλωμένων – ὡς καὶ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν – συνημμένως κειμένου καὶ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος τῷ λιχανῷ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄκρῳνον τοῦ ἀντίχειρος ἐλικοειδῶς ἐπιφερομένου τοῦ λιχανοῦ, ο δηλοῖ καὶ ψ. πάλιν τῶν τριῶν ἰσταμένων ὡς ἐν |_{174r} σχήματι γωνίας καὶ πρὸς τὴν παλάμην διήθεν βλεπόντων, τοῦ δ' ἀντίχειρος ἐπάνω τοῦ μέσου καὶ τρίτου δακτύλου τῷ τρίτῳ κονδύλῳ τῷ πρὸς τῇ ρίζῃ ὄντι τοῦ αὐτοῦ δακτύλου κειμένου καὶ πρὸς τὴν παλάμην ἡρμοσμένου, καὶ τοῦ λιχανοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀντίχειρος κειμένου ἐπὶ τῷ πρώτῳ ἄρθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἄχρις οὗ τὸ τούτου ἄκρῳ⁶² ἐπὶ τῷ στήθει συμπέσῃ τοῦ ἀντίχειρος, ὀγδοήκοντα τὸ τοιοῦτον δηλοῖ καὶ ω. αὐθις τὴν χεῖρα παλαιστοῦ δίκην συστεύλας, ὀρθίον ὄντος τοῦ ἀντίχειρος, καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ἐκτείνας δακτύλους, τὸν δὲ λιχανὸν ἀφείς ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς συστολῆς τοῦ γρόνθου ἐγένετο, τὸ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἐν μὲν τῇ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ δηλοῖ ἐννεμήκοντα ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ ς.

Τὰ δὲ παρεπόμενα εἰσὶ ταῦτα ἐξ τὸν ἀριθμὸν· πρῶτον ἕκθεσις τῶν στοιχείων, δεῦτερον σύνθεσις⁶³, τρίτον ἀφαίρεσις, τέταρτον πολλαπλασιασμός, πέμπτον μερισμός, ἕκτον εὕρεσις τῆς τετραγωνικῆς πλευρᾶς. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῶν στοιχείων εἴρηται· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴρησεται.

περὶ συνθέσεως. β

σύνθεσις μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἔνωσης δύο |_{174v} καὶ τριῶν ἀριθμῶν εἰς ἑνὸς ποσότητα· οἶον ἔν καὶ δύο, τρία· γ καὶ γ, ς· ς καὶ δ, ι· ι καὶ ε, ιε· ιε καὶ ς, κα· κα καὶ ζ, κη· κη καὶ η, λς· λς καὶ θ, με· ἰδὸν τὰ δύο μετὰ τῆς μονάδος συντεθέντα τὸν τρία ἀριθμὸν ἀπῆρτισαν, καὶ πάλιν ὁ γ μετὰ τοῦ γ, ς, καὶ ἐξῆς.

περὶ ἐκβολῆς. γ

Ἐκβολὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀφαίρεσις ἡττονος ἀριθμοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος· αἰεὶ γὰρ ὁ μέλλων ἐκβληθήσεται ἐλάττων δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ ἀφ' οὗ ἐκβάλ[λ]εται. ἔστω δὲ καθ' ὑπόδειξιν ὅτι βούλομαι ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν με, θ· καταλιμπάνεται δὴ λς· καὶ πάλιν ὀκτώ ἀπὸ τῶν λς· καταλιμπάνεται κη· καὶ ζ ἀπὸ τοῦ κη· λοιπὰ ἔμειναν κα· καὶ ς τοῦ κα· λοιπὰ ιε· καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ αὐτῇ ἀκολουθία. δῆλη δὲ σοι γενήσεται ἢ τε ἐκβολὴ καὶ ἢ σύνθεσις ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπροσθεν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκτεθησομένης ταύλας, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Παλαμήδους ἐμάθομεν, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ πολλαπλασιασμός.

περὶ πολλαπλασιασμοῦ. δ

⁶⁰ ἴση γραμμῇ corruptum **B** : ἴση συγγραμμῇ **V**

⁶¹ καὶ s.l. suppl. m.2 **B**

⁶² ἄκρῳ **BV** : lege ἄκρον

⁶³ δεῦτερον σύνθεσις marg. suppl. m.2 **B**

Ἀριθμὸς ἀριθμὸν πολλαπλασιάζειν λέγομεν ὅταν, ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ μονάδες, τοσαυτάκις $|_{175r}$ συντεθῇ ὁ πολλαπλασιαζόμενος καὶ γένηται τις ἕτερος. οἷον ἐπὶ παραδείγματος, τετράκις τὰ τέσσαρα, ἰς· πεντάκις τὰ⁶⁴ η, μ. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιάσῃ, τότε ὁ γινόμενος ἀριθμὸς τετράγωνος ἐστὶν ἰσόπλευρος· ὅταν δὲ ἀριθμὸς τὸν μονάδι ἐλάττονα ἑαυτοῦ ἢ μείζονα πολλαπλασιάσῃ, τότε ὁ γινόμενος (τετράγωνος) ἐστὶν ἐπιμήκης· ὅταν δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιάσῃ, εἴτα τὸν πολλαπλασιασθέντα πάλιν ὁ αὐτός, τότε ὁ γινόμενος κύβος ἐστί.

ε. περὶ μερισμοῦ

Μερισμὸς δὲ ἐστὶν, ὅταν μερίζοντες ἀριθμὸν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν σκοπῶμεν τί ἐκάστη μονάδι τοῦ παρ' ὃν ὁ μερισμὸς γίνεται ἐπιβάλλει, οἷον ὅταν τὸν ιβ ἐπὶ τὸν γ μερίζοντες σκοπῶμεν τί ἐκάστη μονάδι⁶⁵ τοῦ [[δ]] γ ἐπιβάλλει· ἐπιβάλλουσι δὲ τέσσαρες μονάδες, ἐπεὶ καὶ τρις τὰ τέσσαρα, ιβ. μερίζεται δὲ καὶ ἐλάττων ἀριθμὸς πρὸς μείζονα· ἔνθα σκοπεῖται ἐκάστη μονάδι τοῦ μείζονος ἀριθμοῦ τί μέρος μονάδος ἐπιβάλλει. οἷον ὅταν τὸν δ ἐπὶ τὸν ις μερίζοντες σκοπῶμεν τί μέρος μονάδος $|_{175v}$ ἐκάστη τοῦ ις ἐπιβάλλει· ἐπιβάλλει δὲ τέταρτον, ἐπεὶ τετράκις τὰ τέσσαρα, ις – ὅσαι γὰρ μονάδες ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐκάστη μονάδι τοῦ ἐλάττονος τοῦ μείζονος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μεριζομένου, εἰς τοσαῦτα μέρη διαιρεῖν δεῖ τὴν μονάδα τοῦ ἐλάττονος ἐπὶ τὸν μείζονα μεριζομένου καὶ νομίζειν ἕκαστον μόριον ἐκάστη μονάδι ἐπιβάλλειν. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ μερισμοῦ ἔστωσαν.

περὶ τῆς (τετραγωνικῆς) πλευρᾶς

Πλευρὰ δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἀληθοῦς τετραγώνου δήλη σχεδὸν πᾶσιν· ὁ γὰρ πολλαπλασιασθεὶς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριθμὸς καὶ ἀποτελέσας τὸν (τετράγωνον) ἀριθμὸν οὗτος ἐστὶν ἡ πλευρὰ αὐτοῦ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀληθοῦς τετραγώνου οὐ ῥαδίᾳ εἰς κατάληψιν καὶ διδάσκοντος αὐτὴν τινός· διὸ τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἐν ἄλλοις ἐταμειύσαμεν.

ἄριστον δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς ἀναλογίας τῶν ἀριθμῶν διαλαβεῖν. εἰσὶ δὴ τῶν ἀριθμῶν τάξεις ἑννέα, ἐκ τῆς ὑπερκοσμίου καὶ νοεράς ἑννάδος τὴν μίμησιν ἔχουσαι, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖναι τὰς ἐλλάμψεις ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀϊδίου φωτός ἔχουσιν, οὕτω κἀνταῦθα $|_{176r}$ οἱ ἀριθμοὶ ἐκ τῆς μονάδος τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντες κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν ἔχουσι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις, οἱ πρῶτοι πρώτως καὶ οἱ ὕστατοι ὕστατον· πάντες δ' ὡς ἔφημεν ἀπὸ μονάδος τὴν γένεσιν ἔχουσιν· ἡ γὰρ μονὰς ἀριθμὸς οὐκ οὔσα γεννητικὴ ἐστὶν ἀριθμῶν, πηγὴ οὔσα καὶ ρίζα καὶ ἀφορμὴ πλήθους παντός, εἰκόνα σώζουσα θεῖου· ἐρωτώμενοι γὰρ τί ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς φαμὲν σωρεῖα μονάδων ἢ μονάδων σύνθεσις.

περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀριθμῶν

καὶ πρωτίστη μὲν τάξις πασῶν⁶⁶ ἀριθμῶν αἱ μονάδες πεφύκασιν, δευτέρα δ' αὖ αἱ δεκάδες, τρίτη αἱ ἑκατοντάδες, τετάρτη [[αἱ]]⁶⁷ χιλιοντάδες, πέμπτη μοναδικαὶ μυριάδες, ἕκτη δεκαδικαὶ μυριάδες⁶⁸, ἑβδόμη ἑκατονταδικαὶ μυριάδες, ὀγδόη χιλιονταδικαὶ μυριάδες, καὶ ἑννάτη μυριονταδικαὶ μυριάδες⁶⁹, περαιτέρω δὲ τούτων τάξιν ἀριθμῶν οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν. πρόσχεος δὴ ὅπως καὶ ἡ τούτων ἀναλογία προχωρεῖ⁷⁰. ταῖς ἑννέα μονάσι μονάδα μίαν προσθεὶς δεκάδα μίαν ἐπλήρωσας· οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῖς ἑννέα δεκάσι $|_{176v}$ δεκάδα μίαν προσθεὶς ἑκατοντάδα ἀναλόγως τελέσεις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς τάξεσι τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἢ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀκολουθία.

ὑπάρχουσι δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν αἱ μονάδες θεμέλιοι· πρὸς τὴν τάξιν γὰρ καὶ κλῆσιν ἑνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἐκάστης τάξεως τῶν μονάδων λαμβάνεις θεμέλιον.

περὶ τοῦ θεμελίου αὐτῶν

οἷον εἰ θέλεις εὑρεῖν τοῦ ι καὶ ρ ἐν ταῖς μονάσι θεμέλιον, λαμβάνεις τὴν μονάδα, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῶν μετ' αὐτὴν μονάδων, ὥς καὶ ὁ ι καὶ ρ πρῶτοι ἀριθμοὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐρίσκονται τάξεων. ὡσαύτως πάλιν καὶ τοῦ κ καὶ σ βάθρον ἐστὶν ἡ δυάς, καὶ τῶν λ καὶ τ ἐστὶν ἡ τριάς, τῶν μ καὶ υ ἡ

⁶⁴ τὰ s.l. m.1 B

⁶⁵ μονάδι s.l. m.1 B

⁶⁶ πασῶν sic BV

⁶⁷ αἱ eras. m.2 B

⁶⁸ ἕκτη δεκαδικαὶ μυριάδες marg. m.2 B

⁶⁹ ὀγδόη — μυριονταδικαὶ μυριάδες marg. m.2 B

⁷⁰ προχωρεῖ προ- m.2 B

τετράς⁷¹, τῶν δὲ ν καὶ φ ἔστιν ἡ πεντάς⁷², τῶν δὲ ξ καὶ χ ἡ ἐξάς, τῶν ο καὶ ψ ἡ ἐπτάς, τῶν π καὶ ω ἡ ὀκτάς, τῶν ρ καὶ ρ ἡ ἐννάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξῆς τάξεων ἡ αὐτὴ μέθοδος. ἵνα δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποδείγματος σαφέστερον γένηται τὸ λεγόμενον, |_{177r} ἔστω δ τι ἡρωτήτης, λ καὶ ἐννεήκοντα πόσος ἀριθμὸς γίνεται, καὶ οὐ δύνῃ ῥαδίως ἐκ τῆς ἀμαθίας τοῦτον εὑρεῖν. λαβὼν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν μονάδων τοὺς παρωνύμους καὶ ἰσοταγεῖς ἀριθμούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ φανεροῦ τὸν μείζονα εὑρήσεις – τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ὥσπερ ἄρα καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν – λαμβάνεται δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν λ ἡ τριάς, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ρ ἡ ἐννάς (ἀναλογουσι γάρ), οἱ συντιθέμενοι δώδεκα ποιοῦσι μονάδας. οὐκοῦν καὶ αἱ τρεῖς δεκάδες μετὰ τῶν θ δεκάδων ἐνούμεναι δύο καὶ ι ποιοῦσι δεκάδας (ἡγουν ρ καὶ κ), ἐπειδὴ, ὡς προέφημεν, προστεθείσης τῇ ἐννάδι μονάδος μιᾶς δεκάς ἀποτελεῖται μία, καὶ οὐκέτι ι μονάδας⁷³ ἔκτοτε τὸν γινόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ δεκάδα μίαν ταύτην καλοῦμεν. ὡς ποιοῦντες ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν δεκάδων τάξεως καὶ πάλιν προστεθείσης ταῖς ἐννέα δεκάσι δεκάδος μιᾶς, οὐ[[κέτι]] |_{177v} δέκα⁷⁴ δεκάδας τὸν γινόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἑκατοντάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. λέγομεν οὖν τὰς ιβ μονάδας δεκάδα μίαν καὶ μίαν δυάδα (ἡγουν ι καὶ δύο), καὶ τὰς ιβ δεκάδας ὁμοίως ἑκατοντάδα μίαν καὶ μίαν εἰκάδα⁷⁵, ἥτοι ρκ. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκολουθία, κἂν εἰς ἄπειρον δεήσειε προχωρεῖν.

λάμβανε δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν μέθοδον καθολικὴν εἰς παντὸς πολλαπλασιασμὸν ἀριθμοῦ τῶν προτέρων καινοπρεπεστέραν καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν καὶ ὡς πέρ τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν ἐπισφράγισμα δι' ἐπιστημονικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων κανονικῶν λόγων ἐκτεθειμένην, ἥτις καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη.

μέθοδος μονάδων

Αἱ μονάδες ἀλλήλαις συντιθέμεναι καὶ πολλαπλασιαζόμεναι γεννῶσι⁷⁶ μονάδας⁷⁷ καὶ⁷⁸ δεκάδας⁷⁹. οἶον⁸⁰ ὡς ἐν ὑποδείγματι ἐξάκις τὰ ζ, μβ. ἰδὸν τὰ μὲν ζ καὶ ζ μονάδες εἰσὶ πάντως, καὶ πολλαπλασιασθεῖσαι ἔτεκον τὸν τεσσαρακοστόδουον ἀριθμόν, ὃς ἔστι τέσσαρες |_{178r} δεκάδες καὶ δύο μονάδες.

Πάλιν αἱ μονάδες μετὰ τῶν δεκάδων πολλαπλασιαζόμεναι ποιοῦσι δεκάδας καὶ ἑκατοντάδας. καὶ ὅρα πῶς γίνεται. ἐξάκις τὰ ο, υκ. ἰδὸν τὰ μὲν ἐξ εἰσὶ μονάδες τὰ δὲ ο δεκάδες, καὶ ἔτεκον τὰ υκ, ἃ εἰσὶ τέσσαρες ἑκατοντάδες καὶ δύο δεκάδες, καὶ ἡ ἀπόδειξις ἀληθής.

Αἱ δὲ μονάδες μετὰ τῶν ἑκατοντάδων ποιοῦσιν ἑκατοντάδας καὶ χιλιοντάδας. οἶον ἐξάκις τὰ ψ, ,δσ. ἔχεις τὰ μὲν ἐξ μονάδας τὰ δὲ ψ ἑκατοντάδας, ἃ ἐγέννησαν τὸν ,δσ. καὶ εἰσὶ πάντως τὰ μὲν ,δ χιλιάδες δ τὰ δὲ σ δύο ἑκατοντάδες, καὶ ἀληθὴς ἡ ἀπόδειξις.

Καὶ αὐθις αἱ μονάδες ἐπὶ χιλιάδων μετροῦμεναι γεννῶσι χιλιοντάδας καὶ μοναδικὰς μυριάδας· ἐξάκις γὰρ τὰ ζ τετρακισμύρια δισχίλια γίνονται. ἰδὸν τὰ μὲν ἐξ, ὡς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, μονάδες εἰσὶ τὰ δὲ ζ χιλιοντάδες, καὶ ἀπετέλεσαν |_{178v} ἐκ τοῦ πολλαπλασίου τὰς δ μυριάδας καὶ τὰ δισχίλια. καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι τὰ δ' μοναδικαὶ μυριάδες εἰσὶ δ τὰ δὲ ,β χιλιοντάδες β, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἔστι πρὸς πάντα ἡ μέθοδος.

Μετὰ δὲ μυριάδων ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν μοναδικῶν μυριάδων ποιοῦσι δεκαδικὰς καὶ μοναδικὰς μυριάδας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν δεκαδικῶν, ἑκατοκαδικὰς καὶ δεκαδικὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἦν εἰρήκαμεν.

⁷¹ τετράς] e πεντάς fecit m.2 B

⁷² τῶν δὲ ν — πεντάς marg. m.2 B

⁷³ ι μονάδας e corr. m.2 B

⁷⁴ δέκα marg. m.1 B

⁷⁵ εἰκάδα] εἰ– fecit e δε– m.2 B

⁷⁶ ante γεννῶσι add. ποτὲ μὲν marg. m.2 B

⁷⁷ post μονάδας add. *legi nequit* ὡς τὸ τριάκις τὰ γ, θ marg. m.2 B

⁷⁸ καὶ eras. et scr. ποτὲ s.l. m.2 B : in textu ποτὲ δὲ V

⁷⁹ post δεκάδας add. μόνον s.l. m.2 B : in textu μόνον dein spatium 12 litt. et in marg. *puto* ἄπαξ τὸ α, α *puto* διστάκις τὰ β, δ, dein in textu τριστάκις τὰ γ, θ V

⁸⁰ post οἶον add. ὡς τὸ τετράκις τὰ ε, κ. καταχρηστικῶς ἔστι καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μονάδας καὶ δεκάδας. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος καὶ εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις τῶν ἀριθμῶν διαβήσεται ἀναλόγως marg. m.2 B : ante οἶον in textu ὡς τὸ τετράκις τὰ ε, κ. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καθὼς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μονάδας καὶ δεκάδας. ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος κτλ. V

μέθοδος δεκάδων⁸¹

Αἱ [[δὲ]] δεκάδες δ' ἀλλήλαις καὶ αὗται πολλαπλασιαζόμεναι γεννῶσιν ἑκατοντάδας καὶ χιλιοντάδας. οἷον ἐπὶ παραδείγματος ἐξηκοντάκις τὰ π, ,δω. ἰδοὺ πάντως τὰ μὲν ξ καὶ π δεκάδες εἰσὶ τὰ δὲ ,δ εἰσὶ δ χιλιάδες καὶ τὰ ω ἑκατοντάδες η. μετὰ δὲ ἑκατοντάδων αἱ δεκάδες μετρούμεναι ποιοῦσι χιλιοντάδας καὶ μοναδικὰς μυριάδας. οἷον [[τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα]] ἐβδομηκοντάκις τὰ ,ζ, ζ', γ. μετὰ χιλιοντάδων δὲ ποιοῦσι μυριάδας μοναδικὰς καὶ δεκαδικὰς, ὡς τὸ π^{κς}, θ, ο'β'.

_{|179r} μέθοδος ἑκατοντάδων

Αἱ ἑκατοντάδες ἀλλήλαις πολλαπλασιαζόμεναι ποιοῦσι μοναδικὰς μυριάδας καὶ δεκαδικὰς. οἷον τετρακοσοντάκις⁸² τὰ ἐννακόσια, λ'ζ'. εἰσὶ γοῦν τὰ μὲν υ καὶ ,χ ἑκατοντάδες τὰ δὲ λ'ζ' δεκάδες καὶ μονάδες⁸³.

Μετὰ δὲ χιλιάδων ἀπαριθμοῦμεναι ποιοῦσι μυριάδας δεκαδικὰς καὶ ἑκατονταδικὰς. οἷον ἑξακοσοντάκις τὰ ,η, υπ μυριάδες.

μέθοδος χιλιοντάδων

Αἱ χιλιοντάδες καὶ αὗται ἀλλήλαις πολλαπλασιαζόμεναι ποιοῦσιν ἑκατονταδικὰς μυριάδας καὶ χιλιονταδικὰς. ἔστω σοι καὶ τοῦτο καθ' ὑπόδειξιν ἐπὶ παραδείγματος οὕτως. ἐπτάκις⁸⁴ χιλιοντάκις ,ζ, τετρακισχίλια ἐννακόσια μυριάδες. ἰδοὺ τὰ μὲν ,ζ καὶ ,ζχιλι{οντ}άδες⁸⁵ εἰσὶ, καὶ πολλαπλασιασθεῖσαι ἀπεγέννησαν τὰς ,δ' ,χ', καὶ δῆλον λοιπὸν ὡς πανταχοῦ ἀληθὴς εὐρέθη ἡ μέθοδος.

Εἰ δὲ μέχρις ἀπείρου τὸν πολλαπλασιασμὸν ἐπεκτείνει⁸⁶ καὶ μυριάδας ἐπὶ μυριάδας ἀριθμεῖν⁸⁷, τὰς προγραφείσας μεθόδους ὀφείλεις κρατεῖν καὶ ἀναλογίζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ· ἱκανὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντως οἶμαι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι ἔστωσαν πρὸς κατάληψιν. _{|179v}

πλινθὶς ἀρίστη τῆς τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν στοιχείων καταγραφῆς

θ	ο	,χ	,θ	θ'	ο'	,χ'	,θ'	θ''
η	π	ω	,η	η'	π'	ω'	,η'	η''
ζ	ο	ψ	,ζ	ζ'	ο'	ψ'	,ζ'	ζ''
ς	ξ	χ	,ς	ς'	ξ'	χ'	,ς'	ς''
ε	ν	φ	,ε	ε'	ν'	φ'	,ε'	ε''
δ	μ	υ	,δ	δ'	μ'	υ'	,δ'	δ''
γ	λ	τ	,γ	γ'	λ'	τ'	,γ'	γ''
β	κ	σ	,β	β'	κ'	σ'	,β'	β''
α	ι	ρ	,α	α'	ι'	ρ'	,α'	α''
μονάδες	δεκάδες	ἑκατοντάδες	χιλιοντάδες	μοναδικαὶ μυριάδες	δεκαδικαὶ μυριάδες	ἑκατονταδικαὶ μυριάδες	χιλιονταδικαὶ μυριάδες	μυριοντάκις μυριάδες

⁸¹ καὶ ἔτι ἑκατοντάδας ὁμοῦ καὶ χιλιοντάδας add. marg. m.2 **B**

⁸² τετρακοσοντάκις **BV** : *puto* τετρακοσιοντάκις marg. **V**

⁸³ δεκάδες καὶ μονάδες **BV** : *lege* δεκαδικαὶ μυριάδες καὶ μοναδικαὶ

⁸⁴ ἐπτάκις s.l. m.1 **B**

⁸⁵ –οντ– s.l. m.2 **B**

⁸⁶ ἐπεκτείνει^ς] *ē fecit ex ā* m.1 **B**

⁸⁷ ἀριθμεῖς **V** : ἀριθμεῖν **B**

tabulae deperditae ante f. 180, a V suppletae

ἀρχὴ συνθέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως. δευτέρα στάσις.				β	θ	ια	β	ς	ς	ιβ	ς
				γ	γ	ς	γ	ς	ζ	ιγ	ς
				γ	δ	ζ	γ	ς	η	ιδ	ς
				γ	ε	η	γ	ς	θ	ιε	ς
α	α	β	α	γ	ς	θ	γ	ζ	ζ	ιδ	ζ
α	β	γ	α	γ	ζ	ι	γ	ζ	η	ιε	ζ
α	γ	δ	α	γ	η	ια	γ	ζ	θ	ις	ζ
α	δ	ε	α	γ	θ	ιβ	γ	η	η	ις	η
α	ε	ς	α	δ	δ	η	δ	η	θ	ις	η
α	ς	ζ	α	δ	ε	θ	δ	θ	θ	ιη	θ
α	ζ	η	α	δ	ς	ι	δ	ι	ι	κ	ι
α	η	θ	α	δ	ζ	ια	δ	ι	κ	λ	ι
α	θ	ι	α	δ	η	ιβ	δ	ι	λ	μ	ι
β	β	δ	β	δ	θ	ιγ	δ	ι	μ	ν	ι
β	γ	ε	β	ε	ε	ι	ε	ι	ν	ξ	ι
β	δ	ς	β	ε	ς	ια	ε	ι	ξ	ο	ι
β	ε	ζ	β	ε	ζ	ιβ	ε	ι	ο	π	ι
β	ς	η	β	ε	η	ιγ	ε	ι	π	ρ	ι
β	ζ	θ	β	ε	θ	ιδ	ε	ι	ρ	ρ	ι

κ	κ	μ	κ	μ	ξ	ρ	μ	ρ	ρ	ρπ	ρ
κ	λ	ν	κ	μ	ο	ρι	μ	ρ	ρ	σ	ρ
κ	μ	ξ	κ	μ	π	ρκ	μ	ρ	σ	τ	ρ
κ	ν	ο	κ	μ	ρ	ρλ	μ	ρ	τ	υ	ρ
κ	ξ	π	κ	ν	ν	ρ	ν	ρ	υ	φ	ρ
κ	ο	ρ	κ	ν	ξ	ρι	ν	ρ	φ	χ	ρ
κ	π	ρ	κ	ν	ο	ρκ	ν	ρ	χ	ψ	ρ
κ	ρ	ρι	κ	ν	π	ρλ	ν	ρ	ψ	ω	ρ
λ	λ	ξ	λ	ν	ρ	ρμ	ν	ρ	ω	ῥ	ρ
λ	μ	ο	λ	ξ	ξ	ρκ	ξ	ρ	ῥ	,α	ρ
λ	ν	π	λ	ξ	ο	ρλ	ξ	σ	σ	υ	σ
λ	ξ	ρ	λ	ξ	π	ρμ	ξ	σ	τ	φ	σ
λ	ο	ρ	λ	ξ	ρ	ρν	ξ	σ	υ	χ	σ
λ	π	ρι	λ	ο	ο	ρμ	ο	σ	φ	ψ	σ
λ	ρ	ρκ	λ	ο	π	ρν	ο	σ	χ	ω	σ
μ	μ	π	μ	ο	ρ	ρξ	ο	σ	ψ	ῥ	σ
μ	ν	ρ	μ	π	π	ρξ	π	σ	ω	,α	σ
				π	ρ	ρο	π	σ	ῥ	,αρ	σ

finis tabularum deperditarum

|181r

α	,ς	,ς	β	π	ρξ	γ	γ	θ
α	,ς	,ς	β	ρ	ρπ	γ	δ	ιβ
α	,η	,η	β	ρ	σ	γ	ε	ιε
α	,θ	,θ	β	σ	υ	γ	ς	ιη
α	α'	α'	β	τ	χ	γ	ζ	κα
β	β	δ	β	υ	ω	γ	η	κδ
β	γ	ς	β	φ	,α	γ	θ	κζ
β	δ	η	β	χ	,ασ	γ	ι	λ
β	ε	ι	β	ψ	,αυ	γ	κ	ξ
β	ς	ιβ	β	ω	,αχ	γ	λ	ρ
β	ζ	ιδ	β	ϑ	,αω	γ	μ	ρκ
β	η	ις	β	,α	,β	γ	ν	ρν
β	θ	ιη	β	,β	,δ	γ	ξ	ρπ
β	ι	κ	β	,γ	,ς	γ	ο	σι
β	κ	μ	β	,δ	,η	γ	π	σμ
β	λ	ξ	β	,ε	α'	γ	ρ	σο
β	μ	π	β	,ς	α',β	γ	ρ	τ
β	ν	ρ	β	,ζ	α',δ	γ	σ	χ
β	ξ	ρκ	β	,η	α',ς	γ	τ	ϑ
β	ο	ρμ	β	,θ	α',η	γ	υ	,ασ
			β	α'	β'	γ	φ	,αφ
						γ	χ	,αω

|181v

γ	ψ	,βρ	δ	λ	ρκ	δ	,ζ	β',η
γ	ω	,βυ	δ	μ	ρξ	δ	,η	γ',β
γ	ϑ	,βψ	δ	ν	σ	δ	,θ	γ',ς
γ	,α	,γ	δ	ξ	σμ	δ	α'	δ'
γ	,β	,ς	δ	ο	σπ	ε	ε	κε
γ	,γ	,θ	δ	π	τκ	ε	ς	λ
γ	,δ	α',β	δ	ρ	τξ	ε	ζ	λε
γ	,ε	α',ε	δ	σ	υ	ε	η	μ
γ	,ς	α',η	δ	τ	ω	ε	θ	με
γ	,ζ	β',α	δ	υ	,ασ	ε	ι	ν
γ	,η	β',δ	δ	φ	,αχ	ε	κ	ρ
γ	,θ	β',ς	δ	χ	,β	ε	λ	ρν
γ	α'	γ'	δ	ψ	,βυ	ε	μ	σ ⁸⁸
δ	δ	ις	δ	ω	,βω	ε	ν	σν
δ	ε	κ	δ	ϑ	,γσ	ε	ξ	τ
δ	ς	κδ	δ	α	,γχ	ε	ο	τν
δ	ζ	κη	δ	,α	,δ	ε	π	υ
δ	η	λβ	δ	,β	,η	ε	ρ	υν
δ	θ	λς	δ	,γ	α',β	ε	σ	φ
δ	ι	μ	δ	,δ	α',ς	ε	τ	,α
δ	κ	π	δ	,ε	β'	ε	υ	,αφ
			δ	,ς	β',δ	ε		,β

⁸⁸ {ε} λ ρν || {ε} μ σ marg. m.2 B

182r

ε	φ	,βφ	ς	ι	ξ	ς	,β	α',β
ε	χ	,γ	ς	κ	ρκ	ς	,γ	α',η
ε	ψ	,γφ	ς	λ	ρπ	ς	,δ	β',δ
ε	ω	,δ	ς	μ	σμ	ς	,ε	γ',ς
ε	θ	,δφ	ς	ν	τ	ς	,ς	γ',ς
ε	,α	,ε	ς	ξ	τξ	ς	,ς	δ',β
ε	,β	α'	ς	ο	υκ	ς	,η	δ',η
ε	,γ	α',ε	ς	π	υπ	ς	,θ	ε',δ
ε	,δ	β',ε	ς	ρ	φμ	ς	α'	ς'
ε	,ε	β',ε	ς	σ	χ	ς	ς	μθ
ε	,ς	γ'	ς	τ	,ασ	ς	η	νς
ε	,ζ	γ',ε	ς	υ	,αω	ς	θ	ξγ
ε	,η	δ'	ς	φ	,βυ	ς	ι	ο
ε	,θ	δ',ε	ς	χ	,γ	ς	κ	ρμ
ε	α'	ε'	ς	ψ	,γγ	ς	λ	σι
ς	ς	λς	ς	ω	,δσ	ς	μ	σπ
ς	ζ	μβ	ς	θ	,δω	ς	ν	τν
ς	η	μη	ς	α	,ευ	ς	ξ	υκ
ς	θ	νδ	ς	,α	,ς	ς	ο	υρ

182v

ς	π	φξ	η	η	ξδ	η	,ε	δ'
ς	ρ	χλ	η	θ	οβ	η	,ς	δ',μ ⁸⁹
ς	σ	ψ	η	ι	π	η	,ζ	ε',ς
ς	τ	,βρ	η	κ	ρξ	η	,η	ς',δ
ς	υ	,βω	η	λ	ρμ ⁹⁰	η	,θ	ς',β
ς	φ	,γφ	η	μ	τκ	η	α'	η'
ς	χ	,δσ	η	ν	υ	θ	θ	πα
ς	ψ	,δθ	η	ξ	υπ	θ	ι	ρ
ς	ω	,εχ	η	ο	φξ	θ	κ	ρπ
ς	θ	,ςτ	η	π	χμ	θ	λ	σο
ς	,α	,ς	η	ρ	ψκ	θ	μ	τξ
ς	,β	α',δ	η	σ	,αχ	θ	ν	υν
ς	,γ	β',α	η	τ	,βτ ⁹¹	θ	ξ	φμ
ς	,δ	β',η	η	υ	,γσ	θ	ο	χλ
ς	,ε	γ',ε	η	φ	,δ	θ	π	ψκ
ς	,ς	δ',β	η	χ	,δω	θ	ρ	ωι
ς	,ζ	δ',θ	η	ψ	,εχ	θ	σ	,αω
ς	,η	ε',ς	η	ω	,ςυ	θ	τ	,βψ
ς	,θ	ς',γ	η	θ	,ζσ	θ	υ	,γγ
ς	α'	ς'	η	,α	,η	θ	φ	,δφ
			η	,β	α',ς	θ	χ	,ευ
			η	,γ	β',δ	θ	ψ	,ςτ
			η	,δ	γ',β			

⁸⁹ δ',μ **B** : δ',η

⁹⁰ ρμ **B** : lege σμ

⁹¹ ,βτ **B** : lege ,βυ sicut in **V**

183r								
θ	ω	,ζσ	ι	μ	υ	ι	,ζ	ζ'
θ	ᾱ	,ηρ	ι	ν	φ	ι	,η	η'
θ	,α	,θ	ι	ξ	χ	ι	,θ	θ'
θ	,β	α',η	ι	ο	ψ	ι	α'	ι'
θ	,γ	β',ζ	ι	π	ω	κ	κ	υ
θ	,δ	γ',ς	ι	ρ	ᾱ	κ	λ	χ
θ	,ε	δ',ε	ι	σ	,β	κ	μ	ω
θ	,ς	ε',δ	ι	τ	,γ	κ	ν	,α
θ	,ζ	ς',γ	ι	υ	,δ	κ	ξ	,ασ
θ	,η	ζ',β	ι	φ	,ε	κ	ο	,αυ
θ	,θ	η',α	ι	χ	,ς	κ	π	,αχ
πολλαπλασιασμός ἀπλῶς δεκαδικῶν ἀριθμῶν μετὰ δεκαδικῶν μετὰ ἑκατονταδικῶν καὶ μετὰ χιλιονταδικῶν. στάσις τετάρτη.			ι	ψ	,ζ	κ	ρ	,β
			ι	ω	,η	κ	σ	,δ
			ι	ᾱ	,θ	κ	τ	,ς
			ι	,α	α'	κ	υ	,η
ι	ι	ρ	ι	,β	β'	κ	φ	α'
ι	κ	σ	ι	,γ	γ'	κ	χ	α',β
ι	λ	τ	ι	,δ	δ'	κ	ψ	α',δ
			ι	,ε	ε'	κ	ω	α',ς
			ι	,ς	ς'	κ	ᾱ	α',η

183v								
κ	,α	β'	λ	χ	α',η	μ	σ	,η
κ	,β	δ'	λ	ψ	β',α	μ	τ	α',β
κ	,γ	ς'	λ	ω	β',δ	μ	υ	α',ς
κ	,δ	η'	λ	ᾱ	β',ζ	μ	φ	β'
κ	,ε	ι'	λ	,α	γ'	μ	χ	β',δ
κ	,ς	ι'β'	λ	,β	ς'	μ	ψ	β',η
κ	,ζ	ι'δ'	λ	,γ	θ'	μ	ω	γ',β
κ	,η	ι'ς'	λ	,δ	ι'β'	μ	ᾱ	γ',ς
κ	,θ	ι'η'	λ	,ε	ι'ε'	μ	,α	δ'
κ	α'	κ'	λ	,ς	ι'η'	μ	,β	η'
λ	λ	ᾱ	λ	,ζ	κ'α'	μ	,γ	ι',β
λ	μ	,ασ	λ	,η	κ'δ'	μ	,δ	ι',ς
λ	ν	,αφ	λ	,θ	κ'ζ'	μ	,ε	κ'
λ	ξ	,αω	λ	α'	λ'	μ	,ς	κ',δ
λ	ο	,βρ	μ	μ	,αχ	μ	,ζ	κ',η
λ	π	,βυ	μ	ν	,β	μ	,η	λ',β
λ	ρ	,βψ	μ	ξ	,βυ	μ	,θ	λ',ς ⁹²
λ	ρ	,γ	μ	ο	,βω	μ	α'	μ'
λ	σ	,ς	μ	π	,γσ	ν	ν	,βφ
λ	τ	,θ	μ	ρ	,γχ	ν	ξ	,γ
λ	υ	α',β	μ		,δ	ν	ο	,γφ
λ	φ	α',ε				ν	π	,δ

⁹² ι',β ι',ς κ',δ κ',η λ',β λ',ς **B** : lege ι'β' ι'ς' κ'δ' κ'η' λ'β' λ'ς' sicut marg. ὁ βιβλιογράφος *corrig.* +ι'β' *pro* ι',β || +ι'ς' *pro* ι',ς' || +κ'δ' *pro* κ',δ || +κ'η' *pro* κ',η || +λ'β' *pro* λ',β' || +λ'ς' *pro* λ',ς adnot. **V**

184r								
v	ρ	,δφ	ξ	ξ	,γλ	ξ	,η	μ'η'
v	ρ	,ε	ξ	ο	,δσ	ξ	,θ	ν'δ'
v	σ	α'	ξ	π	,δω	ξ	α'	ξ'
v	τ	α',ε	ξ	ρ	,ευ	ο	ο	,δθ
v	υ	β'	ξ	ρ	,ς	ο	π	,ελ
v	φ	β',ε	ξ	σ	α',β	ο	ρ	,ςτ
v	χ	γ'	ξ	τ	α',η	ο	ρ	,ζ
v	ψ	γ',ε	ξ	υ	β',δ	ο	σ	α',δ
v	ω	δ'	ξ	φ	β',ε ⁹³	ο	τ	β',α
v	θ	δ',ε	ξ	χ	γ',ς	ο	υ	β',η
v	,α	ε'	ξ	ψ	δ',β	ο	φ	γ',ε
v	,β	ι'	ξ	ω	δ',η	ο	χ	δ',β
v	,γ	ι'ε'	ξ	θ	ε',δ	ο	ψ	δ',θ
v	,δ	κ'	ξ	,α	ς'	ο	ω	ε',ς
v	,ε	κ'ε'	ξ	,β	ι'β'	ο	θ	ς',γ
v	,ς	λ'	ξ	,γ	ι'η'	ο	,α	ζ'
v	,ζ	λ'ε'	ξ	,δ	κ'δ'	ο	,β	ι'δ'
v	,η	μ'	ξ	,ε	λ'	ο	,γ	κ'α'
v	,θ	μ'ε'	ξ	,ς	λ'ς'	ο	,δ	κ'η'
v	α'	ν'	ξ	,ζ	μ'β'	ο	,ε	λ'ε'
						ο	,ς	μ'β'

184v								
ο	,ζ	μ'θ'	π	,η	ξ'δ'	ρ	α'	ρ'
ο	,η	ν'ς'	π	,θ	ο'β'	πολλαπλασιασμός ἀπλῶς ἐκατονταδικῶν ἀριθμῶν μετὰ ἐκατονταδικῶν καὶ μετὰ χιλιονταδικῶν. στάσις πέμπτη.		
ο	,θ	ξ'γ'	π	α'	π'			
ο	α'	ο'	ρ	ρ	,ηρ			
π	π	,ςυ	ρ	ρ	,θ			
π	ρ	,ζσ	ρ	σ	α',η			
π	ρ	,η	ρ	τ	β',ζ	ρ		
π	σ	α',ς	ρ	υ	γ',ς			
π	τ	β',δ	ρ	φ	δ',ε			
π	υ	γ',β	ρ	χ	ε',δ			
π	φ	δ'	ρ	ψ	ς',γ			
π	χ	δ',η	ρ	ω	ζ',β	ρ	ρ	α'
π	ψ	ε',ς	ρ	θ	η',α	ρ	σ	β'
π	ω	ς',δ	ρ	,α	θ'	ρ	τ	γ'
π	θ	ζ',β	ρ	,β	ι'η'	ρ	υ	δ'
π	,α	η'	ρ	,γ	κ'ς'	ρ	φ	ε'
π	,β	ι'ς'	ρ	,δ	λ'ς'	ρ	χ	ς'
π	,γ	κ'δ'	ρ	,ε	μ'ε'	ρ	ψ	ζ'
π	,δ	λ'β'	ρ	,ς	ν'δ'	ρ	ω	η'
π	,ε	μ'	ρ	,ζ	ξ'γ'	ρ	θ	θ'
π	,ς	μ'η'	ρ	,η	ο'β'	ρ	,α	ι'
π	,ζ	ν'ς'	ρ	,θ	π'α'	ρ	,β	κ'
							,γ	λ'

⁹³ β',ε BV : lege γ'

185r								
ρ	,δ	μ'	σ	α'	σ'	υ	,β	π'
ρ	,ε	ν'	τ	τ	θ'	υ	,γ	ρ'κ'
ρ	,ς	ξ'	τ	υ	ι'β'	υ	,δ	ρ'ξ'
ρ	,ζ	ο'	τ	φ	ι'ε'	υ	,ε	σ'
ρ	,η	π'	τ	χ	ι'η'	υ	,ς	σ'μ'
ρ	,θ	ρ'	τ	ψ	κ'α'	υ	,ζ	σ'π'
ρ	σ' ⁹⁴	ρ'	τ	ω	κ'δ'	υ	,η	τ'κ'
σ	σ	δ'	τ	ᾱ	κ'ζ'	υ	,θ	τ'ξ'
σ	τ	ς'	τ	,α	λ'	υ	α'	υ'
σ	υ	η'	τ	,β	ξ'	φ	φ	κ'ε'
σ	φ	ι'	τ	,γ	ρ'	φ	χ	λ'
σ	χ	ι'β'	τ	,δ	ρ'κ'	φ	ψ	λ'ε'
σ	ψ	ι'δ'	τ	,ε	ρ'ν'	φ	ω	μ'
σ	ω	ι'ς'	τ	,ς	ρ'π'	φ	ᾱ	μ'ε'
σ	ᾱ	ι'η'	τ	,ζ	σ'ι'	φ	,α	ν'
σ	,α	κ'	τ	,η	σ'μ'	φ	,β	ρ'
σ	,β	μ'	τ	,θ	σ'ο'	φ	,γ	ρ'ν'
σ	,γ	ξ'	τ	α'	τ'	φ	,δ	σ'
σ	,δ	π'	υ	υ	ι'ς'	φ	,ε	σ'ν'
σ	,ε	ρ'	υ	φ	κ'	φ	,ς	τ'
σ	,ς	ρ'κ'	υ	χ	κ'δ'	φ	,ζ	τ'ν'
σ	,ζ	ρ'μ'	υ	ψ	κ'η'	φ	,η	υ'
σ	,η	ρ'ξ'	υ	ω	λ'β'	φ	,θ	υ'ν'
σ	,θ	ρ'π'	υ	ᾱ	λ'ς'	φ	α'	φ'
			υ	,α	μ'			

185v								
χ	χ	λ'ς'	ψ	,ζ	υ'ρ'	ᾱ	,ς	φ'μ'
χ	ψ	μ'β'	ψ	,η	φ'ξ'	ᾱ	,ζ	χ'λ'
χ	ω	μ'η'	ψ	,θ	χ'λ'	ᾱ	,η	ψ'κ'
χ	ᾱ	ν'δ'	ψ	α'	ψ'	ᾱ	,θ	ω' ⁹⁵
χ	,α	ξ'	ω	ω	ξ'δ'	ᾱ	α'	ᾱ'
χ	,β	ρ'κ'	ω	ᾱ	ο'β'	πολλαπλασιασμός ἀπλῶς χιλιονταδικῶν ἀριθμῶν. στάσις ἑκτη.		
χ	,γ	ρ'π'	ω	,α	π'			
χ	,δ	σ'μ'	ω	,β	ρ'ξ'			
χ	,ε	τ'	ω	,γ	σ'μ'			
χ	,ς	τ'ξ'	ω	,δ	τ'κ'			
χ	,ζ	υ'κ'	ω	,ε	υ'			
χ	,η	υ'π'	ω	,ς	υ'η'			
χ	,θ	φ'μ'	[ω]	[,ς]	φ'ς'			
χ	α'	χ'	ω	,ζ	χ'δ' ⁹⁶	,α	,α	ρ'
ψ	ψ	μ'θ'	ω	,η	ψ'β' ⁹⁶	,α	,β	σ'
ψ	ω	ν'ς'	ω	,θ		,α	,γ	τ'
ψ	ᾱ	ξ'γ'	ω	α'	ω'	,α	,δ	υ'
ψ	,α	ο'	ᾱ	ᾱ'	π'α'	,α	,ε	φ'
ψ	,β	ρ'μ'	ᾱ	,α	ρ'	,α	,ς	χ'
ψ	,γ	σ'ι'	ᾱ	,β	ρ'π'	,α	,ζ	ψ'
ψ	,δ	σ'π'	ᾱ	,γ	σ'ο'	,α	,η	ω'
ψ	,ε	τ'ν'	ᾱ	,δ	τ'ξ'	,α	,θ	ᾱ'
ψ	,ς	υ'κ'	ᾱ	,ε	υ'ν'	,α	α'	,α'

⁹⁴ σ' **B** : lege α' sicut in **V**⁹⁵ ω' **B** : lege ω'ι' sicut in **V**⁹⁶ υ'η' φ'ς' χ'δ' ψ'β' **BV** : lege υ'π' φ'ξ' χ'μ' ψ'κ' sicut marg. *librarius* υ'π' pro υ'η' || φ'ξ' pro φ'ς' || χ'μ' pro χ'δ' || ψ'κ' pro ψ'β' adnot. **V**

|186r

β	β	υ'	δ	ε	β'	ζ	ζ	δ' {θ'}
β	γ	χ'	δ	ς	β'υ'	ζ	η	ε' {ς'}
β	δ	ω'	δ	ζ	β'ω'	ζ	θ	ς' {γ'}
β	ε	α'	δ	η	γ'σ'	ζ	α'	ζ'
β	ς	α'σ'	δ	θ	γ'χ'	η	η	ς'υ'
β	ζ	α'υ'	δ	α'	δ'	η	θ	ζ'σ'
β	η	α'χ'	ε	ε	β'φ'	η	α'	η'
β	θ	α'ω'	ε	ς	γ'	θ	θ	η'ρ'
β	α'	β'	ε	ζ	γ'φ'	θ	α'	θ'
γ	γ	ϑ'	ε	η	δ'	πολλαπλασιασμός ἀπλῶς μοναδικῶν μυριάδων ἐπὶ ὁμοίων		
γ	δ	α'σ'	ε	θ	δ'φ'			
γ	ε	α'φ'	ε	α'	ε'			
γ	ς	α'ω'	ς	ς	γ'χ'			
γ	ζ	α'ρ' ⁹⁷	ς	ζ	δ'σ'			
γ	η	β'υ'	ς	η	δ'ψ' ⁹⁸			
γ	θ	β'ψ'	ς	θ	ε'υ'			
γ	α'	γ'	ς	α'	ς'			
δ	δ	α'χ' ⁹⁹						

|186v

α´	β´	β´´	οὕτως. ψαφισάτω τὸ α μετὰ τοῦ α, τὸ β μετὰ τοῦ β, εἴτα καὶ εἰς γ. τὸ α μετὰ τοῦ ἀπλοῦ α, μετὰ τοῦ β καὶ τὸ β ¹⁰⁰ ...	
α´	γ´	γ´´		
α´	δ´	δ´´		
α´	ε´	ε´´		
α´	ς´	ς´´		
α´	ζ´	ζ´´		
α´	η´	η´´		
α´	θ´	θ´´		
α´	ι´	ι´´		
τέλος τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος μέχρι μυριάδων ἀπλῶν πολλαπλασιασμῶν				
ὁ δὲ διπλοῦς καὶ τριπλοῦς καὶ ἐπέκεινα πολλαπλασιασμοῶς ἀεὶ γίνεται				

⁹⁷ α'ρ' **BV** : lege β'ρ' sicut marg. *librarius* β'ρ' *pro* α'ρ' adnot. **V**

⁹⁸ δ'ψ' **B** : lege δ'ω' sicut in **V**

⁹⁹ α'χ' **B** : α'υ' **V**

¹⁰⁰ ὁ δὲ διπλοῦς — τοῦ β καὶ το β **V** : legi nequit **B** : poasthac legi nequit **B** et non lexit **V**

A COMPARISON OF ANONYMUS B AND OF RHABDAS'S LETTER TO KHATZYKES

Let us first have a detailed look at the structure of *Anonymus B*. Titles, numbering of the sections, and rubricated letters induce the following partition¹⁰¹:

- 1) Overall title παράδοσις σύντομος καὶ σαφειστάτη τῆς ψηφηφορικῆς ἐπιστήμης ῥάστη τοῖς ἐθέλουσι ταύτην μετελθεῖν, ἥτις καὶ ἔχει οὕτως “concise and most clear exposition of the computational science, very easy for those who want to go through it, which also is as follows”.
- 2) Short preface outlining the contents of the treatise.
- 3) Exposition of the numerical notation with Greek numerals. Title περὶ τῆς τῶν στοιχείων ἐκθέσεως “on the setting-out of digits”. Letters representing thousands receive a lower left slanting stroke, myriads receive a superimposed trema (namely, a pair of dots); these two additional signs can be combined or iterated (that is, by superimposing tremas)¹⁰². Several examples. This section is assigned number 1 in the margin.
- 4) Very long exposition on how to represent numbers from 1 to 9,999 on the fingers of the hands. Title ἔκφρασις τοῦ δακτυλικοῦ μέτρου “description of numbering on fingers”. Several examples.
- 5) Transitional sentences introducing the six παρεπόμενα “concomitant properties” of numbers¹⁰³: these are the setting-out of digits (this is sect. 3) and the five basic operations, extraction of square root included.
- 6) Very short exposition περὶ συνθέσεως “on composition” (namely, addition). Mainly paradigmatic examples, cleverly conceived: the numbers from 1 to 9 are added in succession. This section is assigned number 2.
- 7) Short exposition περὶ ἐκβολῆς “on decurtation” (namely, subtraction). A definition and some paradigmatic examples, cleverly conceived insofar as they amount to a partial conversion of the sequence of additions in sect. 6; final reference to the addition and subtraction table (called

¹⁰¹ An item numbered X in the list will be referred to as “sect. X”.

¹⁰² Recall that the Greek numerical notation (see M. N. TOD, The Alphabetic Numeral System in Attica. *ABSA* 45 [1950] 126–139) used in scientific texts is decimal but not positional, that number “zero” does not exist (but a sign for the “empty place” was used), and that the numbers from 1 to 999 are denoted by the 24 current alphabetical letters plus three additional ones, namely, letters ς (*digamma*, that in Byzantine manuscripts and in modern editions is always represented by the *sigma-tau* ligature known as *stigma*, almost identical to a form of *digamma* itself), ϣ (*koppa*), and ϡ (*sade* or *sampi*). These 27 letters are divided in three groups of nine, denoting in succession the units from 1 to 9, the decads from 10 to 90, and the hundreds from 100 to 900. Specific signs are added to the same digits to denote higher numerical orders, as *Anonymus B* explains: thus, δχθ is 4629. A slightly different notation can be found in the multiplication tables ascribed to Andronikos Doukas Sgouros (*PLP*, no. 25048) found in the manuscript Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E 80 sup. (*Diktyon* 42703), ff. 179r–195r (see also Vat. gr. 1058, ff. 41r–52v, without the ascription); they are affected by a systematic notational mistake (the author did not realize that a myriad of myriads coincides with ten-times-thousand myriads), run as far as $10^9 \times 10^9$, and are followed (ff. 195v–196r) by a tabular set-up of the names of the numbers associated with each numerical sign. In Sgouros' notation, myriads are denoted by a superimposed trema, myriads of myriads by a single superimposed dot. Further, an autograph scholium by Neophytos Prodromenos (*PLP*, no. 19254) in Par. gr. 1928 (*Diktyon* 51555), f. 15r, expounds a numerical notation with Hindu-Arabic numerals of the Eastern type: zero is not used; tens, hundreds, etc. are noted by superimposing a suitable number of small circles above the figures for units (P. TANNERY, Le scholie du moine Néophytos sur les chiffres Hindous. *Revue archéologique*, 3^e série, 5 [1885] 99–102, repr. Id., Mémoires Scientifiques IV. Toulouse–Paris 1920, 20–26). Of course, this amounts to not understanding that Hindu-Arabic numerals must be used positionally. Two short tabular texts on numerical notation adopting this convention are in Marc. gr. Z. 323, f. 487r–v; they are edited in J. L. HEIBERG, Byzantinische Analekten. *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik* 9 (1899) 163–174: 172–174. Partitions of the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet according to their numerical values are in Par. suppl. gr. 920 (*Diktyon* 53604), f. 1r–v (10th c.).

¹⁰³ *Anonymus* 1252 (and hence also Planudes in his *Great Calculation*) and Rhabdas in his *Letter to Tzavoukhes* also refer to such a hexapartition: ALLARD, Premier 80.28–31; ALLARD, Planude 33.23–28; TANNERY, Notice 118.15–23, respectively.

ταύλα)¹⁰⁴ that the anonymous says he himself (παρ' ἑμῶν) has set out before (ἔμπροσθεν). This section is assigned number 3.

- 8) Short exposition *περὶ πολλαπλασιασμοῦ* “on multiplication”. A definition and some paradigmatic examples; definition of square, oblong (ἐπιμήκης), and cube numbers. This section is assigned number 4. We must stress that, in this and in the subsequent sections, no calculations are worked out: the “paradigmatic examples” simply amount to providing the operands and the result of the operation, and to checking that they fit the definition.
- 9) Short exposition *περὶ μερισμοῦ* “on division”. A definition and some paradigmatic examples; division and “parts” of numbers. Dividing a greater number by a lesser one and vice versa; analogies between the two operations. This section is assigned number 5; it is the last section to which a number is assigned.
- 10) Very short exposition *περὶ τῆς τετραγωνικῆς πλευρᾶς* “on square root”. The author simply declares that it is not an easy task to grasp it for non-square numbers, even with the help of a teacher, and for this reason he has treated the issue elsewhere.
- 11) Transition to the subsequent sections; no title. Arithmologically-oriented remarks on the monad and on the fact that there are only nine numerical orders.
- 12) Short exposition *περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀριθμῶν* “on the ordering of numbers”. Structure of the decimal system as far as the 8th numerical order, namely, the myriads of myriads.
- 13) Long introduction on the structure of the system of numerical orders; title *περὶ τοῦ θεμελίου αὐτῶν* “on the base of them”. The “base” of a number (πυθμὴν in the Neo-Pythagorean tradition) representing decads, hundreds, etc. is the monadic number corresponding to the multiplicity of decads, hundreds, etc.: thus, δ (4) is the base of μ (40). The introduction of the sign for zero and the resulting positional notation trivialize the whole affair: to us, the base of a number representing decads, hundreds, etc. can be immediately read from its representation as a numeral. A long, basic example of *addition* of non-monadic numbers using their bases. Final transition to the subsequent sections, which provide a methodical exposition of how to multiply a number of a given order by a number of another order.
- 14) Long exposition on multiplying monadic numbers by themselves and by decads, hundreds, thousands, and myriads. Title *μέθοδος μονάδων* “procedure for units”. One example each. The two numbers multiplied in the examples always have the “bases” 6 and 7.
- 15) Very short exposition on multiplying decadic numbers by themselves and by hundreds and thousands. Title *μέθοδος δεκάδων* “procedure for decads”. One example each.
- 16) Very short exposition on multiplying hundreds by themselves and by thousands. Title *μέθοδος ἑκατοντάδων* “procedure for hundreds”. One example each.
- 17) Very short exposition on multiplying thousands by themselves. Title *μέθοδος χιλιοντάδων* “procedure for thousands”. One example.
- 18) *Explicit*: one might go on indefinitely but what has been said will suffice for the astute reader.
- 19) Table setting out the digits of the numerical orders from monads as far as myriads of myriads, according to the description in sect. 3. Title *πλινθὶς ἀρίστη τῆς τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν στοιχείων καταγραφῆς* “best block-diagram of the arithmetical digits”.
- 20) Tables of addition and subtraction¹⁰⁵ and of multiplication of numbers, the latter in order from units to myriads. The tables are in fact organized as one single table, partitioned in *στάσεις* “in-

¹⁰⁴ This loan word is not uncommon in Byzantine writings; in technical treatises, it scores for instance 16 occurrences in Chionides’ *Syntaxis Persica*.

¹⁰⁵ These two operations are set out in the same table, since it is enough to read the table “from opposite sides” in order to shift from addition to subtraction. Of course, some dispositions of numbers are better suited to represent a table of additions, others to represent a table of subtraction. We shall see that Rhabdas modifies this table.

stalments". The leaf containing the beginning of the series is missing. A final table possibly setting out multiples and submultiples of the numbers within the decads, endowed with a very short prefacing text, was probably contained in f. 186v (severely faded away) and in a missing leaf.

If we compare the text in Barb. gr. 4 with Rhabdas' *First Letter*, it is apparent that the latter presents some conspicuous additions, some minor additions, two radical rewritings, several systematic changes, and a modification in the layout of the table of addition¹⁰⁶. We adopt such a lexicon to describe the variant readings between the two versions of the text for the sake of definiteness; of course, this does not beg the question as to what the original version of the text is. The case will be argued in more detail in the following remarks; we shall see in particular that Rhabdas deftly inserted some of his additions without perturbing the syntax of the host sentence. Here is a list of the main variants; we refer to our text above and to the pages of Tannery's edition of Rhabdas' *First Letter*.

- Addition to the title: 86.1–4, σχεδιασθεῖσα ἐν Βυζαντίδι τῇ Κωνσταντίνου, παρὰ Νικολάου Σμυρναίου Ἀρταβάσδου ἀριθμητικοῦ καὶ γεωμέτρου τοῦ Ῥαβδᾶ, αἰτήσῃ τοῦ πανσεβάστου ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Χατζύκη. Thus, Rhabdas added his own name and the one of the addressee; thus, effectively appropriating the text.
- A long addition to the preface (sect. 2), amounting to its whole initial segment: 86.6–17 from τὴν δὴλῶσιν το καὶ σε καί. This mainly consists of a verbatim "quotation" of the very beginning of Diophantos' *Arithmetica*. The quotation can be found, always in liminal position but with a variation in the extent of the transcribed passage, in both of Rhabdas' *Letters*¹⁰⁷. The original sentence in *Anonymus B* is modified as follows¹⁰⁸: δεῖ τὸν βουλόμενον μετελθεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπιστήμην τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προχωρῆσαι → [... οὕτω σε] δεῖ [τοῦ ἔργου πρότερον ἄρξασθαι καὶ σε καὶ] τὸν βουλόμενον μετελθεῖν τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπιστήμην ~~τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προχωρῆσαι~~. The Diophantine "quotation" entirely precedes the sentence introduced by οὕτω.
- A short addition to sect. 3: 88.24–25, from ἃ καὶ to ἀριθμούς.
- A short addition to sect. 3: 90.2–5, from ἐντεῦθεν to ἄχρι τῶν 3.
- An enrichment at the end of sect. 3: 90.9–11. The original sentence is modified as follows: καὶ ἐτέρων ἔτι ἐπιτεθεισῶν στιγμῶν → [ἃς καὶ διπλᾶς, ἥτοι μυριοντάκις μυριονταδικάς, μυριάδας κατονομάζομεν], καὶ [ἑξῆς ὁμοίως κατὰ προσθήκην] ἐτέρων ἔτι ἐπιτεθεισῶν στιγμῶν, [τριπλᾶς καὶ τετραπλᾶς λέγοντες· καὶ] ἔτι ἐτέρᾳς [τιθέντες].
- Addition of ἥτοι ἀφαιρέσεως "that is, removal" to the title of sect. 7¹⁰⁹. The addition amounts to a categorial mistake since *Anonymus B* defines "decurtation" as a species of "removal".
- Elimination of παρ' ἡμῶν "by us" in the reference to the table in the final clause of sect. 7.
- A long addition at the end of the section on division (sect. 9): 100.1–10. The addition repeats what precedes, adding a further, trivial case: division can occur greater by less, less by greater, and equal by equal.

¹⁰⁶ Since Tannery did not edit all tables accompanying Rhabdas' *First Letter*, we compare the tables of *Anonymus B* with those in Vat. gr. 1411, ff. 12r–13r. As seen in note 16, this manuscript is the best witness of Rhabdas' *First Letter*.

¹⁰⁷ TANNERY, Notice 86.6–15 and 118.3–10, respectively, to be compared with P. TANNERY (ed.), *Diophanti Alexandrini opera omnia cum Graecis commentariis*. I–II. Lipsiae 1893–95, I 2.3–17 and 2.3–13, respectively (Rhabdas just modifies some of the seven words opening the *Arithmetica*). Thus, the "quotation" in the *Letter to Tzavoukhes* is included in the one in the *First Letter*. In his *Letter to Tzavoukhes*, Rhabdas also mentions Diophantos: TANNERY, Notice 118.14–15.

¹⁰⁸ Here and elsewhere, the added text is within brackets, possibly replaced by three dots; the deleted text is struck out.

¹⁰⁹ Planudes adds the same word to the title of the corresponding section of *Anonymus* 1252: compare ALLARD, Premier 82.8, and ALLARD, Planude 39.21.

- A long addition constituting the bulk of the section on square root (sect. 10): 100.15–102.7 from κατὰ μὲν τὸ το λεπτομερέστερον. The way this addition is operated is particularly clever: the anonymous declares that extracting square roots of non-square numbers is not easy; for this reason, he has dealt with the issue elsewhere. Rhabdas splits the sentence and makes it divaricate by inserting in the middle the procedure for computing a first-order approximation of a square root—what he declares to be not easy is now a method for getting a higher order approximation; for this reason, he has dealt with the issue elsewhere. The original sentence is modified as follows: <πλευρὰ> τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀληθοῦς τετραγώνου οὐ ῥαδία εἰς κατάληψιν καὶ διδάσκοντος αὐτὴν τινος· διὸ τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἐν ἄλλοις ἐταμιεύσαμεν → <πλευρὰ> τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀληθοῦς τετραγώνου [κατὰ μὲν τὸ πάντη παχυμερέστερον γίνεται οὕτως ... κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἄγαν λεπτομερέστερον] οὐ ῥαδία εἰς κατάληψιν καὶ διδάσκοντος αὐτὴν τινος· διὸ τὸν περὶ αὐτῆς λόγον ἐν ἄλλοις ἐταμιεύσαμεν.
- At the end of sect. 12: after 104.2 ἀριθμῶν. A sequence divided between two clauses is eliminated, but the resulting sentence is perfectly formed: καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς τάξεσι τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἢ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἀκολουθία. ὑπάρχουσι δὲ πάντων τῶν ἀριθμῶν αἱ μονάδες θεμέλιοι· πρὸς [γὰρ] τὴν τάξιν γὰρ καὶ κλῆσιν κτλ. Note also the γὰρ shifted to a more canonical position.
- A radical reconceptualization of sect. 13. By means of a series of appropriate interventions, the example is transformed into a *multiplication* of numerical orders using their bases. Rhabdas' intervention trivializes the text: he removes an example of a kind not to be found elsewhere while providing one of a kind that will figure again in the subsequent exposition. The two versions of the end of sect. 13 are here set out in parallel; our text is at lines 131–145, Rhabdas' at 104.11–24. The syntagms that Rhabdas simply modifies while retaining their function in the clause are in italics; the sequences that are not found in the other version are underlined.

Anonymus B

ἵνα δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποδείγματος σαφέστερον γένηται τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔστω ὅ τι ἡρωτήθης, *λ καὶ ἐννεήκοντα* πόσος ἀριθμὸς γίνεται, καὶ οὐ δύνη ῥαδίως ἐκ τῆς ἀμαθίας τοῦτον εὐρεῖν.

λαβὼν δὴ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν *μονάδων* τοὺς παρωνύμους καὶ ἰσοταγεῖς ἀριθμούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ φανεροῦ τὸν μείζονα εὐρήσεις – τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ὥσπερ ἄρα καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν – λαμβάνεται δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν *λ* ἢ *τριάς*, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν *ρ* ἢ *ἐννὰς* (ἀναλογουσι γάρ), οἱ συντιθέμενοι *δώδεκα* ποιοῦσι *μονάδας*.

οὐκοῦν καὶ αἱ *τρεῖς* δεκάδες μετὰ τῶν *θ* δεκάδων *ἐνούμεναι δύο* καὶ *ι* ποιοῦσι *δεκάδας* (*ἡγουν ρ καὶ κ*), ἐπειδὴ, ὡς προέφαιμεν, προστεθείσης ἐννὰδι μονάδος μιᾶς *δεκάς* ἀποτελεῖται μία, καὶ οὐκέτι *ι* μονάδας ἔκτοτε τὸν γινόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ *δεκάδα* μίαν ταύτην καλοῦμεν, ὡς ποιοῦντες ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν τῆς τῶν *δεκάδων* *τάξεως* καὶ *πάλιν* προστεθείσης ταῖς ἐννέα δεκάσι *δεκάδος* μιᾶς οὐκέτι *δέκα* *δεκάδας* τὸν γινόμενον ἀριθμὸν ὀνομάζομεν, ἀλλὰ *μίαν* *ἐκατοντάδα*, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμοίως. λέγομεν οὖν *τάς ιβ* *μονάδας* *δεκάδα* *μίαν* καὶ *μίαν* *δυσάδα* (*ἡγουν ι καὶ δύο*), καὶ *τάς ιβ* *δεκάδας* ὁμοίως, *ἐκατοντάδα* *μίαν* καὶ *μίαν* *εἰκάδα*, ἥτοι *ρκ*. ἢ αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκολουθία, κἂν εἰς ἄπειρον δεῖξειε *προχωρεῖν*.

λάμβανε δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν μέθοδον *καθολικὴν* εἰς παντὸς *πολλαπλασιασμὸν* ἀριθμοῦ κτλ.

Rhabdas

ἵνα δὲ ἐπὶ ὑποδείγματος σαφέστερον γένηται τὸ λεγόμενον, ἔστω ὅ τι ἡρωτήθης, *τριακοντάκις* τὰ *ρ* πόσος ἀριθμὸς γίνεται, καὶ οὐ δύνη *πάντως* ῥαδίως ἐκ τῆς ἀμαθίας τοῦτον εὐρεῖν.

λαβὼν δὴ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἀπὸ τῶν *μοναδικῶν* τοὺς παρωνύμους καὶ ἰσοταγεῖς ἀριθμούς, ἀπὸ τοῦ μικροῦ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ φανεροῦ τὸν μείζονα εὐρήσεις – τὸ γὰρ ἀφανὲς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, ὥσπερ ἄρα καὶ τὸ ἐναντίον ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, ταχίστην ἔχει τὴν διάγνωσιν – λαμβάνεται δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν *λ* ἢ *τριάς*, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν *ρ* ἢ *ἐννεάς* (ἀναλογουσι γάρ), οἱ *καὶ* *πολλαπλῶς* συντιθέμενοι *β* ποιοῦσι *δεκάδας* καὶ *μονάδας* *ζ*, ἡγουν *ζ* καὶ *κ*.

οὐκοῦν καὶ αἱ *γ* *δεκάδες* μετὰ τῶν *θ* *δεκάδων* *μετρούμεναι* *κ* καὶ *ζ* ποιοῦσιν *ἐκατοντάδας*, ἥτοι *βψ*, ἐπεὶ περ οἱ *δεκαδικοὶ* ἀριθμοὶ μετὰ τῶν *δεκαδικῶν* ἀριθμῶν *πολλαπλασιαζόμενοι*, *ἐκατονταδικούς* ποιοῦσι καὶ *χιλιονταδικούς* καὶ ἔτι ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων *μικτούς* ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς δηλωθήσεται.

λάμβανε τοίνυν *πρὸς τὰς* *τοιαύτας ἐπερωτήσεις* καὶ *ἐπιλύσεις* *καθολικὴν μέθοδον* εἰς παντὸς *πολλαπλασιασμὸν* ἀριθμοῦ κτλ.

- A radical rewriting, with expansions and many more examples, of sects. 14–17¹¹⁰. Such a rewriting is also motivated by the fact that the denominations of the numerical orders, which Rhabdas modifies (see just below), occur very frequently in these sections.
- Systematic modifications can be found in the titles of the sections and in the inscriptions of the tables (most notably by eliminating the numbered references to the “instalments”).
- Systematic lexical modifications include disposing of the word ἀκολουθία “consequence, chaining” and, first and foremost, modifying all denominations of numerical orders from μονάδες, δεκάδες, ἑκατοντάδες, “units”, “decads”, “hundreds”, etc. into μοναδικοὶ ἀριθμοί, δεκαδικοὶ ἀριθμοί, ἑκατονταδικοὶ ἀριθμοί, “unitary numbers”, “decadic numbers”, “centenary numbers”, etc.
- Specific lexical changes, all amounting to corrections or to *lectiones faciliores*: εὐωνύμω (line 27 of our edition) → λαιῶ (Tannery's page 90.15); ἑτέρω (38) → δεξιῶ (92.7); δηλοῖ (51) → χειρὶ σημαίνει δέκα (92.26); ἴση γραμμῇ (52) → ἰ γράμμα (94.2)¹¹¹; ἰσταμένων (65) → συνημμένως ὑποκλινομένων (94.23); ἄκρω (69) → ἄκρον (96.2)¹¹²; ἔμειναν (84) → οὖν (96.23); ἀκολουθία (84) → μέθοδος (96.24); λέγομεν (88) → λέγεται (98.2); (τετράγωνος) ἐστὶν ἐπιμήκης (92) → ἀριθμὸς ἑτερομήκης λέγεται (98.8)¹¹³; ἐπεὶ (97) → ἐπειδὴ (98.16); πρώτως (112) → πρότερον (102.16); ἐπλήρωσας (121) → ἐποίησας (102.27); insertion of three coordinants δέ (cf. lines 130–131 and page 104.9–10); insertion of πάντως and ἐξ (cf. line 133 and page 104.12–13).
- The table in sect. 19 is eliminated.
- The layout of the addition and subtraction table in sect. 20 is radically modified. To understand how this is done, recall that an addition or subtraction table such as those set out in our treatises only features values of monadic numbers, decads, hundreds, etc., as operands without mixing them: we thus never find 327 (τκζ) added to 12 (ιβ), or 100 (ρ) added to 50 (ν), but 10 (ι) added to 90 (ρ), etc. In *Anonymus B*, a self-contained tabular unit of the addition and subtraction table is so framed: first column, a sequence of equal numerical values; second column *from top to bottom*, all numerical values starting from the one set out in the first column until the last number before the next numerical order is reached; third column, their sum; fourth column (in red), identical to the first column. In this way, the self-contained tabular units of such a table progressively reduce their length from nine items to one. Rhabdas modifies each self-contained unit in the following way: first column, a sequence of nine equal numerical values; second column *from bottom to top*, all nine consecutive numerical values following the one set out in the first column, even if they are numbers mixing two numerical orders; third column, their difference; fourth column, identical to the first column, but each time the number of items set out is reduced by one¹¹⁴. In this way, the self-contained tabular units of such a table are all of equal length. Thus, if read left-right, the table of *Anonymus B* is an addition table, Rhabdas' is

¹¹⁰ Rhabdas' text also seems to retain traces of the reviser's correction at f. 177v.

¹¹¹ The reading in *Anonymus B* is hardly meaningful and almost certainly a mistake.

¹¹² The reading in *Anonymus B* is ungrammatical and certainly a mistake.

¹¹³ No occurrences of ἐπιμήκης in this sense are found in the Greek mathematical corpus; note that the adjective qualifies the word “square”. It is standard Neo-Pythagorean doctrine that a ἑτερομήκης is a number of the form $n(n+1)$: Theon of Smyrna, *Exp.*, 26.21–22 ed. E. HILLER, Theonis Smyrnaei philosophi platonici expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium. Lipsiae 1878; Nicomachos, *Ar.* II.17.1 and II.18.2; Iamblichos, *in Nic.*, 74.19–23 ed. E. PISTELLI, Iamblichi in Nicomachi arithmetica introductionem liber. Lipsiae 1894 (= 4.76, 142.33–35 ed. N. VINEL, Jamblique, In Nicomachi Arithmetica [Mathematica Graeca Antiqua 3]. Pisa–Roma 2014). This is the designation retained in Chis. R.IV.20 (see note 16 above).

¹¹⁴ Thus, we find nine α, eight β, seven γ, and so on.

a subtraction table, with the minuend placed in the second column. Let us compare the addition and subtraction table for 300 (τ) as an example:

<i>Anonymus B</i>				Rhabdas			
τ	τ	χ	τ	τ	,ασ	ϑ	τ
τ	υ	ψ	τ	τ	,αρ	ω	τ
τ	φ	ω	τ	τ	,α	ψ	τ
τ	χ	ϑ	τ	τ	ϑ	χ	τ
τ	ψ	,α	τ	τ	ω	φ	τ
τ	ω	,αρ	τ	τ	ψ	υ	τ
τ	ϑ	,ασ	τ	τ	χ	τ	τ
				τ	φ	σ	
				τ	υ	ρ	

- Elimination of the last nine entries of the table of multiplication; these are the ones in the table at f. 186v of Barb. gr. 4.
- Santamaura's transcription confirms that on f. 186v of Barb. gr. 4, before the table of multiples and of partition that very likely completes *Anonymus B*, no reference is present to more complex expositions of multiplication and division to be found in the Ἰνδικὴ μεγάλη ψηφοφορία “Great Indian Calculation”, as we instead read in Rhabdas' *First Letter*¹¹⁵.

The character of the variant readings listed above makes it certain that Rhabdas' *First Letter* is a revision of the anonymous text, and not, as Tannery submitted on the basis of the very limited evidence he had at his disposal, the latter a debased recension of the former. On these same grounds, we may safely exclude the possibility that what we read in Barb. gr. 4 is Rhabdas' first, youthful redaction of his own treatise. The issue seems to us to be settled by the idle addition to the section on division, by the clever syntactical divarication of a sentence in order to accommodate a whole procedure of extraction of a square root, by the reconceptualization of sect. 13, a useless move since the final result anticipates the subsequent sections. Apart from two substantial rewritings and a systematic lexical change, Rhabdas' recension displays the same character as almost all Byzantine recensions of previous (and possibly Byzantine) mathematical texts: they tend to expand¹¹⁶ and to trivialize the original.

THE AUTHOR OF ANONYMUS B THE FLOURISHING OF LOGISTIC TREATISES IN THE MIDDLE OF 13TH CENTURY

The same tendency to expand is displayed by a much-celebrated recension of a Byzantine technical text, namely, the one in which Hindu-Arabic numerals were introduced in Byzantium. The original text, namely, *Anonymus* 1252, is a handbook of logistic using a positional decimal system with “Indian” figures; its title is Ψηφοφορία κατ' Ἰνδούς ἢ λεγομένη μεγάλη *Great Calculation According to the Indians*¹¹⁷. It includes a description of the decimal notation used; methods for addition, subtrac-

¹¹⁵ At TANNERY, Notice 114.3 and 114.14.

¹¹⁶ The shortening of the stretch of text of sect. 13 discussed above is of course induced by the fact that Rhabdas changes the type of example. One might wonder why the trend is that of expanding and not of compressing—the same phenomenon can also be perceived in Byzantine recensions of ancient Greek mathematical works, but there are structural reasons that explain this case: F. ACERBI, Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: A Survey. *Estudios bizantinos* 4 (2016) 133–213: 137–143. Maybe the rhetorical education encourages this attitude, or maybe it is just a scholarly habit: appropriation as production of a sort of compound “main text + commentary”.

¹¹⁷ Edition ALLARD, Premier. Allard's assessment of the manuscript tradition must certainly be reconsidered, as he blindly (and therefore fallaciously) availed himself of Mogenet's method for treating variant readings. The most ancient witnesses of

tion, multiplication, and division; an Easter Computus, assuming 1252 as the current year¹¹⁸; an exposition of calculations involving signs, degrees, and minutes on the zodiacal circle¹¹⁹; extraction of an approximate square root (first-order Heronian approximation). All methods are counter-checked (the check is called δοκιμή); for instance, the square root is checked by multiplication. Some cumbersome in the exposition comes from the proliferation of cases, supposedly required by the varying quantity of digits in a number and by the presence of zero (τζίφρα) among them. Western Arabic numerals are used¹²⁰. The very beginning of the treatise suggests that it was part of a larger work¹²¹.

Maximos Planudes' *Ψηφηφορία κατ' Ἰνδοῦς ἡ λεγομένη μεγάλη* *Great Calculation according to the Indians* is largely inspired by *Anonymus* 1252¹²². The structure is the same¹²³; however, the Easter Computus is eliminated, the section on square root reaches to the second-order Heronian approximation and is enriched by a standard method, carried out within the sexagesimal system, based on Euclid, *Elements* II.4¹²⁴. A final section with disparate problems is certainly spurious. Verbosity, a few alternative methods, and a more abundant set of examples make Planudes' treatise much longer than its source.

Thus, the following overall picture begins to take shape. In the second half of the 13th century, two parallel systematizations of logistic were redacted displaying altogether different goals: the one provides the basics of the decimal system in Greek notation, the other explains how to carry out computations resorting to Hindu-Arabic numerals and positional notation¹²⁵. The latter was certainly

Anonymus 1252 are Vat. gr. 184 (*Diktyon* 66815) (ca. 1270), ff. 2r–8r; Par. suppl. gr. 387 (*Diktyon* 53135), ff. 163r–180v (ca. 1306); Marc. gr. Z. 303 (*Diktyon* 69774), ff. 222v–228r (mid-14th century); Par. gr. 2988 (*Diktyon* 52630) (14th century), ff. 324r–341v. For Vat. gr. 184, see TIHON, Eudaimonioannes; for Par. suppl. gr. 387, see Heronis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt omnia, IV iv–vii; M.-L. CONCASTY, Un manuscrit scolaire (?) de mathématiques. *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) 284–288; F. ACERBI – B. VITRAC (eds.), Héron d'Alexandrie, *Metrika (Mathematica Graeca Antiqua 4)*. Pisa–Roma 2014, 437–439.

¹¹⁸ The date is given directly in the current era, not in the *anno mundi* era.

¹¹⁹ This is a mixed and periodic duodecimal-sexagesimal system in which 30 degrees = 1 sign; it was in use among 14th-century astronomers.

¹²⁰ On Hindu-Arabic numerals in Byzantine scientific texts and manuscripts (where they are traditionally considered to appear for the first time during the 12th century) see K. VOGEL, Buchstabenrechnung und indische Ziffern in Byzanz, in: Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongresses 1958. Munich 1960, 660–664, repr. Id., Kleinere Schriften zur Geschichte der Mathematik (*Boethius* 20). Stuttgart 1988, 452–456; N. WILSON, Miscellanea Palaeographica. *GRBS* 22 (1981) 395–404; Ch. BURNETT, Indian Numerals in the Mediterranean Basin in the Twelfth Century, with Special Reference to the “Eastern Forms”, in: From China to Paris: 2000 Years Transmission of Mathematical Ideas, ed. Y. Dold-Samplonius – J. W. Dauben – M. Folkerts – B. van Dalen (*Boethius* 46). Stuttgart 2000, 237–288.

¹²¹ *Anonymus* 1252 has no preface, and the first sentence is εἰπωμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ψήφων τῆς ἀστρονομίας “and let us also speak about the calculations in astronomy” (ALLARD, Premier 80.2), to be compared with the almost identical liminal sentences *ibid.*, 87.19 and 98.24, marking the beginning of the sections on division and on the sexagesimal system, respectively, and *ibid.*, 101.27, marking the beginning of the section on multiplication within the sexagesimal system.

¹²² Edition ALLARD, Planude. The relation is obvious once one compares the two texts. We also know, from a letter by Planudes to George Bekkos (see n. 146 for the text), that he happened to own a book on κατ' Ἰνδοῦς ἀριθμὸς “number according to Indians” and that he was composing his own, in which he would have added expositions of the parts about how to find the square number nearest to a given non-square number, and the side of a given square number (*sic*). Planudes' treatise is partly extant in the autograph Ambros. Suppl. 157 sup. (*Diktyon* 43243); A. TURYN, Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy. I–II. Urbana–Chicago–London 1972: 78–81 and pl. 57; A. ALLARD, L'Ambrosianus Et 157 Sup., un manuscrit autographe de Maxime Planude. *Scriptorium* 33 (1979) 219–234.

¹²³ The numerals are those employed by Persian astronomers, and also found in annotations in Vat. gr. 211 (*Diktyon* 66842) (beginning 14th century) and 1058 (middle 14th century).

¹²⁴ This method is well-known at least since Theon, *Commentary on the Almagest*, 469.16–473.8 ed. A. ROME, Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste (*Studi e Testi* 54, 72, 106). I–III. Città del Vaticano 1931–43. Planudes' example is the same as Theon's.

¹²⁵ The exposition of calculations involving signs, degrees, and minutes on the zodiacal circle in *Anonymus* 1252 explains how to carry out additions and subtractions, multiplications and very simple divisions within the sexagesimal system and using Hindu-Arabic notation. The first, short but complete, Byzantine computational primer within the sexagesimal system and using Greek notation is contained in §§ 1–6 and 26 of the astronomical section of Georges Pachymeres' *Quadrivium* (Pa-

redacted in the Nicaean period and contains sections that do not find parallels in the former (the Easter Computus and the exposition of calculations involving signs, degrees, and minutes on the zodiacal circle). Reading both treatises, the clear impression is that they do not come from the same author. Their lexicon displays remarkable differences¹²⁶; the style of *Anonymus* 1252 is much less relaxed; it provides no definitions of the operations; its exposition is strictly finalized to explain computation techniques within the new notational framework by means of sometimes quite complex examples¹²⁷. *Anonymus* B, on the other hand, is a primer to the decimal system in Greek numerical notation and to the *meaning* of the elementary arithmetical operations: as said, no such operation is explicitly carried out. The difference in style and goals between the two treatises can easily be perceived by comparing the entire section on multiplication in *Anonymus* B and the beginning of the same section in *Anonymus* 1252¹²⁸:

Anonymus B

Ἀριθμὸς ἀριθμὸν πολλαπλασιάζειν λέγομεν ὅταν, ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῷ μονάδες, τοσαυτάκις συντεθῇ ὁ πολλαπλασιάζόμενος καὶ γένηται τις ἕτερος. οἷον ἐπὶ παραδείγματος, τετράκις τὰ τέσσαρα, ἢ πεντάκις τὰ η, μ. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι, ὅταν ὁ αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιάσῃ, τότε ὁ γινόμενος ἀριθμὸς τετράγωνος ἐστὶν ἰσόπλευρος· ὅταν δὲ ἀριθμὸς τὸν μονάδι ἐλάττωα ἑαυτοῦ ἢ μείζονα πολλαπλασιάσῃ, τότε ὁ γινόμενος (τετράγωνος) ἐστὶν ἐπιμήκης· ὅταν δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλαπλασιάσῃ, εἴτα τὸν πολλαπλασιασθέντα πάλιν ὁ αὐτός, τότε ὁ γινόμενος κύβος ἐστὶ.

Anonymus 1252

Ἰτέον δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πολλαπλασιασμοῦ μέθοδον παραστήσαι ὥς μεμαθήκαμεν. ἴσθι ὥς πολλαπλασιάζων ὀφείλεις γινώσκειν τὰς τρεῖς ταύτας μεθόδους, ἵνα εὐστόχως ποιῇς τὸν πολλαπλασιασμόν. καὶ μία μὲν ἐστὶν αὕτη. ἐὰν ὅσι ὅροι δύο μὲν ἄνωθεν καὶ δύο κάτωθεν καὶ ἔχῃσι κατὰ τοὺς δευτέρους τόπους τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, σύνθεσ τὸ εἰς τὸν πρῶτον τόπον καὶ τὸ εἰς τὸν δεύτερον τόπον μετὰ τοῦ ὄντος εἰς τὸν ἕτερον πρῶτον τόπον, εἴτα πολλαπλασιάσον τοὺς τρεῖς ὁμαλοὺς συντεθέντας μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τόπῳ, εἴτα τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τόποις πολλαπλασιάσον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐνώσας τὸν ἐκ τούτων πολλαπλασιασμόν μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου πολλαπλασιασμοῦ ἔξεις τὸ ζητούμενον.

Anonymus B also introduces, in sect. 11, arithmological overtones that the author of *Anonymus* 1252 does not avail of¹²⁹. To complete the picture, recall that the author of *Anonymus* B claims that he will deal elsewhere with procedures of approximation of a square root, and that, at the end of Rhabdas' *First Letter* but *not* at the end of *Anonymus* B, the reader is referred to more complete expositions of multiplication and division to be found in the "Great Indian Calculation". Thus the only explicit link between *Anonymus* B and *Anonymus* 1252 is severed: Rhabdas himself, who knew of Planudes' *Great Calculation*, added this reference.

One might wonder whether *Anonymus* 1252, and possibly also *Anonymus* B, was produced in Nicaea or in Latin Constantinople, and for what purposes. There are arguments supporting both hypotheses about its origin. Latin Constantinople was obviously the ideal place where interactions with Western mathematics could take place¹³⁰. On the other hand, the oft-repeated claim that Planudes'

chymeres, *PLP*, no. 22186, was a contemporary of Planudes). Byzantine scholars had easy access to such primers redacted in Late Antiquity, namely, a long dedicated section of the anonymous *Prolegomena to the Almagest* (see note 4 above) and a series of sparse examples within Theon's *Commentary on the Almagest*.

¹²⁶ To give one example, *Anonymus* 1252 never uses the term ἀκολουθία, but it shares with *Anonymus* B the term ἐκβολή for "subtraction", glossed as ἀφαίρεσις both by Rhabdas and by Planudes.

¹²⁷ Contrary to *Anonymus* B, *Anonymus* 1252 does not provide general definitions of the operations.

¹²⁸ The text of *Anonymus* 1252 is at ALLARD, Premier 83.15–23 (we have modified the punctuation); the entire section goes as far as *ibid.*, 85.5 (45 lines in all), and includes two worked-out examples and a detailed general explanation of the procedure to be used when more than two numbers are multiplied.

¹²⁹ Proximity searches in the TLG database do not suggest any specific source for this long transitional argument. The combination ὑπερκόσμιος + νοερός is particularly frequent in Proclus and Damascius; the definition of number as σορεία μονάδων "heap of units" is found in a number of commentators and lexicographers.

¹³⁰ Recall that Leonardo Pisano (Fibonacci) first redacted his *Liber abbaci* in 1202, and that he revised it in 1228; we only read the revision.

Great Calculation draws from—or even is a partial translation of—Fibonacci's treatise is grounded on no evidence, and is in fact never seriously argued¹³¹. *Anonymus* 1252 shows no lexical loans from Italian; the form of the Hindu-Indian numerals does not indicate anything—for instance, in redacting his *Great Calculation*, Planudes shifts from the Western form of *Anonymus* 1252 to the Eastern form. As for *Anonymus* B, Mesarites' passage mentioned above shows that finger-notation was well-established in Byzantine schools before the Latin conquest.

As for the purposes of *Anonymi* B and 1252, one must bear in mind that they are literary products belonging to the scientific type “computational primer”, a genre that was well-established since Late Antiquity; and in fact, neither Rhabdas nor Planudes had any problems in transforming them into overtly literary products. In particular, neither of the original treatises can be assumed to have any connection with the actual teaching of elementary operations in Byzantine schools—of course, no one would teach how to calculate square roots of non-square numbers at a primary school level¹³². If the issue seems open to question in the case of *Anonymus* B, just recall that this treatise does not explain how to actually perform the operations, nor does it provide any instruction for the use of the tables.

It is natural to come to doubt the authenticity of Rhabdas' *Letter to Tzavoukhes*, too. As we have seen, this treatise is almost complementary to the *First Letter*, while being much longer than it, and is composite in character. The problem of finding its sources, if any exist, is thus more difficult than in the case of the *First Letter*: the sectional nature of the *Letter to Tzavoukhes* most plausibly requires a plurality of sources; some of the independent sections are very short, thus making the identification of possible sources not easy¹³³; the *Rechenbuch* closing the *Letter to Tzavoukhes* belongs to a kind of text that escape standard philological methods for establishing filiations¹³⁴. And in fact, some (but only some) of the problems in this *Rechenbuch* coincide, as we have seen in n. 23, with problems in an anonymous *Rechenbuch* transcribed earlier than 1303. Further investigations and some plain good luck (see note added in proof on p. 37) will possibly enable us to assess better the issue of the sources of the *Letter to Tzavoukhes*.

CAN WE SPEAK OF “PLAGIARISM” AMONG BYZANTINE MATHEMATICAL AND NATURAL SCIENTIFIC WRITERS?

The above discussion “naturally” leads us to a thorny issue: Byzantine scientific production (and not only this) suffers from a diffusion of what we would call “plagiarism” among “colleagues”: this

¹³¹ A similar claim concerning the *Rechenbuch* he publishes is suggested but not argued in VOGEL, *Rechenbuch* 154–160 and the all-inclusive table there attached, nor is it the one concerning *Anonymus* 1252 in ALLARD, *Premier* 60–64. Again, and contrary to the author's implicit contention, the analysis in the commentary of ALLARD, *Planude*, cannot prove anything about the relationships between Fibonacci's and Planudes' treatises. For a better-balanced assessment concerning *Rechenbücher*, see J. HØYRUP, *Fibonacci – Protagonist or Witness? Who Taught Catholic Christian Europe about Mediterranean Commercial Arithmetic?* *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1 (2014) 219–247: 236–238, who sees it as more likely a partial borrowing in the opposite direction, namely, “that the Italian and Iberian way to formulate alloying problems had its roots in a Byzantine money-dealers environment” (*ibid.*, 238, emphasis in the original). Recall that Fibonacci claims three times that the problem at issue was proposed by a *magister constantinopolitanus* (*Liber abbaci*, ed. B. BONCOMPAGNI, *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano*, II. Roma 1857: 188, 190, 249). This is in fact the sole basis supporting the claim that Fibonacci was present in Constantinople at the end of 12th century.

¹³² The fact that *Anonymus* B refrains from doing this, claiming that it is a difficult task even with the help of a teacher, seems to us to corroborate our point rather than to disprove it.

¹³³ A first attempt at identifying the source of the Easter Computus has been unsuccessful.

¹³⁴ The point is that these collections of disparate arithmetical problems can be assembled and de-assembled very easily, and that any such problem is conducive to (major) variant readings.

amounts to putting one's own name on a writing for the most part (or completely) composed by some other Byzantine author¹³⁵. Cases in point include the following¹³⁶:

- Maximos Planudes appropriated *Anonymus* 1252, as just seen.
- Rhabdas appropriated an entire treatise in his *First Letter*, as shown in the previous parts of this article.
- Chapters 8–10 of Book II of Theodoros Metochites' *Abridged Astronomical Elements* deal with compounded ratios and removal of a ratio from a ratio¹³⁷. This is nothing but a plagiarism, with enormous amplifications (Metochites' fondness of περιβολή is legendary), of what we read in §§ 3–4 of the astronomical section of Pachymeres' *Quadrivium*.
- A part of an encyclopaedia redacted by the early 14th-century compiler Joseph Rhakendytes, based in Thessaloniki and in correspondence with Metochites, Moschopoulos, and Gregoras, is a mere plagiarism, with slight modifications, of the *Quadrivium* known as *Anonymus Heiberg*¹³⁸. The plagiarism is so exact that Heiberg, in his edition, and P. Moore, who lists ninety-five manuscripts of the same work¹³⁹, include as witnesses of it a number of manuscripts which in fact contain Joseph's encyclopaedia.
- Argyros appropriated the method of Easter Computus expounded in Rhabdas' *Letter to Tzavoukhes* and wrote a treatise on the astrolabe that draws abundantly from Gregoras¹⁴⁰.
- Theodoros Meliteniotes (d. 8/3/1393) presents as Book III of his *Three Books on Astronomy* an introduction to Persian astronomical tables almost certainly written by someone else¹⁴¹.
- An anonymous computational primer to the *Almagest* is by and large made of extracts from the logistic portion of Pachymeres' *Quadrivium* and from Metochites' and Meliteniotes' primers¹⁴².
- John Chortasmenos (d. 1431) wrote a tract on compounded ratios and removal of a ratio from a ratio¹⁴³ that is nothing but a verbatim plagiarism of a part of Book V of Barlaam's *Logistic*, in particular propositions 18–23.

¹³⁵ It goes without saying that Byzantine writers systematically plundered ancient Greek authors; we thus exclude from our list "quotations" such as those of the beginning of Diophantos' *Arithmetica* prefacing both of Rhabdas' *Letters*. Of course, we also exclude the *retractationes* and the borrowings from ancient writings used to compose Byzantine *Quadrivia*, since these are expressly conceived of as compilations.

¹³⁶ All examples come from the Nicaean and the Palaiologan periods simply because almost nothing substantial has remained of the preceding scientific production (if anything substantial was ever produced).

¹³⁷ We read them in Vat. gr. 181 (*Diktyon* 66812), ff. 26r–35r. We did not check other portions of Metochites' treatise. He died on March 13, 1332.

¹³⁸ See U. CRISCUOLO, Note sull'«enciclopedia» del filosofo Giuseppe. *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 255–281. Ed. of *Anonymus Heiberg* in J. L. HEIBERG, *Anonymi Logica et Quadrivium* (*Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs, Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* 15,1). København 1929.

¹³⁹ P. MOORE, *Iter Psellianum*. A detailed list of manuscript sources for all works attributed to Michael Psellos, including a comprehensive bibliography (*Subsidia Mediaevalia* 26). Toronto 2005, PHI.170. *Anonymus Heiberg* also circulated ascribed to Michael Psellos (b. 1018).

¹⁴⁰ See SCHISSEL, *Osterrechnung*, and A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia*. Tome II. Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des sciences. Liège–Paris 1939, 193. Among other things, Argyros recycled almost verbatim the beginning of the preface of Gregoras' improved version of his own treatise; both writings can be read in autograph transcriptions, Gregoras' revision of his own tract in Vat. gr. 1087 (*Diktyon* 67718), ff. 313v–320v (with short breaks penned by other copyists: M. MENCHELLI, *Struttura e mani del Vat. gr. 1087* [con osservazioni paleografiche sul copista C e il Marc. gr. Z. 330], in: *Antiche stelle a Bisanzio*. Il codice Vaticano greco 1087, ed. F. Guidetti – A. Santoni. Pisa 2013, 17–56: 38–40), Argyros' in Marc. gr. Z. 323, ff. 394r–400r.

¹⁴¹ For Meliteniotes' "sources" in other portions of his treatise, see the edition of Books I and II in R. LEURQUIN (ed.), *Théodore Méliténote, Tribiblos Astronomique*. Livre I; Livre II (*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins* 4–6). Amsterdam 1990–93, I 328–334, 406–412; II 877–883.

¹⁴² Ed. J. MOLL, *Étude sur un traité anonyme d'initiation à l'Almageste*. I–II. Mémoire de licence. Louvain 1965.

¹⁴³ We read it in the autograph Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, suppl. gr. 75 (*Diktyon* 71538), ff. 234r–256v, a copy of which is Ambros. C 263 inf. (*Diktyon* 42502), ff. 195r–212r (16th century).

One must say that the *extent* of the phenomenon, not its mere existence, is bewildering: ancient Greek mathematicians and commentators on mathematical matters not infrequently “forget” to indicate their sources; suffice to recall the striking similarity of some solutions to the problem of duplication of the cube¹⁴⁴, or the relations between Pappus’ and Theon’s commentaries on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*. Maybe the diffusion of “plagiarism” is just another facet of Byzantine encyclopaedism, or compilatory habit, a consequence of culturally embedded strategies of authorial composition; think of Michael Psellos’ wide-ranging literary output, to a large extent made of compilations of ancient sources.

Still, one must also take into account that we can assume that we have a fairly complete documentary record of Byzantine science (this is not the case for Ancient Greek science, and incompleteness cannot but reduce the phenomenon), and that Byzantine science was produced during a very limited period, more or less in one and the same place, by people belonging to a very restricted elite and therefore acquainted with each other. This acquaintance was frequently strengthened by a master-pupil relationship: in this case, appropriation is a form of faithfulness to the masters, authorial appropriation being just a form of intellectual appropriation. Another point to be considered in this respect is that we cannot assume that something written in, for example, 14th-century Constantinople, even redacted, even endowed with a preface in due form—but intended for a very limited readership—was necessarily felt as “published” and therefore to be connected with a well-defined author.

Clearly, the intellectual world of the European Middle Ages was not exempt from concerns over questions of authorship, authority, and authenticity and their significance in the realm of the literary. While the analysis of authorial representations inevitably raises questions of self- and personhood, the fragility and instability characteristic of a tradition of textual transmission from before the introduction of the printing press in Europe bring a different set of concerns, namely with authorial attribution, recycling, and anonymization of texts written by others. John Tzetzes famously complained about a student of his who planned to publish a detailed record of Tzetzes’s lectures on the *Iliad* as a commentary under his own name¹⁴⁵. While Tzetzes’s example may be representative of the concerns of the professional intellectual in Komnenian Byzantium, whether Palaiologan authors of mathematical works experienced a similar anxiety concerning the practices of recycling and appropriation of their texts is a question that goes beyond the limits of the present study¹⁴⁶.

Note added in proof to page 35. Rhabdas’ procedure in his *Computus* coincides with the one in Blastares’ *Σύνταγμα*, 418–419 Rhallé – Potle. Reading primary sources is more effective than hoping to get a lucky break.

¹⁴⁴ Best account in W. R. KNORR, *Textual Studies in Ancient and Medieval Geometry*. Boston – Basel – Berlin 1989, 11–153. Read also Porphyry’s complaint about Ptolemy’s systematic plagiarisms in his *Harmonics*: I. DÜRING (ed.), *Porphyrios Kommentar zur Harmonielehre des Ptolemaios*. Göteborg 1932, 5.7–16.

¹⁴⁵ On Tzetzes and discussions of authorship, see E. CULLHED, *The Blind Bard and ‘I’: Homeric Biography and Authorial Personas in the Twelfth Century*. *BMGs* 38:1 (2014) 49–67, in particular 61–67. For a wider discussion of authorship in Byzantine literature, applying various theoretical approaches and including further bibliography, see ed. A. PIZZONE, *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature. Modes, Functions, and Identities*. Berlin 2014.

¹⁴⁶ Read, however, the ease with which Planudes treats the issue in his letter to Bekkos: τὸ δὲ πλέον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, ἐξ οὗ τὴν βιβλίον ἦν ἵστε παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐχρησάμην, ὁ κατ’ Ἰνδοὺς ἀριθμὸς δαπανᾷ καὶ θεοῦ διδόντος ἤδη τὸ πᾶν ἦνυσται. καὶ με οὐδὲν διέδρα τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, πλὴν καὶ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι τῇ γραφομένῃ μοι βούλομαι βιβλῷ. [...] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων ποὺ βιβλίων ἐντέτακται ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἔστιν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι, εὐκταῖα ἂν ἐμοὶ δράσαιτε, εἰ γράψαντες πέμψαιτε “I was spending most of every day on the Indian reckoning, beginning when I had from you the book you know, and God willing I have just completed the whole of it. I did not depart in anything from what is in it, except that I also want to add the following items in the book I am about to write: [...] Now, if these items turn out to be included somewhere in books of yours or if so happens that you know of them in other ways, you would do something highly desirable, if you wanted to send them to me in written form”. The text is at *Epistulae*, no. 46, 80.8–18 ed. P. A. M. LEONE, *Maximi monachi Planudis epistulae (Classical and Byzantine Monographs 18)*. Amsterdam 1991.

PANAGIOTIS AGAPITOS – DIMITER ANGELOV

Six Essays by Theodore II Laskaris in Vindobonensis Phil. Gr. 321: Edition, Translation, Analysis*

With 4 figures

Abstract: The paper offers a critical edition and translation of six hitherto unedited and practically unknown essays by Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258), preserved in Vind. phil. gr. 321 within a dossier devoted exclusively to works of the emperor. On the one hand, the edition is accompanied by a detailed study of this dossier along with a reconstruction of its lost copying exemplar, while, on the other, the paper presents an analysis of the six essays, placing them in the political, intellectual and cultural context of the late Nicaean Empire.

Emperor Theodore II Laskaris (1221/22–1258) was a prolific and unconventional author whose literary inclinations and probing mind are yet to be fully understood. His writings include—among other genres and generic variations—letters, oratory, natural philosophy, hymnography, satire, and political theory. It is little known that he also tried his hand at brief essayistic compositions. Six essays by Laskaris have been preserved in a famous manuscript dating to the second half of the thirteenth century, which is part of the collections of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, the Vind. phil. gr. 321 (V). The essays have remained unedited until today despite their considerable interest and brief description in Herbert Hunger’s catalogue. The goal of the present article is to offer an *editio princeps* and set the essays within their broader textual, literary, and biographical framework. In contrast to conventional practice, the article starts with the critical edition and an accompanying English translation, because we would like the readers to get an unmediated impression of these very special texts. The study of the manuscript has led us to offer a working hypothesis about its scribe and identify the two authorized editions of Laskaris’ works, from which the substantial dossier of his texts in V was extracted. Since Laskaris’ editorial project has not yet received due palaeographical and codicological attention, we will proceed to reconstruct for the first time a hitherto unnoticed authorized edition produced late in his life, in which the six essays were originally included. Our interpretative analysis considers the date, audience, and literary features of the essays, and discusses some of their peculiar ideas and characteristics.

* The present article is an expanded and fully revised version of a seminar given at the Vienna Institute of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in June 2017. We would like to thank Claudia Rapp and Andreas Rhoby for their hospitality, and the participants in the seminar for the lively discussion and the insightful comments. We are particularly indebted to Katharina Kaska at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for her assistance with our study of V, Otto Kresten for sharing with us his profound knowledge of the history of the ÖNB’s Greek manuscript collection, and Christian Förstel for his assistance with the Paris manuscripts of Laskaris’ works. Special thanks go to Börje Bydén, Carolina Cupane, Antonia Giannouli, Martin Hinterberger, Joseph Munitiz, Diether Roderich Reinsch and the two anonymous reviewers for their help, be it in matters of edition, translation or interpretation of the six essays.

The following abbreviations to modern editions of Theodore Laskaris’ works have been used:

ep. FESTA: N. FESTA, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae* CCXVII. Florence 1898.

TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula*: L. TARTAGLIA, *Theodorus II Ducas Lascaris: Opuscula rhetorica*. Munich 2000.

FESTA, *Κοσμική Δήλωση* I: N. FESTA, *Κοσμική Δήλωση*, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 11 (1897–98) 97–114.

FESTA, *Κοσμική Δήλωση* II, III, IV: N. FESTA, *Κοσμική Δήλωση*, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* 12 (1899) 1–52.

KRIKONIS, *Χριστιανική θεολογία*: Ch. KRIKONIS, *Θεοδώρα Β΄ Λασκάρεως περί Χριστιανικής θεολογίας*. Thessaloniki 1988.

ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces*: D. ANGELOV, *The Moral Pieces by Theodore II Laskaris*. *DOP* 65–66 (2011–12) 237–269.

1

65^v

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὴν <τῆς> βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν.

Μετὰ τὸ τῆς ἐντελεχείας ἀξίωμα, ὅτι ταύτης ἔγγιστα ἢ διαίρεσις, τῶν δ' ἐκατέρων εἴ τι πᾶν ἐντελής. Εἰ γάρ τοι κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα εὐρίσκονται, ἀναιρεῖται τὸ τούτων ἀξίωμα, καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος λείποντος, τὸ τῶν πάντων κοινόν, οὐδὲν αὐτὰ ἐκτελεῖ· ἀλλ' ὅταν τοῖς ἀξιώμασι σώζονται, τότε ἂν
 5 καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄντι ὄντως ὑπάρχωσι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς γε καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν· ἐν τοῖς μέσοις αὐτῶν· ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν· ἐν τοῖς ὀργανικοῖς θεωρήμασιν· ἐν τοῖς ῥητορικοῖς· ἐν τοῖς γραμματικοῖς· ἐν τοῖς ποιητικοῖς· ἐν τοῖς νομικοῖς· ἐν τοῖς ἰατρικοῖς· ἐν γνώμας· ἐν λόγοις· ἐν ἔργοις· ἐν πράξεσιν· ἐν στοιχείοις· ἐν μετάλλοις· ἐν φυτοῖς· ἐν ζώοις· [ἐν] χρώμασιν· ἐν ποιότησιν· ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὐσί· ἐν τῷ παντί. Εἰ γὰρ διέλωμεν, σύναξιν ἐργαζόμεθα· ἥτις ζητεῖ καὶ τὴν ἐντελέχειαν ἀρχομένην ἐκ
 10 διαιρέσεως, καὶ λήγουσαν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης, οἷον ὡς ἐκ μητρὸς, ἐκ ταύτης οἷον ὡς ἐκ πνοῆς, ζωῆς ἐμψυχωμένης δυνάμεως. Πῶς ἄρα οὐκ ἐκ μητρικῆς αἰτίας τὸ γεννητὸν, καὶ πῶς τὸ ἐφιέμενον μένειν οὐκ ἐκ ζωϊκῆς ἀφθαρσίας συνίσταται; Διαίρεσις μήτηρ, ἐντελέχεια τῶν πραγμάτων, ζωὴ καὶ
 66^v ψυχὴ, καὶ οἷον ἐκ συστατικῆς οὐσιώδους ἀφθαρσίας καὶ ὕπαρξιν. | Ὁ ζητῶν τοίνυν τὴν ἐντελέχειαν, τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτοῦ ζητεῖ τὸ ἀκέραιον· ὁ διαιρῶν τὰς σχέσεις τῶν λόγων, τὸ ἴδιον γεννᾶσθαι ἀναγκάζει
 15 τῆς ἰδίας βουλῆς· ὁ τῶν ἐκατέρων δὲ συντηρῶν τὸ ἀξίωμα, τί ἄλλο ποιεῖ ἢ τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον κατὰ βροτεῖαν δυνάμιν ἐκζητεῖ· καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀσφαλίζεται καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐθίζει μὴ νοεῖν διαλελυμένα νοήματα· καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν ἀναγκάζει ἐλλογωτάτως πράττειν κατ' ἐντελέχειαν; Πῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ γεωμέτρης κύβον συστήσεται, εἰ πρὸς τὸ ἐπίπεδον ἐνορᾷ, καὶ ὁ μουσικὸς εἰ πρὸς τὴν νῆπιν ἀεὶ, καὶ ἄλλος πᾶς ἀριθμητικὸς τε καὶ ἀστρονόμος ἐν τοῖς ἄκροις τῶν θεωρημάτων, τῶν ἐπιστημῶν τῆς
 20 αὐτῶν ἕξεως; Καὶ τὸ καρποφόρον φυτὸν δε εἰ μὴ καρπεύσει, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν εἰς πέπανσιν ἄξει, πῶς ἂν τὴν ἰδίαν ιδιότητα ἀπετέλεσε; Καὶ τὸ χρῶμα εἰ μὴ πρὸς τῆς διαιρέσεως πρὸς ἕτερον μεταπέσῃ, τὸ μὲν ἐντελεχῶς ἀπαρτίσαν τοῦ δὲ κατάρξαντος διαιρέσει, πῶς ἂν τὰ χρώματα τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γνωρισθῇσεται, καὶ τὸ μέλος κατὰ ταῦτό, καὶ πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐφιέμενον εἶναι πῶς, εἰ μὴ διαιρέσει θατέρων ἀποχωρίσει καὶ ἐντελεχεία τελειωθῇ, ἄλλο ὑπάρξει· ἄλλο γένους καὶ εἶδους; Τοῦτο καινότατον,
 25 ἀληθέστατον· καινότατον μὲν ἐκτὸς τῶν εἰρημένων γενέσθαι τί, ἀληθέστατον δὲ, ὅτι ἐντελεχεία καὶ διαιρέσει τὰ πράγματα γίνονται· μένουσι· καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἴδιον ἔχουσι. Διαταῦτα μέγα τὸ τῆς ἐντελεχείας καὶ διαιρέσεως ὕψωμα· ἀδελφαὶ γὰρ αὗται ἀεὶ καὶ ἔνθα ἢ μία, ἀχωρίστως καὶ ἢ ἑτέρα. Οὔτε γὰρ χρόνῳ αὕτη ταύτης ἐκτὸς, οὔτε πράξει ἐκείνης ἢ ἑτέρα οὐ συνεργὸς· κοινὸν γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν· καὶ κοινήν τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ πάντα κοινὰ, ἀδελφὰ καὶ
 30 ἀχώριστα. Τοὺς τοίνυν ἐν τιμαῖς προκαθημένους ὑμᾶς ταύ[τας] δεῖ ἐνορᾶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐν τοῖς ὅροις τῶν ἀμφ[οτέρων] ἐντὸς, καὶ μηδὲν ποιοῦν τούτων ἐξίστασθαι· εἰ καὶ τὸ λημμάτιον τοῦτο ὧ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες πρὸς ὑμᾶς κατὰ τοὺς ἴσους τούτων κανόνας· εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ἀγαθῶν βουλευμάτων διαιρητικῶς καὶ ἐντελεχῶς ἐκτετέλεσται.

Op. 1: 1 τῆς addidimus; cf. e.g. rubricas ad epp. 42 et 87 (FESTA 53 et 113): μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν, ambo in V traditae 4 λείποντος V, quod correximus 8 ἐν⁴ p.c. 10 πρὸς] ἐν a.c. 14 γεννᾶσθαι] γεννέσθαι a.c. 15 ἀνεπίληπτον] ἀνεπίλειπτον a.c. 23 κατὰ ταῦτό V 25 καινότατον scripsimus : καὶ καινῶν V 28 αὕτη] ταύτη a.c.

1

By the same: a maxim after the full completeness of imperial rule.

After the dignity of full completeness, one should know that division is closest to it [full completeness] insofar as anything in each [full completeness and division] is complete in every respect. For if existent things are found to be conjoined, their dignity is removed. And should their dignity be absent, the common state of everything produces none of these existent things, but when they are preserved in their dignities, then [5] things in existence truly do exist. And this is so in the natural sciences and in the supernatural ones, in those in-between, in the mathematical sciences, in the logical theorems, in the rhetorical disciplines, in the grammatical ones, in the poetic ones, in the legal ones, in the medical ones, in maxims, in discourses, in deeds, in acts, in elements, in metals, in plants, in animals, in colours, in qualities, in all that is, in everything. For should we divide, we make a collection that seeks also full completeness beginning from [10] division and ending at this one [full completeness] from the other [division] as if from a mother, from her as if from a breath, an animated force of life. How can, then, what is born not come from a maternal cause, and how can what strives to endure not be composed from life-giving incorruption? Division is a mother, a full completeness of things, a life and a soul, and is, as it were, a constitutive, essential incorruption and existence. The person thus seeking full completeness seeks the integrity of his own labour. The person who determines the relations of the ratios¹ forces the characteristic property of his own free will to be born. [15] What else does the person who preserves the dignity of each of the two things [full completeness and division] do other than seek blamelessness as far as it lies within human reach, strengthen his own characteristics, train his mind not to think loose thoughts, and force <them> to perform their actions most reasonably and in full completion? For how shall the geometrician compose a cube if he looks only at flatness, how shall the musician <compose a melody> if he always looks at the lowest string, and how shall every other mathematician and astronomer <compose their ideas> at the summit of the theorems, <the summit> of the sciences [20] of their very own training? How would the fruit plant fulfill its own characteristic property if it will not bear and ripen its fruit? And if one colour should not change into another by reason of its divisions (the former colour being actually complete, the latter having begun through division), how then shall colours be recognized by the eyes? And <how shall> the melody <be recognized> in the same manner? And how shall everything striving to be, become something else, something else in terms of kind and species, unless through division it separates itself from other things and through full completeness is brought into perfection? This is most novel, this is [25] most true: most novel for something to be born beyond what has been mentioned, but most true since through full completeness and division things come into being, endure, and possess their natural character. Great is, therefore, the exaltation of full completeness and division! For these are sisters always, and where the one is found, the other is inseparably there too. Neither is in time the former apart from the latter, nor is in action the one unhelpful to the other, for they have in common time and power, labour and honour, and everything is to them common, akin and [30] inseparable. Thus you, men who preside in honours, must observe and speak and act within the limits of both [full completeness and division], and never ever stand apart from them, insofar as this proposition, o wise men, has been distinctly and completely created for you through these same rules [of completion and division], as a notice² of good counsels.

¹ The puzzling expression *σχέσις τῶν λόγων* is attested in mathematical contexts (see Nicomachus of Gerasa, Introduction to Arithmetics 2, 24, 7). The translation follows Laskaris' special interest in mathematics. On geometrical proportionality ("ratio-based equality") in Platonic and Neoplatonic social and political thought, see D. O' MEARA, *Platonopolis: Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*. Oxford 2005, 101–105, 180, 190–191, 201.

² *Ὑπόμνησις* can mean "reminding," "official notice," "memorandum note," including a memorandum of petition to the emperor. For the last meaning, see F. MIKLOSICH – J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. Vol. 4. Vienna 1871, 36–37 (no. IV), 291, 327–328; F. FERRARI DALLE SPADE, *Formulari notarili inediti dell'età bizantina*. *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 33 (1913) 41–126, esp. 61 (no. 33); ep. 19.5–9 (FESTA 25).

2

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν.

Σὺ μὲν ὦ γαστρίδουλε σὰρξ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν σῶν σκιρτημάτων ἐπιφερομένη περὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα,
 66^ο ὑπεραίρη ταμάλιστα· καὶ | ὑψαυχενεῖς τὸν ἡγεμόνα βιάζουσα, συγκαταθολοῦσα καὶ ἀνυψοῦσα τὰ
 τοῦ αἰσχους καὶ τῆς ἀνατροπῆς. Βαβαὶ τῆς ἀναισθησίας· ποσαχῶς τὸν τύφον κινεῖς, καὶ πρὸς τὰς
 5 ὑψώσεις βιάζεις ἀνάγεσθαι, τὸν νοῦν μηδοπωσοῦν ἐνορᾶν τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐῶσα καὶ τῆς σεμνότητος. Τί
 τοῦτο; Ἐλκη τὲ καὶ ἀνθέλκη, καὶ περιστροφαις ταραχοποιαῖς τὸν λογισμὸν συνθολοῖς, καὶ σκοτάζεις
 τὴν φρένα, καὶ οὐ παραχωρεῖς ὁρᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ποῦ τὸ κλέος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς; Ἡττᾶται παρὰ σοῦ
 καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς. Ποῦ τὸ ἀρχικὸν καὶ βασιλικόν; Διὰ τῆς σῆς χαυνώσεως πάμπαν ἐξευτελίζεται. Ποῦ
 τὸ θεοειδές τε καὶ τίμιον; Τῇ σῇ πρὸς τὰ τῆς ὕλης ροπή, πρὸς τὰ τῆς κακίας βάραθρα στέλλεται. Καὶ
 10 γαμικαῖς ἐν μυθοπλαστίαις ἀληθείας ἀναπλάττεις μοι εἰδῶλα, τὸ φανταστικὸν περιστρέφουσα, καὶ
 ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄντος τὰς σκιὰς ὑπεμφαίνουσα· καὶ μικρὰ καὶ καιρικῇ ἡδονῇ ἀπογυμνοῦσα τοῦ εὐσήμου
 τῆς χάριτος. Ἦχθη ἡ χάρις; Ἄλλ' οἱ κοπιάσαντες ἔλαβον ταύτην, οἱ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων· οὐδὲ ἐκ
 θελήματος σαρκὸς· οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς· ταῖς πρώταις ἐπιβολαῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς κατηντήκεισαν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ τῆς μακαρίας δὴ ζωῆς τετυχήκασιν. Ἡμᾶς δὲ σὺ καθέλκεις τοῖς χείροσι. Καὶ τίνο
 15 χάριν; Ἐπίσταμαι οὐδαμῶς. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις προφέρεις· καὶ τὰς ὠδὰς ἐτοιμάζεις· καὶ
 ἡμᾶς τελεῖς τῆς θηλότητος. Ἦδονὴ γὰρ χαυνοῖ τὸν νοῦν, καὶ διαπαίζει τὸν ἡγεμόνα, ἢ καὶ πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς κινηθεῖσα ἐκ σοῦ, τοῦ βασιλικοῦ βαδίσματος λεοντείου πρὸς ὥραν μετήλλαξε· καὶ παίζειν
 ἠνάγκασε· καὶ συνορχεῖσθαι τοῖς ὀρχουμένοις παρέπεισεν· ἐξ ὧν δήπερ κλέος οὐδοπωσοῦν. Ἄλλ'
 [ἡμ]εῖς μὲν εἰ καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ τῆς ἡττης ἐκ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ λόγου [ταν]ῦν, ἀνανεύοντες λέγομεν:
 20 πᾶς ἀνὴρ κατὰ ψυχὴν εὐγενῆς, εἰ καὶ πρὸς ὥραν διά τι πρὸς διακρίσεις <ἐσφάλῃ>. Ἔστι γὰρ ἔστι
 τοῦτο καὶ συγκατάβασις· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ψυχικὴν μεγαλόνοϊαν εὐθέως
 πάλιν ἐπαναστρέφεται. Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην ὁρᾶν παρεάσαντες, εἰ καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ
 ἡττήθημεν παρὰ σοῦ, ἀλλ' οὖν καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἀνηνέχθημεν, τῷ λεοντώδει
 σώματι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔξιν εὐγενῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς καλλωπίσαντες.

3

67^ο

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ λῆμμα. |

Ἡ φύσις εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ στρέφεται. Εἰ δ' ἄρα στραφῇ, ἢ σμικρυνθῇ, καὶ ταῖς κατὰ μικρὸν ἀφαντωθῇ
 στροφαῖς, ἢ τοῦ πηγαστικοῦ ἀποστερηθῇ τῶν ιδίων – οἷον τί λέγω; Τὸ πῦρ κατὰ κῶνον γραμμικῶς
 ἀκοντίζεται, θερμὴ κινούμενον καὶ λεπτομερεῖα ἀναφερόμενον. Τὴν ὕλην τινὲς ὁρῶντες κλινομένην
 5 πρὸς γῆν, τὴν τὸ πῦρ ἐξάπτουσιν, καὶ τὸ πῦρ τὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄνω ἀναφερόμενον, στροφὴν ἀμαθῶς
 τῆς φύσεως εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναφορὰν ἐδόξασαν. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ λίθου πρὸς οὐρανὸν
 κινουμένου πρὸς τινος πρὸς γῆν πίπτοντος, τὴν πρὸς γῆν τούτου ρίψιν, στροφὴν τῆς φύσεως εἰς
 ἑαυτὴν κατωνόμασαν, ἀμαθῶς πλανηθέντες ἀμφοῖν.

Op. 2: 6 ταραχοποιαῖς Giannouli : ταραχοποιᾶσι V 12 κοπιόσαντες a.c. | οἱ scripsimus : ἢ V 16 ἡδονὴ – ἡγεμόνα] γνώμη
 in marg. V 19 τανὺν supplevit Reinsch 20 lacunam statuimus, quam e.g. supplevimus

2

By the same: about his own affairs.

You, then, belly-enslaved flesh, in rushing towards most shameless things through the excesses of your own stirrings, you pride yourself exceedingly and you arrogantly raise your neck as you force the ruling intellect³, agitating and elevating what belongs to shame and ruin. Alas, what senselessness! In how many ways do you stir up vanity and force it to be led towards [5] exaltation, not allowing the intellect ever to observe the matters of virtue and dignity? What then is this? You pull <reason> hither and thither, you dim it through confusing turns, you darken the mind, and you do not allow it to see the truth. Where is the glory of the soul? It is defeated by you and by pleasure. Where is the soul's sovereignty and regality? Through your indolence it is fully debased. Where is its godlikeness and honour? Through your propensity for material affairs it is sent to the abyss of evil. And [10] in marital fictions you invent for me phantoms of truth, confusing my faculty of imagination and presenting me with shadows instead of the actual being⁴, while divesting grace of its prominence through a small and fleeting pleasure. Has grace been granted? Indeed, those who have toiled received it; they have arrived at the first intuitions about virtue not because of <noble> blood, nor because of the will of the flesh, nor because of the will of man, but because they obtained the blessed life from God. But you, flesh, drag us down towards the worst. And for what [15] reason? I do not know at all. Hence, you offer dances and prepare songs and initiate us into effeminacy. For pleasure slackens the mind and laughs at the ruling reason. Incited against us by you, pleasure transformed for some time our leonine imperial gait, forced us to play, coaxed us into dancing together with the dancers—things from which indeed there is no glory whatsoever. But even though we were briefly defeated by you, yet raising now ourselves with the help of reason we say [20]: “Every man is noble in his soul, even if temporarily and due to some cause <he erred> in his decisions.”⁵ For this, this thing is indeed a moral descent, yet immediately does the soul return again to pre-eminence, to spiritual loftiness. Hence we too negligently allowed you, flesh, to gaze at matter; even if we were defeated by you for a while, nevertheless we have again been elevated to magnificence, nobly and marvelously beautifying the habitual state of our soul through our leonine body.

3

By the same: a proposition.

Nature does not turn upon itself. For if it should turn, it will either be lessened and gradually disappear because of its own turns, or it will be deprived of the inner source of its own characteristics; but what am I saying? Fire shoots forth geometrically in the shape of a cone, moved by heat and rising due to its fine particles. Some people seeing that matter gravitates [5] towards earth, which kindles fire, and seeing that fire rises up high have ignorantly supposed that rising fire is a turn of nature upon itself. Similarly, should a stone be tossed towards the sky by someone and fall to the earth, people called the throwing of the stone towards earth a turn of nature upon itself, having been ignorantly deceived as to both phenomena.

³ The Greek has ἡγεμόν. The intellect was understood as the ruling faculty of the soul, hence Hesychios glosses τὸ ἡγεμόνιον as νοῦς. For the identification of the two concepts (βασιλεύς and νοῦς) in Theodore Metochites, see I. POLEMIS, Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης. Ἡθικός ἢ περὶ παιδείας. Athens ²2002, 258–266 (§61).

⁴ This image ultimately goes back to Plato, *Republic* 514a–520a.

⁵ The author uses elsewhere the word διάκρισις to refer to a superior judgement and decision. See, for example, ep. 36.25–26 (FESTA 45), ep. 38.11–12 (FESTA 48), which is a reference to the “discerning fire” of trial by ordeal; *Moral Pieces* §I (255.21–24 ANGELOV).

4

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέσις.

Τὸ ἐν ὅλῳ δίκαιον, ὅλον τοῦ δικαίου ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ κείμενον εἰς διάλυσιν, ἀναιρεῖ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ δίκαιον. Ἡ τοῦ παντὸς τοίνυν τήρησις τὸ ὅλον ἐξασφαλίζεται παραφυλάττουσα ἀληθέστατα· ἡ τοῦ ἐνός δε παραθεώρησις ἀναιρεῖ τὸ πᾶν φανερώτατα· ὁ γὰρ θέσις φυλάττει, τοῦτο ἄρσις λυμαίνεται, 5 ὁ δὲ μερικὸς ἀνατρέπεται κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰ τέλη δυνάμει τρέπων. Τὸ αἷτιον παρεισάγει τὰς ἀφορμὰς· ἡ μὴ συντήρησις, τὰς αἰτίας· ἡ συνήθης ἀταξία, τὴν λύμανσιν· ἡ κρίσις δικαία· ἡ τρυτάνη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν· τὰ λήμματα πρόκειται. Ὁ δεδοικὼς εἰσδραμεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἐκ τῶν πορρωτέρω ἐξωνήσατο τὸν οἶκτον, μὴ τῇ κρίσει ἀνεώξει τὰς θύρας καὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα φανήσεται· ἔλεγχος ὁ καιρὸς· μαρτυροῦσιν αἱ ἀφορμαὶ· οἱ τρόποι παρεισάγουσι τὸ ἀνόμημα. Τί χρηὶ λέγειν; 10 Πάντα φαίνονται, πάντα δὲ καὶ γινώσκονται· ἀλλὰ φρόνιμος νοῦς τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέφυγεν, ἀρτίβλαστος δὲ εἰσήχθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας· ποιῶν καὶ πάσχων τὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ[του] τέλεον ὄνησιν, ἐπεὶ τοι γε καὶ τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα, ὑπεμφ[αίνουσι] τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

5

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέσις.

Προνοίας τοῦτο, ἡ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. Ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἐφέσου ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, τῇ νῦν Κυριακῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ἡ δὲ τὸν φαρισσαϊκὸν στηλιτεύει κόμπον ἐν ὑποδείγματι. Καὶ πῶς τοῦτο πεποίηκεν; Αὐτὸς, 5 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡ τὰς ἐπερχομένας Κυριακὰς ἐδειλίασε προτιμησάμενος σημειωθῆναι ταύτη, γνωρίμου ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος, ἡ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐτέρων κακίας ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὔσας ἀνακαλύψαι ἡμῖν. | Ἐμοὶ μὲν 67^v δοκεῖ ὅτι τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῦτο πεποίηκεν. Ἡ γὰρ ἐπερχομένη τοῦ Ἀσώτου ἐστὶ, καὶ πῶς ὁ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτος τὴν ἄσωτίαν ἡμῖν ἐνεδείξατο. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ μετὰ ταύτας; Καὶ πῶς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐθρήνησε φανερώσας ἡμῖν τὸ ἔγκλημα· ἐκείνη γὰρ τὴν ἔκπτωσιν ἀποκλαίεται τοῦ προπάτορος. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ ἐπερχομένῃ; Καὶ πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ κρίσει προέθετο κατάκριτος πέλων, Ἐφεσίων σχέσει τῇ κυκλικῇ· 10 ὁ γὰρ πύρινος ποταμὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραπλάγιον διαρρέει, τοὺς ἀνοήτους καταφλογίζων. Ἀλλ' ἐννοήσει τίς ὅτι ἔδει τοῦτον τῇ τῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας ἐλθεῖν; Καὶ πῶς τοῦτο; Σφάλλει γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς τὰ δόγματα, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς οὐκ ὀρθοδοξεῖ, δι' ἃς καὶ πάσχει ταμέγιστα, δι' ἃς περ δὴ καὶ συντρίβεται, τὸ ἡμῶν ταπεινόφρον μὴ ξυγγινώσκων. Ἀμαρτάνει γὰρ πατριάρχῃ· ἀρχιεπισκόποις· ἐπισκόποις· καὶ βασιλεῖ· τὰς ὀρθοδόξους γραμμὰς τῶν ἐπινοῶν, κομπηραῖς ταῖς λέξεσι καπηλεύων περιφερῶς. Ἐντεῦθεν 15 ἐνδίκως πεποίηκε παριδὼν τὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλευσιν ταῖς γραφαῖς ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῇ φαρισσαϊκῇ ιδιαιτέτῃ τούτου ἐλθὼν, τὸ φανερόν καὶ γνωστὸν οἰκονομικῶς πῶς ἀνεκάλυπεν ἡμῖν. Ἀλλὰ φεῖσαι τοῦ τελώνου, θαυμασιώτατε· πολλὸς γάρ ἐστι τῶν πολλῶν ἀπέχων ὡς πάμμεγας.

Op. 4: 4 τοῦτο s.l. 10 ἀρτίβλαστος scripsimus : ἀρτίβαστος V 11 εἰσήχθη] εἰσάχθη a.c.

Op. 5: 4 αὐτὸς scripsimus : αὐτῆς V 7 τὴν, post τηλικούτος praebebat V, quod deleuimus | ἐνεδείξατο] ε' s.l. : ἀνεδείξατο i.l.

17 τοῦ scripsimus : τούτου V

4

By the same: a thesis.

What is just as a whole belongs wholly to what is just, and what is subject to dissolution removes the justness of the whole. The preservation, then, of everything secures the whole, guarding it most truly. The neglect of one thing removes most manifestly everything, for what affirmation safeguards, negation harms [5], while the partial man is diverted in the beginning and is potentially directed towards the end. Cause introduces the occasions, non-preservation introduces disputes, habitual disorder introduces ruin; the judgement is just, the scale is before our eyes, the propositions are laid out. The person who is afraid to rush to the market has purchased his pity from farther away, lest he should open the gates of his mouth⁶ through his judgement and hidden things should become apparent. Time is the test, occasions testify to this, people's conduct introduces transgression of the law. What is there to say? [10] All things are apparent, all things are indeed known. But the prudent mind has escaped judgement, while as a newly sprouted plant he has been brought to the contests, doing and experiencing things that are to his perfect profit, because these propositions here present the truth.

5

By the same: a thesis.

This thing happened by providence rather than chance. The archbishop of Ephesos came to us on the present Sunday which denounces pharisaic boasting through an instructive example. And how did he do this? He himself did so, because he either was afraid of the following Sundays, preferring to be marked by this Sunday [5] once the incident is known, or he was afraid of revealing to us the evils of the other Sundays innate in him. It appears to me that he did this for the second reason. For next Sunday is that of the Prodigal Son—and how a man so great and old has demonstrated his prodigality to us! But then what about the Sunday following these two? How he mourned together with Adam, revealing to us his crime, for that Sunday laments the Fall of our forefather! But what about the following Sunday?⁷ How he showed himself being condemned on Judgement Day by the circular state of the Ephesians⁸, [10] for the fiery river immediately flows forth burning down fools! But will someone think that he should have come on the Sunday of Orthodoxy? And how so? The man errs in his doctrines and does not keep to orthodoxy in his letters, on account of which he suffers greatly, on account of which he is crushed by contrition, not being aware of our humility. For he sins against the patriarch, the archbishops, the bishops and the emperor, in that he falsifies the orthodox outlines of concepts through boastful words spoken in a roundabout manner. Therefore, [15] he rightly forewent making an appearance before us on the described Sundays. And having arrived on the Pharisean Sunday so characteristic of him, he revealed to us somehow by divine dispensation what is obvious and known. But indeed, show consideration for the Tax Collector⁹, o most wondrous man, for he is mighty in standing apart from the multitude, being truly the greatest!

⁶ On the metaphorical meaning of “gates” as “lips,” see Laskaris’ explication of the proverbial phrase “gates of the wise” as “lips of the wise” in *Natural Communion* VI 10 (PG 140, 1394AB). He used the phrase autobiographically in his *Satire of the Tutor* (TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 166.284–286); see also his *Explanation of the World*, in *FESTA*, *Κοσμική Διήλωση* IV 46.15–16.

⁷ Theodore inverts here the liturgical order of the Sunday of the Last Judgement and the Sunday of Forgiveness.

⁸ “Circular state of the Ephesians”: see the analysis of Essay 5 below.

⁹ That is, Laskaris himself: see the analysis below.

6

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ γνώμη.

Οἱ τῆς μεγάλης ἡγεμονίας ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου τὰς λύπας ἢ τὰς χαρὰς ἔχουσιν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ σωματικῶς εὐεκτῶσιν, ἐκ τῶν ἐκτὸς· ὅταν δὲ πῶς σωματικῶς ἀσθενῶσι, κοινῶς ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι. Ὁ κοινός δε καὶ μὴ τῆς ἐνοχῆς ιδιάζων, οὐ μεριμνᾷ, οὔτε μὴν τὰς ἐπαλληλίας δέχεται τῶν
 5 καιρῶν, τοὺς οἶακας τῇ[ς] ἀρχῆς ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ἡγεμόνος χερσὶν ὁρῶν παραδεδομένους ἀ[π]ὸ Θεοῦ· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἡ στροφή, καὶ ἡ ἀντίστασις τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ ἡ [τῶν ἐ]θνικῶν τρικυμιῶν, ἀντιπάλαισῖς γε καὶ ἀντιμάχησις. Ἐντεῦθεν παρ' ἄλλα τὴν τηλικαύτην ὁ ιδιώτης ἐνοχὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐνορῶν, τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἰδίοις συστρέφεται, ὅτε δὲ τὸν ὄλβον ὠνεῖσθαι ἐμπορευόμενος, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ σωματικῆς καχεξίας ἐπιμελούμενος ἐλεύθερος πέλων, καὶ σκοπῶν τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτόν. Ὁ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας
 10 ἐπικρατῶν, ποῖα ἀντιπαλαίσει, ἐν τίνι καὶ ἀντιστήσεται, περὶ τίνος δέ γε καὶ πραγματεύεται, περὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος; Ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστι τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα τάραχος τοῖς ἐντὸς βροτῶ τυγχάνοντι
 68^ο ἀληθῶς, | καὶ τῇ τῶν πολλῶν μερίμνῃ τοὺς πόνους καρπουμένῳ καταπολύ. Ἡ τοῖς ἐπιπονυτέροις ἄξει τὴν μάχην, ἵνα φυλάξῃ τὸν ιδιάζοντα; Παρέστηκε γὰρ τὸ ψῦχος, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐν οἰκίᾳ, ἵνα ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν, τοῦ ψύχους καταφρονεῖ. Εἴ γε καὶ τῷ θέρῳ βρασμῶ, ὁ μὲν τὸ
 15 πηγυμαῖον ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ, κρυστάλλου δίκην ψύξεως ἐκροφᾷ ἀμερίμνως μὴ κοπιῶν, ἀλλ' εὐκράτως διάγων καταπολύ· ὁ δὲ συνταράσσει στρατὸν, καὶ φλέγεται τῷ πυρὶ κατὰ κορυφὴν βαλλόμενος ταῖς ἀκτίσι ταῖς τοῦ φωσφόρου, καὶ κονιορτῶ συνθολοῦται πρὸς τὰς αἰσθήσεις, καὶ φέρει τὴν δυσωδίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἀταξίαν τὴν ἄστεκτον, ἵνα δὴ πρὸς τάξιν ἄξι τινὸς λογικότητος. Ποῖον σῶμα ταῦτα οὐ μᾶλλον αἰκίσουσιν, οὐ ναρκῆσαι δὲ πείσουσιν· οὐ τῆς εὐκρασίας στερήσουσιν· οὐκ εἰς
 20 καχεξίαν ἐπάξουσιν; Ἐξ ἄλλης πάλιν ἀρχῆς, ἀγρυπνία καὶ κόπος, τὰ ξηρότατα αἷτια, αἱ πηγαὶ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας, ἐξ ὧν νοσήματα γέγονται; Πολλὰ τις ἔχει λέγειν πρὸς τὰ ἐπόμενα, ἅπερ μᾶλλον τοῦ μεγίστου ἄρχοντος ἴδια· ἴδια δέ γε ὅτι ἀνάγκη φέρει αὐτὰ, τρυτάνη ζυγοστατούμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ μὴ ἐθελοντὶ παρεγκλίνων ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος τῆς φυλακῆς τῆς ποιμένης αὐτοῦ, διακελευομένης τοῦτο θεϊκῆς διδαχῆς ἀνέκαθεν. Εἰ γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλας ἀπίδῃ τὰς πραγματείας, τάχα ἂν ἡδυνόμενος ἐκ πολλῶν,
 25 ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ εὐεκτεῖ. Ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἴδιον μὲν μισεῖ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἰδιοῦται πικρὰ πρὸς γλυκύτητα μεταφέρων, εἴτε τῷ λόγῳ τῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, εἴτε τῷ λόγῳ μάχης τῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, πάσχει τὰ πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀάμπολλα· ἐκ τῶν ἐντὸς τε καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς καὶ τοῦ μίγματος. Ὅντως δὴ ὁ τὸν θηρευτὴν τοῦ μεγίστου βασιλέως εὐδαιμονέστερον εἰρηκῶς, καλῶς εἴρηκε. Ταῦτα περισκοπήσας ὁμματι τηλεσκόπῳ καὶ ὀξύτητι διανοίας καὶ διακρίσει τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ἢ καὶ πλείω τῶν λεγομένων εἰδῶς, τὴν
 30 γνώμην ἐξέθετο.

5 παραδεδομένους scripsimus : -vas V 10 ποῖα scripsimus : ποία V 12 ἐπιπονυτέροις V, quod correximus 15 ἐκροφᾷ V, quod correximus

6

By the same: a maxim.

Rulers of great authority readily experience sorrows rather than joys. When they are well bodily, they do so from the outside, but when for some reason they are unwell bodily, they commonly do so from the inside as human beings do. But the commoner who is not characterized by having a public duty worries not, nor does he understand the alternating succession [5] of critical times, seeing that the helm of government has been placed by God into the hands of the ruler. For there lies the wrestling twist, the opposition to the winds, the resistance to and struggle against the foreign storms. Here again, the private man, who sees that such a great public responsibility is placed elsewhere, turns to the personal care of his body, sometimes when profiting in the purchase of material wealth, sometimes when taking care of his bodily illness because he is free and attends to his own affairs. [10] But against what shall the holder of authority wrestle, what shall he confront, with what shall he concern himself? With his internal condition as a human being? For this, this is very much an upheaval to the internal condition for him who is truly mortal and who reaps much toil because of his care for the many. Or shall he lead the battle against quite toilsome affairs in order to protect the private individual? For the cold of winter has arrived; and the latter staying in his house disregards the cold, while the former does so for the sake of the man in the house, so that he can stay in his house. In the heat of summer, the private individual gulps [15] down with ease spring water as if it were ice in order to cool himself insuciently, not exerting himself but living quite healthily. But the ruler stirs up an army, is parched by fire being struck on his head by the rays of the light-bearer, his senses are blurred by the cloud of dust, and he bears the stench and intolerable disorder of the multitude so as to lead it towards order of a certain rationality. What body will these things not greatly torment, will not force to become numb, will not deprive of wellness, will not [20] lead to illness? Again, do sleeplessness and fatigue—the most desiccating causes, the sources of anomaly from which diseases are born—derive from another origin? One can say many things about the consequences that are rather particular to the greatest sovereign—particular in that he inevitably bears them as he weighs with the scale of truth¹⁰ and does not willingly deviate from his flock's guardianship, as is the right thing to do, because divine teaching has commanded this from the very beginning. For if the ruler considers other occupations, seemingly deriving pleasure from many of them, [25] then it happens that he is healthy. But given that he despises his own interest and makes the bitter cares of private individuals his own, changing them into sweetness, he suffers all too many things from the inside, from the outside and from their mixture, and this either by the very reason of rulership or by the very reason of battle against the enemies. Surely, he who has called the hunter happier than the greatest emperor has said it well¹¹. After having examined these things with a *far-seeing eye*¹² and with the sharpness of thought and the judgement of knowledge, [30] he expounded the maxim, although he knows more than what has been said.

¹⁰ For the expressions “scale of justice” (τρύτάνη τῆς διακαισύνης, τρύτάνη τῆς θεμίδος), see ep. 206.25 (FESTA 257); *On the Divine Names*, in KRIKONIS, Χριστιανική θεολογία 108.269–270. On the way Theodore used “truth” as a virtue equivalent to justice, see D. ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330*. Cambridge 2007, 243–244.

¹¹ There might be a faint hint here at a similar passage in Dio Chrysostom's *Eubaeian Tale* (orat. VII 66).

¹² Aristophanes, *Clouds* 290 (τηλεσκόπῳ ὄμματι); hence Blemmydes, *Imperial Statue* §18, in: I. ŠEVČENKO – H. HUNGER, Des Nikephoros Blemmydes Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς und dessen Metaphrase von Georgios Galesiotes und Georgios Oinaïotes (*WBS* 18). Vienna 1986, 48.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Cod. Vind. phil. gr. 321 (V) (*Diktyon* 71435) is a miscellaneous codex of small size (ca. 170 × 120 mm) including mostly rhetorical and epistolographical works of the twelfth and the thirteenth century, along with various grammatical, lexicographical and orthographical treatises, both ancient and Byzantine¹³. The original volume comprises 319 folia of mediocre oriental paper; a remaining set of nine paper folia (320–328) dates from the sixteenth century. The original volume was written by one scribe (with a fluctuating style and the use of different inks) in the last third of the thirteenth century, given that two texts can be securely dated to 1267 (see further below)¹⁴. Folia 310–319 were detached from the original volume and bound at the end; they belong to earlier sections of the codex.

Along with many other Byzantine manuscripts, V was bought by the Flemish scholar and diplomat Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522–1592), commonly known as Augerius von Busbeck, while he was residing in Constantinople between 1555 and 1562 as ambassador of the Habsburg monarchy. After long-winded negotiations about the sale, Busbeck presented the acquired codices (272 volumes of his legacy survive today) to Emperor Maximilian II in 1576 shortly before the latter's death. As with all of Busbeck's Constantinopolitan acquisitions, V bears on f. 2r the note that Busbeck had bought the manuscript in Constantinople. This is not an autograph note, but was probably written by a secretary in the service of Busbeck¹⁵. Around 1670, Peter Lambeck (1628–1680), chief librarian of the Hofbibliothek, or most probably one of his assistants, added the current pagination to the manuscript¹⁶. That the volume was already bound when Busbeck acquired it in Constantinople can be inferred from the following: (a) all loose folia were neatly placed at the end of the book before the introduction of the pagination; (b) the set of nine 16th-c. folia had also been added in Constantinople; (c) volumes in the Hofbibliothek were not rebound on a grand scale until the eighteenth century. It is possible that the binding had been removed before transport from Constantinople to Vienna, but Lambeck's pagination is a safeguard that the original state of the codex was not altered then or after. During the major repair project instigated in 1754 by Gerhard van Swieten (1700–1772), then prefect of the Hofbibliothek, the book was bound anew; it was professionally restored in 1912 and 1917¹⁷.

The contents of the original volume are summarily the following¹⁸: Euthymios Malakes, orations; George Tornikes the elder, letters and orations (including the funeral oration on Anna Komne-

¹³ First detailed description of V with extracts from the texts by S. LAMBROS, 'Ο βιβνναῖος κῶδιξ Phil. graecus CCCXXI. *NE* 13 (1916) 3–22; full codicological description by H. HUNGER, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Band 1: Codices historici, codices philosophici et philologici (Museion. Neue Folge 1.1; 4. Reihe)*. Vienna 1961, 409–418. Despite the use of V in a number of fairly recent editions (see nn. 19–25 below), no attempt has been made to place the manuscript within an identifiable historical context. The manuscript is easily accessible in digital form via the link <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00116655> (accessed 08-08-2018).

¹⁴ In a few instances we find hands of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries writing down short prose or verse texts, and also including rough sketches, for example, f. 263v (on the last blank page of a quire, two hands of different date have copied verse riddles), 304r–v, and 309v. It is possible that ff. 302v–303r (a prose passage on John Chrysostom) were also written by different hand, although it is equally possible that it is the main scribe who has copied this text in a densely abbreviated, informal script.

¹⁵ On Busbeck's acquisitions in Constantinople and the donation to the emperor see J. STUMMVOLL (ed.), *Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Erster Teil: Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922)*. Vienna 1968, 71–73 and 119–121. For a biography of Busbeck, see Z. VON MARTELS, *Augerius Gisleinius Busbequius: leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote*. Groningen 1989.

¹⁶ We owe the information on the manuscript's pagination to Prof. Kresten.

¹⁷ HUNGER, *Katalog* 418. For the restoration of 1912 see the note on f. Iv signed by Josef Bick (1880–1952), then librarian and later prefect of the Hofbibliothek.

¹⁸ Editions are referred to only for texts published after Hunger's catalogue entry or omitted from it.

ne)¹⁹; Prokopios of Gaza, selection of letters²⁰; John Tzetzes, two poems, as well as the *Theogony* and the *Allegories of the Iliad*; Michael Psellos (?), eight letters²¹; the Laskaris dossier (see below); Nikephoros Blemmydes, selection of letters; Manuel Holobolos, orations, a poem, and draft of a letter by the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos to Pope Clement IV²²; Longibardos, notes on schedography; various orthographical, grammatical, metrical and lexicographical treatises; Menander, one-verse maxims; Manuel Karantenos, letters, a comparison between rhetoric and philosophy, and other writings²³; Nikephoros Chrysoberges, orations, including imperial panegyrics of Alexios III and Alexios IV Angelos, a speech addressed to Patriarch John X Kamateros, a letter, and *progymnasmata*²⁴; Nikephoros Basilakes, prose lament on a friend, diatribe against Bagoas, selection of *progymnasmata*²⁵; three poems ascribed to Theodore Prodromos, but belonging to the collection of the so-called Manganeios Prodromos²⁶; minor texts.

For the present purposes, it is necessary to examine in more detail the Laskaris dossier (unit no. 7 in Hunger's description). The dossier currently comprises 56 folia (59–114). However, three folia, now at the end of the original volume (310, 311, 318), belong to this unit, adding up to a total of 59 folia. The entire surviving dossier thus consists of the following eight quires: 8 (310 + 59–64 + 318), 8 (65–71 + 311), 2 (72–73), 4 × 8 (74–105), 9 (106–114). The content of the reconstructed dossier is as follows:

- 7.1 Seven letters from Laskaris to Blemmydes (310r–v. 59r–63r). Heading: Τοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λάσκαρι ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ μέγαν ἐν φιλοσόφοις κύρ Νικηφόρον τὸν Βλεμμίδην· μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν²⁷.
- 7.2 Three letters from Laskaris to Akropolites (63r–64v. 318r). Heading: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λογοθέτην κύρ Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην· μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν²⁸.

¹⁹ See J. DARROUZÈS, Georges et Démétrios Tornikès: Lettres et discours. Introduction, texte, analyses, traduction et notes. Paris 1970, 63, for a survey of the 32 works transmitted in V, and 220–323, for an edition with French translation of the funeral oration on Anna Komnene.

²⁰ A. GARZYA, Procopii Gazaei Epistulae. Leipzig 1963; Italian translation and commentary by E. AMATO, Rose di Gaza: Gli scritti retorico-sofistici e le epistole di Procopio di Gaza (*Hellenica* 35). Alessandria 2010.

²¹ P. GAUTIER, Un recueil de lettres faussement attribué à Michel Psellos. *REB* 35 (1977) 99–106. On the letters in V see also E. N. PAPAIOANNOU, Das Briefcorpus des Michael Psellos: Vorarbeiten zu einer kritischen Neuedition. *JÖB* 48 (1998) 67–117, esp. 78.

²² On this material, see below nn. 76, 78–80.

²³ See the editions by U. CRISCUOLO, *BollGrott* 30 (1976) 139–150; 31 (1977) 103–119; 36 (1982) 123–136; *EEBS* 42 (1975–1976) 213–221; 44 (1979–1980) 151–173.

²⁴ The speech addressed to the patriarch was edited by R. BROWNING, An unpublished address by Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John Kamateros of 1202. *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines* 5 (1978) 37–68; for an edition of the *progymnasmata*, see F. WIDMANN, Die *Progymnasmata* des Nikephoros Chrysoberges. *BNJ* 12 (1935–1936) 12–41 and 241–299.

²⁵ For the *Bagoas* see A. GARZYA, Nicephori Basilace Oraciones et epistulae. Leipzig 1984; for the monody and the *progymnasmata*, see A. PIGNANI, Niceforo Basilace: Progimnasmi e monodie (*Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana* 10). Naples 1983. Both editions are to be used in conjunction with the detailed reviews by W. HÖRANDNER, *JÖB* 36 (1986) 73–88 and D. R. REINSCH, *BZ* 80 (1987) 84–91. For a corrected text of the *progymnasmata* with facing English translation see now J. BENEKER – C. A. GIBSON, The Rhetorical Exercises of Nikephoros Basilakes: *Progymnasmata* from Twelfth-Century Byzantium. (*Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library*). Washington, DC 2016.

²⁶ Nos. 1–2 and 21. It was W. HÖRANDNER, Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte (*WBS* 11). Vienna 1974, 147, who identified the three poems as belonging to the collection preserved in the Marc. gr. XI.22 (*Diktyon* 70658), a miscellaneous late 13th-century paper codex including almost exclusively works by twelfth-century authors; see the analytical description by E. MIONI, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*. Vol. III codices in classes IX X XI inclusos et supplementa duo continens. Rome 1972, 116–131. For a complete list of the “Prodromic” poems in the Marcianus with tentative dates and available editions see P. MAGDALINO, The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180. Cambridge 1993, 494–500; see further the updated list in I. Ch. NESSERIS, Η Παιδεία στην Κωνσταντινούπολη κατά τον 12ο αιώνα (PhD thesis, University of Ioannina). Ioannina 2014, II, 467–476.

²⁷ Epp. 42–48 (FESTA 53–66). The headings are quoted directly from V, thus correcting minor transcription errors of FESTA.

²⁸ Epp. 39–41 (FESTA 113–116).

- 7.3 A newsletter addressed to Laskaris' subjects in Anatolia announcing the Treaty of Regina (29 June 1256 or shortly thereafter) with the Bulgarians (318r–v. 65r–v). Heading: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπαναγνωστικὸν ἀποσταλὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἑφ· ὅτε ὁ τῶν Ῥώσων ἄρχων ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν τοιοῦτον βασιλέα, ἰκετεύων λῦσαι τὴν κατὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων μάχην· ἀντιδοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ κάστρον τὴν Τζέπαιναν²⁹.
- 7.4 Six essays (65v–68r). Heading of the first essay: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ γνώμη μετὰ τὴν <τῆς> βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν.
- 7.5 Eight letters from Laskaris to high church dignitaries in the empire of Nicaea and the Catholic West (68r–71v. 311r–v). Heading of the first letter: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν μητροπολίτην Κυζίκου τὸν Κλειδᾶν μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν³⁰.
- 7.6 Two letters to a certain Philip (72r). No heading preserved³¹.
- 7.7 Four letters from Laskaris to George Mouzalon (72r–73v). Heading: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τὸν περιπόθητον αὐτάδελφον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ πρωτοσεβαστὸν καὶ πρωτοβεστιᾶριον καὶ μέγαν στρατοπεδάρχην κῦρ Γεώργιον τὸν Μουζάλωνα³².
- 7.8 The treatise Κοσμικὴ Δήλωσις (*Explanation of the World*) in four parts addressed to George Mouzalon (74r–102v). Heading: Αὐτοκράτορος σοφωτάτου Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι· τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου μεγάλου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα· Κοσμικὴ Δήλωσις γραφεῖσα πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐντελεχείας πρὸς Γεώργιον τὸν Μουζάλωνα· ὃν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς σοφώτατος μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν, ἀπεχαρίσατο ἀδελφότητα· καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοῦτον τούτου ἀδελφὸν, ἡξίωσε· καὶ εἰς τὸ τοῦ πρωτοσεβαστοῦ καὶ πρωτοβεστιαρίου ἀνεβίβασεν ἀξίωμα· καὶ εἰς μέγαν στρατοπεδάρχην τοῦτον ἐτίμησεν ἐκ νέου καινουργήσας τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀξίωμα, ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτοκράτωρ σοφώτατος³³.
- 7.9 A set of *Various Invocatory Hymns* (103r–108r). Heading: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ σοφωτάτου βασιλέως· ὕμνοι διάφοροι προσφωνητήριοι· μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν³⁴.
- 7.10 Letters from Laskaris to Blemmydes and Akropolites (108r–114v). Heading I: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλοσόφοις μέγαν διδάσκαλον καὶ ἀγιώτατον ἱερομόναχον κῦρ Νικηφόρον τὸν Βλεμμίδην. Heading II: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κῦρ Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην³⁵.

The dossier presents only one textual gap. After 311v and before 72r a number of folia disappeared: the text on 311v breaks off at the end and the text on 72r lacks its beginning³⁶. This gap explains the peculiar presence of quire 72–73, the only binio in the whole codex.

The works featured in sections 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.7 and 7.9 were all composed after November 1254, as is evident from their headings (in particular, the formula μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν) and internal textual evidence. The newsletter on the Peace of Regina in section 7.3 which lacks a heading can be securely dated to 1256. The four letters addressed to George Mouzalon,

²⁹ Appendix I to FESTA's edition of the letters found on pp. 279–282. On the Treaty of Regina, see Akropolites, *History* § 62 (ed. A. HEISENBERG, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, I, rev. ed. P. Wirth. Stuttgart 1978, 126–127). The chronology of the treaty emerges from the version given by Synopsis chronike, ed. K. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*. Vol. 7. Venice–Paris 1894, 523.31–525.5; see R. MACRIDES, *George Akropolites: History*. Oxford 2007, 304–305 n. 3.

³⁰ The sequence of the letters as transmitted in V is the following: epp. 141, 131, 142, 144, 146, 143, 147, 145 (FESTA 198–200, 183–185, 201–202, 205–206, 208, 202–204, 206–207). The headings of epp. 131, 142 and 143 feature the chronological formula μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν.

³¹ Epp. 148–149 (FESTA 212–213).

³² Epp. 211–214 (FESTA 263–266).

³³ FESTA, *Κοσμικὴ δήλωσις* I (including the author's preface), II, III, IV.

³⁴ The seventeen prose hymns have so far remained unedited. Antonia Giannouli is currently preparing a critical edition accompanied by a full study of these quite unique hymnic texts.

³⁵ Epp. 1, 3, 9–11, 14–15, 26, 33, 36, 40–41 (all addressed to Blemmydes), 49, 56–58, 60, 67, 69, 71–72, 76, 81–82, 85 (all addressed to Akropolites) (FESTA 1–53, 67–112).

³⁶ The gap was detected by FESTA, vi. The relevant letters are epp. 145 and 148 (FESTA 207 and 212).

which lack the formula μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν in their headings in section 7.7, also belong to the period after 1254. They include a letter describing the flight to Nicaea of the Seljuk sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II in early 1257³⁷; and also a letter congratulating Mouzalon on his marriage to Michael Palaiologos’ niece Theodora Palaiologina (the future literata and manuscript copyist Theodora Rhaoulaina Palaiologina), a marriage arranged during the reign of Laskaris³⁸. In addition, the headings of the four letters mention the titles of *protosebastos*, *protobestiarios* and *megas stratopedarches*, which Laskaris conferred on George Mouzalon after his accession in November 1254, and describe Mouzalon as the emperor’s beloved brother (περιπόθητος ἀδελφός).

The heading of the *Explanation of the World* (section 7.8) also mentions the three titles of Mouzalon and the bestowment of “brotherhood” on Mouzalon, but at the same time states that the work was written in the period πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας. Clearly, the *Explanation of the World*, a quadripartite treatise discussing diverse subjects, was published in an edition prepared after the accession of Laskaris. The four parts were composed separately and at different times. The first and the second part discussing, respectively, the elements and heavens seem to predate his rule (hence the heading πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας), while the fourth part—a Socratic piece filled with powerful self-irony—dates to his rule as sole emperor, for the author refers to himself as having been crowned by God. The third part was at least heavily revised, if not composed, during his rule³⁹. The heading of the treatise on f. 74r is followed by a *pinax* of the work’s four parts with their individual distinct titles (see fig. 1)⁴⁰. After the *pinax*, the scribe has drawn a decorative band, in whose middle he has placed the abbreviated title of the first part: “First discourse of *Explanation of the World*” (Κοσμικῆς Δηλώσεως λόγος α’). Then follows a general preface to the entire work, which presents to Mouzalon its overall aim and summarizes the content of each of the four parts⁴¹. Each part is fully titled by the appropriate heading, the wording of which is identical to the headings in the *pinax*⁴². All of this suggests that the scribe of V copied the text from a manuscript that had the heading and the *pinax* on one page, followed on the next two or three pages by the preface to Muzalon (possibly without a title), which was in turn followed on a new page by the main text with the full title of the first chapter.

The letters to Blemmydes and Akropolites copied in sections 7.1 and 7.2 of V, respectively, mirror the arrangement of Laskaris’ letters transmitted in the Laur. Plut. 59.35 (L), a miscellaneous paper codex of the first quarter of the fourteenth century containing the letters of Synesius and other texts⁴³. This substantial epistolary collection (39r-178r), prefaced by Laskaris’ teacher George

³⁷ Ep. 214 (FESTA 265–266); see D. ANGELOV, Theodore II Laskaris on the Sultanate of Rum and the Flight of ‘Izz al-Dīn Kay Kāwūs II. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011) 26–43 (= *In Memoriam Angeliki Laiou*, eds. C. Kafadar and N. Necipoğlu).

³⁸ Ep. 212 (FESTA 263–264). On the marriages arranged by Laskaris, see GEORGE PACHYMERES, *Relations historiques*, I, ed. A. FAILLER. Paris 1984, 41.10–11, 153.21–155.5; MACRIDES, *George Akropolites* 27.

³⁹ See the authorial statement in the fourth part titled *On What Is Unclear, or A Testimony that the Author is Ignorant of Philosophy*: FESTA, Κοσμικὴ δῆλωσις IV 52.6–8. D. ANGELOV will be discussing the issue of the dating of the third part of Κοσμικὴ δῆλωσις, a work entitled *Representation of the World, or Life*, in an appendix to his forthcoming biography of Theodore Laskaris. Suffice it to say here that M. ANDREEVA, *Polemika Theodora II. Laskaria s Nikiforom Vlemmidom. Mémoires de la Société royale des sciences de Bohême, classe des lettres, année 1929*. Prague 1929, 1–36 dated the work to the reign of Laskaris on the basis of its content.

⁴⁰ The *pinax* runs as follows: + κοσμικῆς δηλώσεως λόγος α’ περὶ στοιχείων: + κοσμικῆς δηλώσεως λόγος β’ περὶ οὐρανοῦ: + κοσμικῆς δηλώσεως λόγος γ’ ὃς ἐπιγέγραπται κοσμικὴ στήλη ἢ βίος: + κοσμικῆς δηλώσεως λόγος δ’ περὶ ἀδελφίας καὶ μαρτυρίας τοῦ μὴ εἰδέναι φιλοσοφίαν τὸν γράψαντα τοῦτον: — The *pinax* and the brief title of the first chapter were printed by FESTA, Κοσμικὴ δῆλωσις I 97 in the apparatus.

⁴¹ V, ff. 74r–75v; FESTA, Κοσμικὴ δῆλωσις I 98–101.

⁴² V, ff. 75v, 81r, 89v, 96v; FESTA, Κοσμικὴ δῆλωσις I 101, II 1, III 21, IV 39.

⁴³ For a good presentation of the contents and basic codicological information see now A. RIEHLE, *Theodoros Xanthopoulos, Theodoros Metochites und die spätbyzantinische Gelehrtenkultur: Zu einem unbeachteten Brief im Codex Laur. Plut. 59.35*

Akropolites⁴⁴, is organized according to addressees, the first two being Blemmydes and Akropolites⁴⁵. The headings of the letters to these two addressees (as well as to other recipients) attribute them to a period before the embassy of the marquis Berthold of Hohenburg to the Nicaean court, which took place in the autumn of 1253 and may have lasted until early 1254⁴⁶. The makeup of Laskaris' letter collection in L, and the high probability that L circulated in the circle of Theodore Metochites and the Xanthopouloi brothers⁴⁷, makes it certain that this part of the manuscript reflects a lost volume of the authorized edition of Laskaris' works. We shall name this lost manuscript by the siglum λ.

Sections 7.3 and 7.4 of V are not letters, while sections 7.5, 7.6 and 7.7 are again letters grouped by recipient as in L. They are followed by the *Explanation of the World* (section 7.8) and a set of seventeen prose hymns (section 7.9) to the Trinity, Christ, the Holy Cross, the Mother of God, the Angels, John the Forerunner, three apostles and various—mostly military—saints. The hymns are religious (though not liturgical) in character and have political overtones, for in many of them the author prays for divine protection of his rule and a victory over his enemies. The four letters to George Mouzalon in section 7.7 are not represented by anything similar in L, because this collection does not include any letters addressed to him. Furthermore, the four letters are not included in the substantial collection of sixty-one letters to Mouzalon found in the famous Laur. Conv. Soppr. 627 (C) (*Diktyon* 15899), a miscellaneous paper codex, written by different hands over a longer period of time (ca. 1250–1270)⁴⁸. The letter collection copied in C was edited after November 1254 in a manner similar to the *Explanation of the World* in V. The heading refers to the emperor's "brother" Mouzalon with all three of his post-1254 titles (the same as those mentioned in the heading of *Explanation of the World*), yet C includes letters composed before November 1254 marked with the formula "before the full completeness of his imperial rule" (πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας)⁴⁹. In our opinion, Laskaris' letters to Mouzalon that have survived in C have been copied from a lost volume of the authorized edition prepared under the emperor's supervision in a manner similar to the L collection. This assumption is strengthened by a colophon (written with red ink) and an epigram found at the

und den Xanthopulos-Briefen im Codex Vat. gr. 112, in: Koinotaton Doron: Das späte Byzanz zwischen Machtlosigkeit und kultureller Blüte (1204–1461), ed. A. Berger – G. Prinzing – S. Mariev – A. Riehle (*Byzantisches Archiv* 31). Berlin-Boston 2015, 161–183, esp. 161–163.

⁴⁴ For Akropolites' verse preface, see A. HEISENBERG, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, II, rev. ed. P. Wirth. Stuttgart 1978, 7–9. Theodore responded to the encomiastic preface of his teacher with an encomium of his own; see TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula*, 96–108. This is a telling instance of book exchange and composition of accompanying texts in Laskarid Nicaea; for another instance involving Laskaris and Blemmydes see P. A. AGAPITOS, *Blemmydes – Laskaris – Philes*, in: *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Hinterberger – E. Schiffer (*Byzantisches Archiv* 20). Berlin–New York 2007, 1–19, esp. 2–6.

⁴⁵ See L's detailed *pinax* on f. 41r–v; FESTA iv–v.

⁴⁶ Epp. 1 and 49 (FESTA 1 and 67). Ep. 125.1–2 (FESTA 174) to Andronikos of Sardis clearly refers to the arrival of Berthold during the autumn of 1253. On the date of the embassy, see ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces* 239 n. 15. The formula πρὸ τῆς τοῦ μαρκίωνος Βελτόρδου Δεμοεβοῦρ πρεσβείας πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ὑψηλότατον βασιλέα can be found in the general heading of the collection of nine theophilosophical works entitled *Sacred Orations* and in the heading of each individual work in the collection. The collection has been transmitted in the thirteenth-century Ambros. gr. C 308 inf. (*Diktyon* 42516) and the fourteenth-century Par. gr. 1193 (*Diktyon* 50798); see ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces* 246–247.

⁴⁷ See RIEHLE, *Theodoros Xanthopoulos* 163–165.

⁴⁸ The codex is described by E. ROSTAGNO and N. FESTA, *Indice dei codici greci Laurenziani non compresi nel catalogo del Bandini. Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 1 (1893) 172–176; on the date see N. G. WILSON, *Nicaean and Palaiologan Hands: Introduction to a Discussion*, in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*. Paris 1977, 263–267, esp. 263–264.

⁴⁹ For the heading of the letter collection, see ep. 150 (FESTA 214): Ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτοκράτορος, κυροῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι· πρὸς τὸν αὐτάδελφον αὐτοῦ πρωτοσεβαστὸν καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ μέγαν στρατοπεδάρχην, κῆριν Γεώργιον τὸν Μουζάλωνα πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας (C, f. 1r). Two rubrics written in red after the forty-second letter to Mouzalon separate letters πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας from letters μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν (C, f. 5v); see ep. 192 (FESTA 239 in the apparatus).

end of the letters in C on folio 10v. The colophon was edited by Festa in the apparatus to his edition, yet it has received little notice⁵⁰. The text runs as follows:

Τέλος τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ ἀοιδίμου βασιλέως κυροῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι γραφειῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀντάδελφον αὐτοῦ πρωτοσεβαστόν, πρωτοβεστιάριον καὶ μέγαν στρατοπεδάρχηγ κῦριν Γεώργιον τὸν Μουζάλωνα.

Ὡς εὐφυῆς, κράτιστε.

Τὸ πρὸς λόγους κράτιστε τραχὺ καὶ γρίφον,
τὸ μαλακὸν τε καὶ κατηυτελισμένον,
τὴν σὴν ὑπεμφαίνουσιν εὐγενῇ φύσιν·
βασιλικῷ γὰρ καὶ λεοντείῳ θράσει,
θρασὺς, σθεναρὸς τοῖς ἐναντίοις φέρη.
Μετριοπαθεία δε καὶ ψυχῆς λύσει,
παιδαριώδης, ὕπτιος καὶ τῶν κάτω,
ὥς ἀνυμῶ σε κηδεμῶν καὶ τῶν κάτω.

End of the letters written by the wisest and blessed emperor lord Theodore Doukas Laskaris to his own brother, the *protosebastos*, *protobestiarios* and *megas stratopedarches* lord George Mouzalon.

How intelligent <you are>, most powerful ruler!

Of your writings, most powerful one, their asperity and riddle-like style,
their softness and utter humbleness,
clearly hint at your noble nature;
for by your imperial and leonine boldness
you boldly and mightily confront the enemies.
In my mediocrity and looseness of soul,
childlike, supine and belonging to those of lower status,
how do I praise you, guardian also to those of lower status!

The colophon displays an important difference from the heading of the collection of letters to Mouzalon in C quoted above in n. 49, namely the use of the adjectives *σοφωτάτος* and *ἀοιδίμος*. The word *ἀοιδίμος* (“of blessed memory”) suggests that the text in C was copied after the emperor’s death, and that the scribe added it on his own initiative. Most interesting is the eight-verse poem, since it addresses a high-standing person of great power (*κράτιστε*), and this can be no other than Theodore Laskaris himself. The poem praises Laskaris for specific qualities of his writings and for his courage in confronting his enemies. It reflects Laskaris’s self-descriptions and his preoccupation with defining nobility as a moral quality, especially in works addressed to Mouzalon⁵¹. The way in

⁵⁰ FESTA 262. Minor transcription errors or interventions have been corrected with the help of the manuscript. The editor printed the epigram as he found it in the manuscript, i.e. in two columns of four verses each, without commenting on its content. It has been edited here in its proper sequence, since C copies poetry in the typical Byzantine two-column layout, that is, from the left to the right column; see, for example, the long funerary poem of Michael Psellos on the death of Maria Skleraina, transmitted in C on fols. 17r–19v (ed. L. G. WESTERINK, *Michaelis Pselli Poemata*. Stuttgart–Leipzig 1992, 239–252).

⁵¹ For example, the adjective “leonine” (*λεόντειος*) echoes Essay 2. In *Representation of the World, or Life* addressed to Mouzalon, Laskaris noted that his contemporaries used the word wrongly and applied it to immoral and deceitful people; see FESTA, *Κοσμικὴ Διήλωσις* III 31.1–13. On Laskaris’ interests in defining nobility as a moral characteristic in explicit opposition to nobility of blood, see ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* 229–234.

which the speaker characterizes himself as a person of lower status—note in particular his “child-like” nature and the use of the term “guardian” for his royal addressee—makes it obvious that he is no other than George Mouzalon, very often addressed as “child” or “son” by Theodore⁵². Thus, the poem should be read as a humble laudatory note and was most probably attached to the letter collection, just as Akropolites’ poem was attached to the beginning of Laskaris’ epistolary collection in L containing pre-1254 letters⁵³. The comparison with L naturally raises the question as to whether the letter collection in C was copied from an independent volume or whether the dossier was part of a larger manuscript.

The codicological and textual peculiarities of sections 7.1–9 of V noted above strongly suggest that the scribe copied this part of the Laskaris dossier—but not section 7.10 (on which see below)—from a manuscript containing an authorized edition of his works. The works included in the collection were either composed after November 1254 or, in the case of the *Explanation of the World*, redacted after November 1254. We shall refer to this lost manuscript by the siglum β. The existence of this edition is all the more likely, because Theodore had already prepared a series of manuscript editions of his works before 1254. Surviving volumes of these officially authorized editions are the codices Par. Suppl. Gr. 460 (*Diktyon* 53202) and Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 (*Diktyon* 53215) (both parchment, middle of 13th c.). The two manuscripts preserve, respectively, the corpus of Laskaris’ ten main rhetorical works and his philosophical treatise Φυσικὴ κοινωνία (*Natural Communion*). Par. Suppl. Gr. 460 was a deluxe production, one quite unique for including diagrams executed with gold grounding⁵⁴. Cod. Ambros. gr. C 308 inf., a parchment manuscript copied in the later thirteenth century that contains the collection of nine *Sacred Orations* (Λόγοι ἱεροί), is arguably an apograph from a similar deluxe edition prepared in a Nicaean scriptorium⁵⁵. All three authorized editions—the collection of ten secular orations, the treatise *Natural Communion*, and the collection of nine *Sacred Orations*—date from the period before Laskaris’ accession in November 1254, as indicated by the manuscript headings. The collection in the lost codex β must have been prepared after November 1254, for the headings found in V mention as a chronological marker the “full completeness of his imperial rule” (ἐντελέχεια τῆς βασιλείας). The same chronological signifier is featured in the headings of Χριστιανικὴ θεολογία (*Christian Theology*), a collection of eight works which was clearly prepared during Theodore’s reign and which survives in a few manuscripts, including Vat. gr. 1113 (*Diktyon* 67744) (a paper codex from the second half of the thirteenth century)⁵⁶.

⁵² See, for example, epp. 150.1 ποθινέ μου υἱέ, 152.2–3 ὦ φίλτατέ μου υἱέ Μουζάλων, 160.7 ὦ τέκνον ἐμόν (FESTA 214, 215, 219); *Response to Mouzalon* 10 (TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 140.483 ὦ παῖ φίλτατε).

⁵³ For another instance of a poem of thanks accompanying a text sent, see above n. 44.

⁵⁴ M. RASHED, Sur les deux témoins des œuvres profanes de Théodore II Laskaris et leur commanditaire (*Parisinus Suppl. Gr.* 472; *Parisinus Suppl. Gr.* 460). *Scripta* 54 (2000) 297–302 has suggested on the basis of the strikingly similar layout of the text of the two manuscripts that they come from the same scriptorium. On the lost portrait of Theodore Laskaris once attached to Par. Suppl. Gr. 460, see C. FÖRSTEL, Auf den Spuren eines verschollenen Bildnisses Kaiser Theodors II. *Nea Rhomē* 6 (2009) 445–449. Unfortunately, no full codicological description of Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 exists; for a basic description and reconstruction of its current disordered and lacunose state see Ch. ASTRUC, La tradition manuscrite des œuvres oratoires profanes de Théodore II Laskaris. *TM* 1 (1965) 393–404, esp. 400–402.

⁵⁵ For this argument, see ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces* 251–252; for a codicological description of the Ambrosianus, see M. PALÉOLOGOU, Deux traités inédits de Théodore II Doucas Laskaris. *Byzantina* 27 (2007) 51–90, esp. 60–63.

⁵⁶ Seven of the eight treatises of the collection *Christian Theology* are attributed by their headings to the period “after the full completeness of imperial rule” (μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν) and one treatise is assigned to a time “before the full completeness of imperial rule” (πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειας). See KRIKONIS, *Χριστιανικὴ θεολογία passim*. The exceptional work (see *ibid.* 109 and the apparatus) written “before the full completeness of imperial rule” is the fifth discourse of *Christian Theology*, a Trinitarian philosophical treatise that had been the opening work of the collection *Sacred Orations*. According to their headings, all nine *Sacred Orations* date to the period “before the embassy of the marquis Berthold von Hohenburg” (πρὸ τῆς τοῦ μαρκίωνος Βελτόρδου Δεμοεμβούργου πρεσβείας); see ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces* 247–249. On the manuscript transmission of *Christian Theology*, see KRIKONIS, *Χριστιανικὴ θεολογία* 41–43.

The letters addressed to different recipients and the six essays in codex β (sections 7.1–7 of V) were largely structured in the manner of λ. Quite possibly Laskaris' encomium on Saint Tryphon was part of β, because it also contains in its heading the formula *πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας*, just like the heading of the *Explanation of the World*. Just as the scribe of V drew a decorative band before the heading of *Explanation of the World* and between its pinax and the general preface (f. 74r, fig. 1), so the fourteenth-century copyist of the encomium on Saint Tryphon drew a decorative band before the heading in an effort to imitate the exemplar⁵⁷. Codex β thus included at its end (sections 7.8–9 of V) the *Explanation of the World* and the *Invocatory Hymns*, and most probably the encomium on Saint Tryphon in this order. If prepared in the size and layout of the Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 (page size: 277 × 210; written space size: 173 × 128; 19 lines per page, 116 folia with substantial lacunae⁵⁸), this text would have amounted to approximately 108–118 folia in size. The gap between 311v and 72r in V (i.e. between sections 7.5 and 7.6), along with the misplaced folia 310–319, was already there when Busbeck bought the manuscript in Constantinople since the book had been bound at an earlier date. Therefore, it is probable that codex γ, as we shall call the exemplar of the Mouzalon collection in C, was actually part of β, following the letters of Laskaris to high church dignitaries (section 7.5). Then must have followed a few letters of Laskaris to other persons related to him, like the mysterious Philip (section 7.6), and the very last letters to Mouzalon (section 7.7). The text in C of the letters to Mouzalon, if recalculated to fit the size of the Par. Suppl. Gr. 472, would have amounted to about 30 folia. Thus, the lost β would be a manuscript of approximately 138–148 folia, not much larger than the Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 with its 116 folia plus a loss of approximately 20–25 folia⁵⁹. One can easily imagine manuscript β to have been an expensive production prepared with care by the author with the assistance of a secretary. It would have been decorated with ornamental headpieces and, just like Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 (not a deluxe manuscript, but certainly a costly product), would have been made of parchment and would have featured plenty of headings and initials in red ink.

Of a different origin is section 7.10 that transmits letters to Blemmydes and Akropolites without the chronological formula *μετὰ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελέχειαν*. Here the scribe of V excerpted selectively letters to Blemmydes and Akropolites that he found in the epistolary collection of the pre-1254 letters, of which L is the sole surviving manuscript. A comparison of the heading of the letters to Blemmydes copied in section 7.10 of V⁶⁰ with the equivalent unit in L⁶¹ shows that the epithets of Blemmydes (“great teacher among the philosophers and holiest hieromonk”) are identical, but the authorial and chronological formulas found in L are omitted in V⁶². The text of the letters as trans-

⁵⁷ The encomium was copied on fols. 321r–327^v of the eleventh-century Vat. gr. 516 (*Diktyon* 67147) (containing homilies by John Chrysostom). The eight folios constitute a separate quire bound at the end of the manuscript during the 14th century. The heading on fol. 321r, which is preceded by a simple ornamental band, is worth citing in full: *Αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδώρου σοφωτάτου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι· ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Τρύφωνα· πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας· εὐλόγησον δέσποτα*. As is often the case with the incorporation of orations into liturgical manuscripts, the scribe has added the typical formula signalling the beginning of a reading by asking the officiating priest to offer a blessing (on a similar case with an oration of Nikephoros Blemmydes see AGAPITOS, *Blemmydes – Laskaris – Philes* 13). The text has been edited by H. DELEHAYE, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* IV. Brussels 1925, cols. 352–357. For a description of the Vatican manuscript, see R. DEVREESSE, *Codices Vaticani graeci*. Vol. 2: *Codices 330–603*. Vatican City 1937, 372–373.

⁵⁸ ASTRUC, *La tradition manuscrite* 401; RASHED, *Sur les deux témoins* 298.

⁵⁹ For the lacunae in Par. Suppl. Gr. 472 see TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula*, ix (gaps in nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, and the whole of 10).

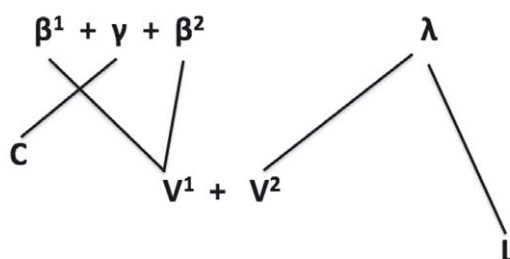
⁶⁰ Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλοσόφοις μέγαν διδάσκαλον καὶ ἀγιώτατον ἱερομόναχον κῆρ Νικηφόρον τὸν Βλεμμίδην (108r).

⁶¹ Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα· Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λάσκαρι πρὸς τὸν ἐν φιλοσόφοις μέγαν διδάσκαλον καὶ ἀγιώτατον ἱερομόναχον κῆρ Νικηφόρον τὸν Βλεμμίδην· πρὸ τῆς τοῦ μαρκιωνος Βελτόρδου δε Ὁεμβούργου πρεσβείας πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν μέγαν βασιλέα κῆρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν (42r).

⁶² Similarly, the heading of the letters to Akropolites in V 112r (Τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν κῆρ Γεώργιον τὸν Ακροπολίτην) is devoid of any of the formulas found in L 85r (Ἐπιστολαὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων, κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ

mitted in both manuscripts is extremely close, even in matters of accentuation and punctuation. The sequence of the selected letters in V follows exactly the sequence of the letters in L⁶³. That the scribe changed exemplar between sections 7.9 and 7.10 after some time elapsed could also be inferred from the thinner pen, light-brown ink and different ductus he used, starting at line 8 of f. 108r (fig. 2). Section 7.10 was most probably copied directly from λ (since L is of a later date than V), from which the scribe of V himself excerpted the letters to Blemmydes and Akropolites. We can thus call the two parts of the Laskaris dossier, which reflect a different exemplar, V¹ and V² respectively.

All of the above suggests that V is a trustworthy copy with high textual value and very close to Theodore's wishes as they were expressed in his editorial project. The hypothetical history of the Laskaris dossier, along with the two distinct manuscripts transmitting the two larger collections of the emperor's letters (C and L), can be presented by the following diagram:



THE SCRIBE OF V

The foregoing analysis leads us to a discussion of the scribe and his work. As stated already, V is a small-sized book with almost minute and densely written letters on mediocre oriental paper. The palaeographical and codicological context indicates that V was not prepared for the book market but for the personal use of the scribe. The contents of the manuscript further suggest that the scribe was a professional teacher who prepared a selection of pedagogically useful and interesting texts, such as the grammatical treatises and the collections of letters, orations and *progymnasmata* of twelfth-century authors (Basilakes and Chrysoberges). It cannot be a coincidence that his selection of Laskaris' letters to Blemmydes and Akropolites in section 7.10, as well as his inclusion of a selection of Blemmydes' letters to Laskaris (section 8), focus on matters of education, learning and the relationship between pupils and teachers.

The learning of the scribe is confirmed by his marginal comments on f. 141v at the end of Manuel Holobolos' first encomium on the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, a work which probably dates to Christmas 1265⁶⁴. The comments are written with a lighter ink in an extremely small and compressed ductus (fig. 3)⁶⁵. In the concluding passage of the oration the speaker offers his laudatory wishes for the longevity and successful reign of the emperor and his son Andronikos⁶⁶. The first

Δούκα· κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Λάσκαρι, πρὸς τὸν μέγαν φιλόσοφον κῦρ Γεώργιον τὸν Ἀκροπολίτην, πρὸ τῆς τοῦ μαρκιῶνος πρεσβείας).

⁶³ See above n. 35 for the numeration in FESTA's edition of the letters, which the scribe of V selected from the epistolary collection with pre-1254 letters.

⁶⁴ R. MACRIDES, The New Constantine and the New Constantinople – 1261? *BMGS* 4 (1978) 13–41, esp. 19 and 37 n. 137.

⁶⁵ They have been edited by X. A. SIDERIDIS, Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβόλου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μιχαὴλ Η' Παλαιολόγον. *EEBS* 3 (1926) 168–191, esp 170, who did not identify their textual origin and thought that the scribe was criticizing the author; M. TREU, Manuelis Holoboli Orationes I–II. *Programm des Königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*. Potsdam 1906–1907, I, 49–50 did not include them in his edition.

⁶⁶ TREU, Manuelis Holoboli Orationes I, 49.15–50.16.

comment is written along the left margin in a downward direction (quoted from V): Τί σε χρή τοῖον ἔόντα μασιδίως ψεύδεσθαι; | Μηκέτι μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζεο, μὴ δὲ τι θέλγε. The first line reproduces exactly two half-verses from the *Odyssey* (14, 364–365 τί σε χρή τοῖον ἔόντα | μασιδίως ψεύδεσθαι), while the second line reproduces with variants another verse from the same book (14, 387 μήτε τί μοι ψεύδεσσι χαρίζεο, μήτε τι θέλγε). Both verses come from the passage where Eumaeus expresses his doubts to Odysseus disguised as an old stranger about his optimistic story of the fate of the king of Ithaca. The second comment is written in the lower margin across the whole page (quoted from V): [Ο]θεν γὰρ ἀπώχετο λόγος, ἐκεῖ καὶ φήμη καὶ δράσις τῆς ἀλογίας ἐνέσκηψεν· ὅθεν ἀρετὴ ἀπελήλαται, τὸ τῆς κακίας ἔργον διάγδουπον ἐπεισπέπαικε. The comment is an exact quotation from Blemmydes' *Imperial Statue*, where the corruption of leaders in the absence of virtue is described⁶⁷. It is obvious that no average scribe would be able to write such comments and quote verbatim a difficult passage from a work by Blemmydes, which itself was difficult to find. Furthermore, the peculiar placement of the two comments on the margins of the page and the absence of any similar comments in the rest of the oration excludes the possibility that these passages were already present in the scribe's exemplar.

Who could have been the learned teacher of rhetoric who was active after the Byzantine restoration of Constantinople in 1261 and who was interested in imperial orations? We would like to propose that the scribe in question was the teacher and rhetorician Manuel Holobolos himself (d. ca. 1310–14)⁶⁸. It has been suggested that a Byzantine author as scribe or commissioner sometimes incorporated his own works into a manuscript transmitting texts of another author or authors⁶⁹. Something similar may have happened in V. The biography, high level of learning, educational career and literary interests of Manuel Holobolos all lend credence to this hypothesis. Holobolos was a young secretary to Michael VIII when he was punished with facial mutilation for expressing disquiet at the blinding of the child-emperor John IV Laskaris, the son of Theodore Laskaris, on Christmas Day 1261. For him to have been a young imperial secretary at the time, he ought to have received his education at an important school in the empire in Nicaea, which would explain his access to the official editions of Laskaris' writing. After his punishment, Holobolos was confined for four years to the monastery of John Prodromos in Constantinople known as the Petra monastery⁷⁰. In 1265 Germanos III, the newly ordained patriarch (he was in office in 1265 and 1266), appealed to the emperor to pardon the learned Holobolos and to appoint him as a teacher in a state-funded Constantinopolitan school of higher learning⁷¹. Here Holobolos taught students rhetoric and logic for the next eight years⁷². He

⁶⁷ Blemmydes, *Imperial Statue* § 168 (ŠEVČENKO–HUNGER 100).

⁶⁸ On the life and œuvre of Holobolos, see R. MACRIDES, Holobolos, Manuel. *ODB* 2 (1991) 940; PLP no. 21047.

⁶⁹ S. PAPAIOANNOU, Fragile Literature: Byzantine Letter-Collections and the Case of Michael Psellos, in: La face cachée de la littérature byzantine: le texte en tant que message immédiat, ed. P. Odorico (*Dossiers Byzantins* 11). Paris 2012, 289–328, esp. 318–320, where he suggests that the famous Psellian manuscript Par. gr. 1182 (*Diktyon* 50786) could have been prepared at the behest of Eustathios of Thessalonike, because (among other reasons) of the inclusion of Eustathios' letters at the very end of the book. For similar examples from the early Palaiologan period see the Vat. gr. 112 (*Diktyon* 66743) written by George Galesiotes (I. PEREZ MARTIN, El Vaticanus gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes. *Script* 49 [1995] 42–59), or the Vat. gr. 2660 (*Diktyon* 69286) possibly written by Nikephoros Gregoras (S. LILLA, Eine neue (zum Teil eigenhändige) Handschrift des Nikephoros Gregoras (Vat. gr. 2660). *JÖB* 41 [1991] 277–282).

⁷⁰ PACHYMERES, I 3, 11 (FAILLER I, 259).

⁷¹ PACHYMERES, I 4, 14 (FAILLER II, 369–371). Pachymeres informs us that in 1265 Holobolos replaced the *megas logothetes* George Akropolites as a professor of logic. S. MERGIALI-FALANGAS, L'école Saint-Paul de l'Orphelinat à Constantinople: bref aperçu sur son statut et son histoire. *REB* 49 (1991) 237–246, has shown on the basis of a close reading of Pachymeres that Akropolites' and Holobolos' school of higher learning was not located at the *orphonatropheion* of the church of Saint Paul, as it has been traditionally assumed.

⁷² The duty of the twelfth-century “*maistor* of the rhetors” had been both to teach and practice rhetoric. That Holobolos taught logic emerges from Pachymeres' description (see the previous note) and from a poem by his student Thomas Gorianites dated

held the teaching post of “rhetor of the rhetors” in the patriarchal administration, which marked the revival of the twelfth-century title of “*maistor* of the rhetors,” and had the duty of delivering annual panegyrics of the emperor at Christmas, writing poems for the *prokypsis* ceremony at the court, and disseminating official news connected with the emperor⁷³. Holobolos had the misfortune once again to fall out of the emperor’s grace when Michael VIII began preparations for a union with the Latin church⁷⁴. In 1273 Holobolos was banished from the court on account of perceived opposition against the official unionist policy, even though he was highly useful for the emperor. Holobolos knew Latin and was the translator of two important works by Boethius on logic and other Latin texts⁷⁵. He was at first exiled to the monastery of the Dormition of the Virgin in Nicaea and was later moved to the monastery *tou Agrou* in Kyzikos. Only after the death of Michael VIII in 1282 and the repudiation of the Union did Holobolos rejoin the court and resume his old responsibilities.

The chronologically latest texts in V were all authored by Manuel Holobolos. The Laskaris material is followed by Blemmydes’ letters to Laskaris (section 8 of Hunger’s description) and immediately thereafter by the works of Holobolos, which form a dossier of 4 quires with 24 folia and thus a distinct entity in V (sections 9–11 of Hunger’s description). The heading of the first work copied (fols. 127r–135v), a sermon written on behalf of Patriarch Germanos III, explicitly mentions Holobolos as its author⁷⁶. In the margins the scribe systematically added notes explaining the rhetorical devices or offering alternative readings for various words (fig. 4)⁷⁷. After the sermon the scribe copied a fifteen-syllable-verse poem for the court ceremony of *prokypsis* (fol. 135v), which is preceded by the phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ (“by the same”). The author is clearly Holobolos, and the poem resembles the nineteen *prokypsis* poems composed by him, that have been preserved in two Paris manuscripts⁷⁸. The next work, the encomium on Michael VIII (fols. 136r–141v), does not have any heading indicat-

to Lent 1273; see S. LAMPROS, “Επιγράμματα Θωμᾶ Γοριανίτου. NE 12 (1915) 435–438, esp. 435. B. BYDÉN, “Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms!”: Latin Philosophy in Greek Translations of the Thirteenth Century, in: *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist, Stockholm 2004, 133–157, esp. 138–139, suggests that Holobolos was appointed to teach the *trivium*, while the *megas logothetes* George Akropolites taught the *quadrivium*.

⁷³ On Holobolos as an official rhetorician see D. ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* 20, 38, 44–46, 67–70; IDEM, The Confession of Michael VIII Palaiologos and King David: On a Little Known Work by Manuel Holobolos. *JÖB* 55 (2006) 193–204.

⁷⁴ PACHYMERES I 5, 20 (FAILLER II, 501–505).

⁷⁵ See BYDÉN, “Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms”, on Holobolos as a translator.

⁷⁶ The heading of the sermon is as follows: τοῦ Ὀλοβόλου λόγος κατηχητικὸς ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γερμανοῦ (127r). It was edited by TREU, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes* I, 1–19.

⁷⁷ All of these notes have been diligently edited by TREU (see previous note). In fig. 4 (f. 127r) one can see the scribe adding the name of the patriarch above the decorative band, while he also adds five explanatory notes on rhetorical techniques: πρόλεξις (l. 3), τὸ προοίμιον ἐξ ὑπολήψεως τοῦ γράψαντος (l. 5), μερική ἀξίωσις (l. 22), διήγησις (l. 25), τὸ κατὰ περίλεξιν σχῆμα (l. 30). It should be noted that some of these terms are quite rare. Thus, πρόλεξις is only attested in the lexicon of Hesychius as an explanation of πρόρρησις (“introductory statement”), while περίλεξις is explained in the *Suda* as περίφρασις (“periphrastic expansion”).

⁷⁸ The heading of the poem in V runs as follows: τοῦ αὐτοῦ στίχοι πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον ἡμῶν βασιλέα κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν Φώτων εἰς τὴν πρόκυσιν. The *prokypsis* poem has been copied out at the very end of the page in the usual two-column layout, the scribe using the same ductus but a lighter ink. The poem was edited by M. TREU, *Manuel Holobolos. BZ* 5 (1896) 538–559, esp. 546–547 and in a corrected version by SIDERIDIS, *Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβόλου Ἐγκώμιον* 171. The other nineteen *prokypsis* poems were edited from Par. gr. 39 (*Diktyon* 49600) and Par. gr. 400 (*Diktyon* 49973) by J. F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Graeca*. Vol. 5. Paris 1833, 159–182. On the historical references and suggested dates for six of the poems, see ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* 69, n. 151. TREU, *Manuel Holobolos* 547 suggested that the poem in V, the twentieth according to his count, was perhaps addressed to Andronikos II, which is clearly the case with the nineteenth and last one in Boissonade’s edition (a suggestion followed by ANGELOV, *Imperial Ideology* 69 n. 152). However, there is nothing in the text of the poem to support this view. Rather, the codicological context suggests that Michael VIII was the addressee. A critical edition and further study of these poems is certainly needed. For the time being, see A. HEISENBERG, *Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit*. Munich 1920, 127–130 (repr. in IDEM, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte*. Gesammelte Arbeiten ausgewählt von H.-G. Beck. London 1973, no. I).

ing author and subject (136r–141v). The encomium is the first of three long imperial orations, which Holobolos delivered at Christmas at the court during three successive years after his appointment as “rhetor of the rhetors,” probably in 1265, 1266 and 1267⁷⁹. The two texts that follow the encomium on Michael VIII in V are a draft, probably composed in 1265, of a letter by Michael VIII to Pope Clement IV (141v–143v)⁸⁰, and an unedited Lenten homily on fasting (143v–150r)⁸¹. The two works are attributable to Holobolos’ pen. In the left margin at the beginning of the letter to the pope (fol. 141v, fig. 3), the scribe added the phrase τοῦ αὐτοῦ.

The scribal hand of Holobolos has not yet been identified. It has been suggested that the scribe Manuel of Par. Suppl. Gr. 642 (*Diktyon* 50223) (late 13th c.), who collaborated with George of Cyprus, might have been Holobolos. The identification is improbable not only because the surname Holobolos is missing. One would also expect Holobolos to identify himself with his distinctive title of *rhetor* (or that of *protosynkellos* at a later stage of his life), or use Maximos, his monastic name, during the periods of his disgrace (1261–1265 and 1273–1282)⁸². Two thirteenth-century manuscripts that transmit works of Holobolos can serve as a basis for a further palaeographical examination of the scribal hands found therein and in V. The first is the famous Oxon. Barocc. gr. 131 (*Diktyon* 47418) (ca. 1250–1280), written by eight scribes over a period of almost thirty years and containing a vast selection of texts from the middle of the eleventh to the late thirteenth century⁸³. The Baroccianus transmits the second and third of Holobolos’ encomia on Michael VIII in inverted order⁸⁴. Oration 3 has been copied on fols. 236r–240v by scribe B, the manuscript’s main scribe, while Oration 2 has been copied on fols. 244r–250r by scribe C⁸⁵. Scribe B can almost certainly be identified with the scribe of Vat. gr. 106 (*Diktyon* 66737) (a. 1251)⁸⁶. However, given that Holobolos’ Oration 3 was delivered at the earliest at Christmas 1267, this part of the Baroccianus was copied after this date.

⁷⁹ The laudatory speech to Michael VIII Palaiologos (preserved in V without a heading) was edited by TREU, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, I, 30–50 and by SIDERIDIS, *Μανουὴλ Ὁλοβόλου Ἐγκώμιον* 174–191, who was not aware of TREU’s edition. On the date and context of the three Christmas panegyrics by Holobolos, see MACRIDES, *The New Constantine and the New Constantinople*.

⁸⁰ The heading runs as follows: + Τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ σοφωτάτῳ μακαριωτάτῳ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρως Ῥώμης τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀρχιερεὶ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου κυρῷ Κλήμεντι. The letter was edited by N. FESTA, *Lettera inedita dell’imperatore Michele VIII Paleologo al pontefice Clemente IV. Bessarione* 4 (1899–1900) 42–57; for the attribution to Holobolos and the context, see N. FESTA, *Ancora la lettera di Michele Paleologo a Clemente IV. Bessarione* 4 (1899–1900) 529–532; SIDERIDIS, *Μανουὴλ Ὁλοβόλου Ἐγκώμιον* 170; D. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations*. Cambridge, MA 1959, 200–202; BYDÉN, “Strangle Them with These Meshes of Syllogisms” 145 n. 60. The letter was re-edited and re-dated to ca. June 1265 by L. PIERALLI, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell’impero bizantino con le potenze estere nel tredicesimo secolo (1204–1282)*. Vatican City 2006, 167–183.

⁸¹ Attributed to Holobolos by SIDERIDIS, *Μανουὴλ Ὁλοβόλου Ἐγκώμιον*, 170.

⁸² The identification of the scribe with Holobolos has been suggested, with a question mark, by D. HARLFINGER, *Einige Aspekte der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Physikkommentars des Simplicios*, in: *Simplicius, sa vie, son œuvre, sa survie. Actes du colloque international de Paris* (28. Sept. – 1er Oct. 1985), ed. I. Hadot. Berlin 1987, 267–286, esp. 285 n. 71. The basis for the identification is an invocatory scribal note on f. 74r, containing the phrase Χριστὲ Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Μανουήλ. The note has been published by I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240–1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio*. Madrid 1996, 22. The author (*ibid.* n. 16) doubts the identification with Holobolos. For the manuscript and its scribe see RGK IIA, 137 (no. 354) and IIC pl. 200. For the monastic name Maximos in the headings of Holobolos’ Latin translations in Vat. gr. 207 (*Diktyon* 66838), see below n. 89.

⁸³ For a brief description with a first attempt at identification of the hands see N. WILSON, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands: Examples Selected from Greek Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries*. Cambridge, MA 1973, I, 29–30 and II, pl. 58–62; for a full description see IDEM, *A Byzantine Miscellany: Ms. Barocci 131 Described. JÖB* 27 (1978) 157–179. For a digital reproduction of the manuscript from the Bodleian Library, see <http://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/> and ID 5d90cc41-2c6f-4e84-93bd-34696c448cd6 (accessed 08-07-2019).

⁸⁴ Edited by TREU, *Orationes* II in their proper sequence.

⁸⁵ For a specimen of B see WILSON, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* II, pl. 58 (f. 82r); for a specimen of C see *ibid.* pl. 60 (f. 244r).

⁸⁶ A. TURYN, *Codices Vaticani graeci saeculis xiii et xiv exarati annorumque notis instructi*. Vatican City 1964, pl. 13.

Scribe C who used a very dense script with a curly ductus, must have also been active after 1266, the earliest date of Holobolos' Oration 2. Neither of the two hands can be identified with the scribe of V, although the ductus of scribe B bears a general similarity to V.

The second manuscript in question is the Vat. gr. 207, a miscellaneous codex thoughtfully put together between 1265 and 1268 by a learned man (interested in philosophy and employed at the patriarchate) and scribe in collaboration with a second scribe⁸⁷. The manuscript is known for the list of its owner's books loaned by him to various relatives and colleagues at the patriarchate (f. VIIr), spanning a period of thirteen years (1268–1282)⁸⁸. The owner (known as scribe 1) added the red headings in all of the manuscript, as well as a *pinax* of the volume's contents, also in red ink and a very florid style (f. 3r). A substantial part of the manuscript (section V, fols. 195r–278v) is devoted to Aristotle's *Topics* and Boethius' *De topicis differentiis* and *De hypotheticis syllogismis*, in a Greek translation by Manuel Holobolos, referred to by his monastic name Maximos, office and employment (fols. 237r–278v)⁸⁹. These two texts have been copied by both scribes, whose different hands can be very clearly seen on f. 236r, where scribe 2 picks up on line 18 of the page. The headings written by scribe 1 make it obvious that he knew Holobolos personally. However, neither scribe of the Vat. gr. 207 can be identified with the scribe of V, nor can they be identified with Holobolos. The reason is to be found on f. 273r of the Vaticanus, where scribe 1 began to write in an extremely dense script and with very small letters the text of Boethius' *De hypotheticis syllogismis*. Next to the beginning, in the right margin, the scribe has added a note to the readers warning them that the correct order of reading the two texts is first the *De hypotheticis syllogismis* and then the *De topicis differentiis*, but that he copied this way because it was only at a later point that he found the first text⁹⁰. Furthermore, the hand of scribe 1 is not identical to scribes B or C of the Baroccianus.

More substantial research into the hands of late thirteenth-century scribes would be necessary to identify other manuscripts written by the scribe of V and test our hypothesis about the scribe being Manuel Holobolos. If our proposal is correct, the manuscript was written shortly after 1267 and probably before 1273, when Holobolos was exiled by Michael VIII for his anti-unionist stance. This proposal also explains how the scribe was able to find the manuscripts from which he copied his material, since as a professional teacher trained in the empire of Nicaea, he had access to important libraries in western Asia Minor and Constantinople. It also explains the comments on f. 141v, where in the author criticizes in retrospect his own work in a highly learned way.

⁸⁷ For a splendid reconstruction of the whole process of production and the dating of the codex see P. CANART, A propos du Vaticanus Graecus 207. *Illinois Classical Studies* 7 (1982) 271–298 (repr. in IDEM, *Études de paléographie et de codicologie*. Reproduits avec la collaboration de M. L. Agati et M. D'Agostino. Tome II (*StT* 451). Vatican City 2008, 759–786. The manuscript is easily accessible in a good digital reproduction from the Vatican Library at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3195/0001 (accessed 14-10-2017).

⁸⁸ For the most recent edition and discussion see CANART, Vaticanus Graecus 207, 279–283.

⁸⁹ See f. 3r (*pinax*): δ'· [[συλλογισμοὶ ὑποθετικοί]] τοῦ λατίνου Βοητίου μεταγλωττισθ[έντες] παρὰ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου ἐν πατριαρχικοῖς ἄρχουσι θεοφιλεστάτου μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὀλοβόλου [sic] (the scribe had originally written the title of Boethius' *Topics* commentary, but erased it and wrote the title of the other work with black ink), and 237r: Βοητίου φιλοσόφου λατίνου περὶ τόπων διαλεκτικῶν διαίρεσις ἀρίστη μεταγλωττισθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου ῥήτορος κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Ὀλοβόλου. The two texts have been edited by D. Z. NIKITAS, Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis" (*Hypomnemata* 69). Göttingen 1982 and IDEM, Boethius, *De topicis differentiis* καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς μεταφράσεις τῶν Μανουὴλ Ὀλοβόλου καὶ Προχόρου Κυδώνη (*Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi* 5). Athens 1990. For a broader appreciation in the context of the thirteenth century see E. A. FISHER, Planoudes, Holobolos, and the Motivation for Translation. *GRBS* 43 (2003) 77–104 and EADEM, Manuel Holobolos and the Role of Bilinguals in Relations between the West and Byzantium, in: Knotenpunkt Byzanz: Wissensformen und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen, ed. A. Speer – Ph. Steinkrüger (*Miscellanea Medievalia* 36). Berlin 2012, 210–222.

⁹⁰ The note has been edited by CANART, Vaticanus graecus 207, 290 n. 20.

EDITORIAL MATTERS

V employs a fairly consistent system of accentuation and punctuation, consonant with most manuscripts of the period 1150–1350⁹¹. Thus, the scribe follows Byzantine practice in uniting adverbial phrases into one word⁹², while he also unites into one word the non-adverbial phrase κατὰ ταυτὸ (1.23). The scribe treats δε as an enclitic when it follows an oxytone word⁹³, otherwise he accentuates it⁹⁴. There is a similar fluctuation with τε καὶ⁹⁵. In most cases (ca. 70%), the scribe keeps the gravis of an oxytone word before a comma or upper dot. He sometimes uses the double gravis, possibly for stress accentuation⁹⁶. He once uses the *trema* to indicate vowel division (6.24 θεϊκῆς). He uses iota subscriptum only once in all six essays (6.12 καρπουμένῳ). The scribe does use the upper dot plus comma sign as a question mark⁹⁷, but he does not use commata to separate direct addresses⁹⁸. He sometimes uses a comma in a formulaic phrase, such as ἔστι γὰρ, ἔστι τοῦτο in 6.11⁹⁹. The scribe employs other devices to help the reading of the text. For example, he uses a dash to indicate words divided at line change¹⁰⁰, but he does not do so in a few other instances¹⁰¹. Furthermore, he employs the *hyphen* to indicate compound words¹⁰², a characteristic practice of scribes from the thirteenth century onwards¹⁰³. Generally, the scribe makes few errors, such as minor spelling mistakes¹⁰⁴. Since most of these mistakes are found in Essay 6, this could be an indication of fatigue at the end of a long working period. In a number of cases the scribe corrected himself¹⁰⁵.

In our edition we have followed the manuscript fairly closely, keeping the system of accentuation and punctuation almost intact, because this system supports a better reading and declaiming of the text, while also helping towards a better understanding of its meaning and stylistic aesthetics. However, we have regulated punctuation through the practice introduced by Roderich Reinsch in his edition of Psellos' *Chronographia*¹⁰⁶. The debate about such practices is still ongoing.

⁹¹ On accentuation see J. NORET, L'accentuation byzantine: en quoi et pourquoi elle diffère de l'accentuation "savante" actuelle, parfois absurde, in: *The Language of Byzantine Learned Literature*, ed. M. Hinterberger (*Studies on Byzantine History and Civilization*). Turnhout 2014, 96–146; on punctuation see D. R. REINSCH, Stixis und Hören, in: *Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paléographie Grecque* (Drama, 21–27 septembre 2003), ed. B. Atsalos – N. Tsironi. Athens 2008, I, 259–269 (with substantial bibliography).

⁹² See, for example, μηδοπωσοῦν (1.31, 2.5), ταμάλιστα (2.3) and καταπολύ (6.12, 6.16).

⁹³ For example, 1.20 φυτόν δε, 4.4 ἐνός δε, 6.4 κοινός δε.

⁹⁴ For example, 1.23, 1.25 before a comma, 2.14, 4.5.

⁹⁵ See 2.6, 6.27.

⁹⁶ For example, 1.22 τὸ μὲν...τοῦ δὲ (over μὲν and δὲ), 1.22 πῶς ἂν (over ἂν), 6.24 τάχα ἂν (over ἂν); for this practice see the still useful study of M. REIL, Zur Akzentuation griechischer Handschriften. *BZ* 19 (1910) 476–529, esp. 482–484, and now K. Oikonomakos, Ἀγαθὸν τὸ διτονεῖν? *Byz* 75 (2005) 295–309.

⁹⁷ See 2.12, 2.14–15, 5.7.

⁹⁸ See 1.32 and 2.2.

⁹⁹ In 2.20–21 he does not put a comma after γὰρ in the same phrase.

¹⁰⁰ See 1.3 (εὐρί-σκονται), 1.19 (θεω-ρημάτων), 1.27 (ἀχω-ρίστως), 4.8 (φανή-σεται), 4.9 (παρεισά-γουσι), 4.10 (γινώσκονται), 5.3 (πεποί-ηκεν), 5.13 (ἀρχι-επισκόποις), 5.15 (γρα-φείσαις), 6.12 (ἐπι-πονυτέροις), 6.22 (ἀνά-γκη). The scribe follows the medieval practice as described by J. NORET, Les règles byzantines de la division en syllabes. *Byz* 77 (2007) 345–348.

¹⁰¹ See 1.9 (ἐν/τελέχειαν), 2.13 (ἐπυ/βολαῖς), 2.24 (ὑπερ/φυῶς), 5.10 (καταφλο/γίζων).

¹⁰² See 1.31 μηδοπωσοῦν, 2.9 θεοειδές, 5.2 ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.

¹⁰³ Indicatively, one might mention the Barocc. 131, Laur. Conv. Sopr. 627, Par. gr. 857 (*Diktyon* 50444) (a. 1261), Par. gr. 400 (a. 1343/4).

¹⁰⁴ For example, 1.4 λίποντος (instead of λείποντος), 6.13 μαχήν, 6.12 ἐπιπονυτέροις, 6.15 εὐκρατώς, 6.18 σωμα, 6.24 ἡδυνόμενος.

¹⁰⁵ See 1.8, 1.10, 1.14, 1.15, 2.12, 4.4 (the word τοῦτο has been added above the line starting before ἄρσις), 4.11, 5.7, 6.25 (the ὅ of ὅτε has been corrected from something now illegible).

¹⁰⁶ See, initially, D. R. REINSCH, What Should an Editor Do with a Text like the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos, in: *Ars Edendi. Lecture Series. Volume II*, ed. A. Bucossi – E. Kihlman (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stock-*

ing¹⁰⁷, with some editors choosing the conventional normative practice, while others print almost diplomatic editions¹⁰⁸. It is certainly impossible to find one generally functional editorial practice for a variety of texts spanning the sixth to the fifteenth centuries, but an effort to approach such practice with a clear historical method is absolutely necessary.

Textual interferences have been kept to a minimum, for example, filling the minor lacunae resulting from small holes at the margins of the text column. The mistakes by the scribe are due to inner dictation¹⁰⁹, misreading¹¹⁰ or possibly haste¹¹¹. In a few instances we have retained a deviating Byzantine spelling, if it is attested in other contemporary or near contemporary texts¹¹². If the scribe of V is Holobolos and the manuscript was written around 1270, then we have the opportunity to observe a well-educated, young teacher (approx. 25 years old) copying his material with a firm hand and in full control of his writing.

THE TRANSLATION

Translating the prose of Theodore Laskaris, with its unusual phraseology, allusive language, and wordplays, is a challenging task. The translation tries to convey as much as possible the spirit of the Greek text. We have chosen to render into English the Aristotelian concept of ἐντελέχεια in Essay 1—which is usually translated (e.g., in the LSJ) as “full, complete reality” and “actuality”—as “full completeness” following the lead of Blemmydes, Laskaris’ influential teacher. In Chapter IV of his *Epitome of Physics*, Blemmydes discusses the various meanings of the term. He unsurprisingly connects the concept with Aristotle, citing the latter’s definition of motion (*Physics* 201a10–11) as “the actuality of what exists potentially, insofar as it exists potentially.” Blemmydes explains that ἐντελέχεια could signify any of the following: a completed condition, the completeness of something, and a completed activity. An example of ἐντελέχεια is the human being developing out of an embryo, which appears in a fully completed form from the mother’s womb at the time of birth¹¹³. A student of Aristotelian natural philosophy, Laskaris was attracted to this concept and made frequent use of ἐντελέχεια, ἐντελεχής and ἐντελεχῶς in non-philosophical contexts in his letters¹¹⁴.

holmiensia 58). Stockholm 2012, 131–154 with the objections of B. BYDÉN, *Imprimatur? Unconventional Punctuation and Diacritics in Manuscripts of Medieval Greek Philosophical Works*, in: *Ibid.* 155–172; see, finally, D. R. REINSCH, Michaelis Pselli Chronographia (*Millenium-Studien* 51). Berlin–Boston 2014, I, xxxii–xxxvi.

¹⁰⁷ See the stimulating papers gathered in: *From Manuscript to Book: Proceedings of the International Workshop on Textual Criticism and Editorial Practice for Byzantine Texts* (Vienna, 10–11 December 2009), ed. A. Giannouli – E. Schiffer (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung* 29). Vienna 2011, with the critical reviews by A. RIEHLE, *BZ* 105 (2012) 209–216 and C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Aevum* 87 (2013) 613–614.

¹⁰⁸ See E. PASCHOS – Chr. SIMELIDIS (eds.), *Introduction to Astronomy by Theodore Metochites: Stoicheiosis Astronomike* 1.5–30. New York–London–Singapore 2017, 30–34 for a discussion of the editor’s normalizing choices; for the quasi diplomatic approach see RIEHLE, *Theodoros Xanthopoulos* 176–180. In both cases, the editors work with manuscripts and scribes absolutely contemporary to the authors and their texts.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. 1.25 καὶ καινῶν instead of καινότατον, 5.17 τούτου τελώνου instead of τοῦ τελώνου.

¹¹⁰ E.g. 4.10 ἀρτίβαστος pro ἀρτίβλαστος, 6.5 παραδεδομένας pro παραδεδομένους, 2.6 ταραχοποιᾶσι pro ταραχοποιαῖς.

¹¹¹ In the heading of Essay 1 the scribe omitted the article before βασιλείας, against all other appearances of this formula in the Laskaris dossier.

¹¹² For example, 6.15 κρυστάλου, rather than with a double lambda. See Psellos, *Poemata* 9.906, 908 WESTERINK; Balsamon, *Epigr.* 24.22 HORNA; in particular Prodromos, *Carm. Hist.* 39.78 HÖRANDNER (κρυστάλου δίκην).

¹¹³ Blemmydes, *Epitome of Physics* § 4.1–2 (PG 142, 1049A–1052A).

¹¹⁴ For example, epp. 44.3, 63.3, 63.10, 109.14, 130.45, 133.9, 156.6, 184.24 (FESTA 56, 92, 151, 182, 188, 218, 235).

DATE AND AUDIENCE

Essay 1 dates, as its heading indicates, after the accession of Theodore Laskaris as sole ruler. His father, the senior emperor John III Vatatzes (1221–1254), passed away on 3 November 1254 and his only son Theodore, previously the junior coemperor, ascended the throne and was subsequently crowned in an ecclesiastical ceremony¹¹⁵. The chronology of the essay emerges not only from the heading, but is implicit in its discussion of the philosophical terminology with which Theodore Laskaris referred to his accession (see below the analysis of essay no. 1). The last essay (no. 6) dates to the second half of 1257 or 1258—during the last year of the life of Laskaris who passed away on 16 August 1258 in Magnesia at the age of thirty-six¹¹⁶. The essay was written with hindsight of the author's experiences during the campaign he led in the Balkans against the Bulgarians (1255–56). Laskaris contemplates the causes for the ill-health of rulers, which he attributes to the physical hardships endured by them during military campaigns. The medical focus suggests that the author wrote the piece as he grappled to explain the deterioration of his own health. George Akropolites situates the onset of his fatal disease sometime in 1257 or 1258¹¹⁷. The thirteenth-century Jewish author Jacob ben Elia reports the duration of the illness as nine months, which would mean that its symptoms first manifested themselves in November 1257¹¹⁸. It may be added that in two of his seven post-1254 letters to Blemmydes copied in V, Laskaris openly speaks of his illness and describes its symptoms¹¹⁹.

The four intervening essays between the first and the sixth lack internal chronological indicators, although we can safely assume that the time of their composition falls between 1254 and 1258. For one, the heading of Essay 1 may in fact pertain to all six essays. In addition, most of the Laskaris material in V that was part of the edited collection β, as reconstructed above, dates to the period of his sole rule. One further consideration for this dating can be adduced. The method of composition by dictation, which the author revealed to his readers in Essay 6 (see the discussion below), fits into his busy lifestyle in those years. It should be added that the satirical Essay 5 could not have been composed in 1255, because Theodore Laskaris was campaigning in the Balkans during the pre-Lenten period. The years 1256 and 1257 are the two likely dates for this essay.

The only clue regarding the intended audience is found at the end of Essay 1. The invocation “o wise men” (σοφοὶ ἄνδρες) suggests his entourage of companions, all well-educated or with educational aspirations, who belonged to the generation born after the fall of Constantinople. Laskaris saw wisdom and philosophy (“the love of wisdom”) as a special feature of his circle¹²⁰. Some of its members, such as George Akropolites and Hagiotheodorites, were already highly educated, but there were men—especially young imperial secretaries and palace attendants—who Laskaris believed to

¹¹⁵ The accession is described in Akropolites' *History* § 52–§ 53: HEISENBERG, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera* I, 101–107. On the day of Vatatzes' death, see P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*. Vol. 2. Vienna 1977, 195, 608 (no. 17–21).

¹¹⁶ The day of Laskaris' death is given by a chronological note in Vat. Palat. gr. 25 (153v) published by SCHREINER, *Kleinchroniken* II, 608 (no. 22). For Magnesia as the place of his obit, see BLEMMYDES, *Partial Account* II 80: ed. J. MUNITIZ, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia sive curriculum vitae necnon epistula universalior* (CCSG 13). Turnhout 1984, 81.

¹¹⁷ *History* § 74: HEISENBERG, *Georgii Acropolitae Opera* I, 153.4–9. Akropolites reports the illness of Laskaris (drastic loss of weight, physical suffering, and inability of doctors to cure him) as developing after the political changes in Bulgaria reported in § 73 (these took place in late 1256 and 1257) and after the embassy sent by the new Bulgarian ruler Constantine Tikh to Laskaris, which resulted in the marriage of the latter's eldest daughter Irene to the former. Nikephoros Gregoras follows Akropolites by noting that Laskaris fell ill when he was in the thirty-sixth year of his life; see L. SCHOPEN, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, vol. 1. Bonn 1829, 61.18–62.2.

¹¹⁸ See the letter written in about 1270 in Valencia by Rabbi Jacob ben Elia of Carcassonne in S. BOWMAN, *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453*. Tuscaloosa, AL, 1985, 229. See also J. MANN, *Une source de l'histoire juive au XIII^e siècle: la lettre polémique de Jacob b. Elie à Pablo Christiani*. *Revue des études juives* 82 (1926) 363–377.

¹¹⁹ Ep. 48 (FESTA 64–66); see also ep. 45.57–70 (FESTA 62).

¹²⁰ Ep. 49 (FESTA 67–71).

be in need of further training. Thus, he addressed a Trinitarian treatise to the secretary John Phaix and the *koubouklarios* (chamberlain) Constantine¹²¹. His childhood friend and political protégé George Mouzalon, the power behind the throne during the last two years of his life, was the recipient of his disquisition on friendship and politics (*Response to Mouzalon*), and the philosophical treatise *Explanation of the World*. The three overtly philosophical essays (1, 3 and 6) may have had similar instructional agenda. Essay 5 seems also to have been addressed to his companions, although its agenda is different. It satirizes the archbishop of Ephesos and resembles the “clergy jokes” that circulated among young laymen in his entourage¹²². The author calls the audience of these jokes simply his “friends” (οἱ συνήθεις) in a pre-1254 letter sent to Mouzalon in an attempt to lift his spirits while the latter was recovering from an illness¹²³. The intended readership of the essays, thus, was likely to have consisted of the usual audience of Laskaris’ philosophical and satirical works—educated courtiers whom he promoted to high positions during his brief reign. It should be added that Akropolites is unlikely to have been among the addressees of the six essays, for he was not near Laskaris in the last two years of his life, because he was appointed to a high position in the Balkans in the second half of 1256 and fell into Epirote captivity in 1257¹²⁴.

GENRE, STRUCTURE AND LANGUAGE

The six essays of Theodore Laskaris edited here resemble to a certain extent the twelve Ἐπιτομαὶ ἠθικαί (*Moral Pieces*) on religious and philosophical topics, which he wrote while mourning the death of his wife Elena Asenina in 1252¹²⁵. They also resemble, to a lesser extent, the seventeen Ὑμνοι προσφωνητήριοι (*Invocatory Hymns*). Unlike the *Moral Pieces* or the *Invocatory Hymns*, the six essays do not have a unifying title to characterize them, nor do they appear, initially at least, to form a literary unit in the strict sense of the term, since their topics range from natural and political philosophy to self-reflection and satire.

The brief texts have a contemplative character and are defined in their headings as γνώμη (1, 6), θέσις (4, 5) and λήμμα (3). While the first two terms (“maxim”, “thesis”) are derived from progymnastic school practice¹²⁶, the third (“proposition, premise”) draws on mathematical and philosophical language¹²⁷. The exception to this type of terminological description is Essay 2, which in its

¹²¹ See KRIKONIS, Χριστιανική θεολογία 109 in the apparatus.

¹²² See below nn. 123, 166.

¹²³ See, for example, Ep. 158 (FESTA 218–219) addressed to Mouzalon. The letter describes how one morning the author received his friends after breakfast, as was his custom, and a member of the group brought up the subject of the bishop Monikos (Monoikos). All burst into laughter—Mouzalon was also invited to do so from afar—when they remembered the comic physique, speech and musical abilities of the bishop.

¹²⁴ On the Balkan assignment of Akropolites as *praetor* and the events that led to his captivity, see *History* § 67–§ 68, § 70–§ 72 (HEISENBERG, Georgii Acropolitae Opera I, 139–143, 144–151); MACRIDES, George Akropolites 12.

¹²⁵ For an edition with introduction, translation and notes see ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces*.

¹²⁶ Hermog. Prog. 4 and 11 (ed. M. PATILLON, Corpus Rheotricum, Anonyme, Préambule à la rhétorique – Aphthonios, Progymnasmata – Pseudo-Hermogène, Progymnasmata. Paris 2008, 187–189, 203–205) and Aphth. Prog. 4 and 13 (ibid., 117–120, 152–157); for an English translation with notes see G. A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks on Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Leiden–Boston 2003, 77–78 and 87–88 (Hermogenes), 99–101 and 120–124 (Aphthonios). On the meaning of γνώμη in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and the adjective γνωμικός, see B. BYDÉN, The Nature and Purpose of the *Semeioseis gnomikai*: The Antithesis of Philosophy and Rhetoric, in: K. HULT, Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy: *Semeioseis gnomikai* 1–26 & 71. Gothenburg 2002, 245–288, esp. 255–258.

¹²⁷ Archim. DeConoid. I 159.3 (et passim); Gal. HippPlat. II 3.8.3; DiogLaert. VIII 76.9; SextEmp. AdvMathem. VIII 225.10 (et passim). The word is also used in the heading of the prophecy of Habacuc (1.1.1 τὸ λήμμα, ὃ εἶδεν Ἀμβακούμ ὁ προφήτης). Laskaris used elsewhere the word *lemma* in the sense of “proposition” and “premise”; see Κοσμική Δίλωση I 98.3 (general preface); epp. 202.59 (FESTA 250), 212.10 (FESTA 264).

heading includes the formula *περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτόν* (“about his own affairs”), suggesting a self-referential and autobiographic perspective¹²⁸. Essay 1 is characterized in the text as *lemmation* (1.31 εἰ καὶ τὸ λημμάτιον τοῦτο ... εἰς ὑπόμνησιν ... ἐκτετέλεσται), a term (“proposition, premise, exposition”) used quite often in mathematical, philosophical and theological treatises¹²⁹. In Essay 6 the text is characterized in the concluding sentence as *gnome* (6.28–30 ταῦτα περισκοπήσας ... τὴν γνώμην ἐξέθετο), the same term as in the heading. Finally, it is possible that a reference to the essays as whole is made in Essay 4 when the author explains that ἐπεὶ τοι γε καὶ τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα, ὑπεμφαίνουσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν (“because these propositions here present the truth”).

Five of the six essays start with a “proposition” that is then expounded. However, the propositions are the author’s own thoughts and not maxims of ancient sages, as was the usual practice in the schools. These propositions are the following:

1. Μετὰ τὸ τῆς ἐντελεχείας ἀξίωμα, ὅτι ταύτης ἔγγιστα ἢ διαίρεσις, τῶν δ’ ἑκατέρων εἴ τι πᾶν ἐντελές.
3. Ἡ φύσις εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ στρέφεται.
4. Τὸ ἐν ὄλῳ δίκαιον, ὅλον τοῦ δικαίου ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ κείμενον εἰς διάλυσιν, ἀναιρεῖ τοῦ ὅλου τὸ δίκαιον.
5. Προνοίας τοῦτο, ἢ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος.
6. Οἱ τῆς μεγάλης ἡγεμονίας ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου τὰς λύπας ἢ τὰς χαρὰς ἔχουσιν.

While Essays 1, 3, 4 and 6 treat serious topics, Essay 5 is quite special in that this text is, in fact, a satirical invective composed in the form of a syllogistic exposition, thus displaying a clear generic hybridity—in other words, an amalgamation of two different types of genre and discourse¹³⁰. Forming a loose collection of didactic notes, the texts use devices from various traditions such as the progymnastic exercise, the philosophical maxim, the monastic *apophthegmata* and even katanyktic hymnography. The texts are very loosely structured and follow an associative logic in the exposition of the topics, giving the impression of being entries in a diary rather than fully developed essays in the modern sense of the term. Their style is at times close to the *Moral Pieces*, at times close to the *Explanation of the World*, at times close to Laskaris’ letters, especially the humorous ones. As in many of his other works, here also the main intellectual framework is delineated by Laskaris’ interest in mathematics and geometry, natural and political philosophy, but also hymnography.

The six essays display a dense and opaque language. Notable are the rare word ἀρτίβλαστος (4.10) and the even rarer noun ἀντιπάλαισις (6.6), which is known solely from the *History* of Niketas Choniates (see LBG). In *περιστροφαῖς ταραχοποιαῖς* (2.6), the author adopts a feminine rather than a masculine/neuter ending in a composite adjective modifying a feminine word, a practice he follows elsewhere¹³¹. In *πρὸς τῆς διαιρέσεως* (1.21), he uses the proposition *πρὸς* with the genitive, meaning “from,” as he does elsewhere¹³².

¹²⁸ On this type of title and its potential generic connotations see M. HINTERBERGER, *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz* (WBS 22). Vienna 1999, 97–116.

¹²⁹ See, for example, Eucl. Elem. X 41.31 (λήμμα and λημμάτιον); Ptol. SyntMath. I 1.73.4; Philop. CommAristPhys. XVII 661.16; CyrAlex. CommProphMin. I 639.17 or II 216.7.

¹³⁰ On hybridity and amalgamation in Byzantine literature see, indicatively, S. CONSTANTINOY, *Generic Hybrids: The “Life” of Synkletike and the “Life” of Theodora of Arta*. *JÖB* 56 (2006) 113–133 and P. A. AGAPITOS, *New Genres in the Twelfth Century: The schedourgia of Theodore Prodromos*. *MEG* 15 (2015) 1–41.

¹³¹ Ep. 47.4 (FESTA 63): δευσοποιαῖς μορφαῖς.

¹³² *Encomium on the Emperor John Doukas* § 11, in TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 47.551–552: πρὸς τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐμοιρεῖ; ep. 36.7 (FESTA 44: πρὸς τοῦ προστάτου μου σοῦ μεμάθηκα); ep. 36.32 (FESTA 45: πρὸς τῆς Τριάδος βοῶ).

ORALITY, FLUIDITY AND COMPOSITION BY DICTATION

The concluding sentence of Essay 6 (28–30) contains a clue signalling both orality and tight authorial control: “After having examined these things with a far-seeing eye and with the sharpness of thought and the judgement of knowledge, he expounded the maxim, although he knows more than what has been said.” This comment seems to suggest that the author dictated his composition to a secretary, such as was his companion and eventually high imperial official Hagiotheodorites, whom Laskaris describes in a pre-1254 letter to Blemmydes as “the expert connoisseur of my tongue, of my heart and of the thoughts of my mind, and an admirable secretary.”¹³³ The phrase “with a far-seeing eye” (ὄμματι τηλεσκόπῳ) derives from Aristophanes’ *Clouds* and is featured in Blemmydes’ *Imperial Statue*¹³⁴. The rare quotation with its elevated vocabulary cannot have been added by a recording secretary, but belongs to the author himself.

Oral composition obviously requires improvisation, and improvisation presupposes the existence of a certain stock of phrasal formulas. We do not find such formulas in Laskaris’ texts, but we can detect a certain stereotyped use of syntactical structures that are based on rhetorical tropes, such as figures of word order, repetition, vivacity and assonance¹³⁵. The first third of Essay 1 (2–13 εἰ γάρ τοι ... καὶ ὕπαρξις) is a very good example of this “poetical,” extremely rhythmical yet highly loose prose with its long catalogue of very short cola (5–9) framed by complex sentences (2–5 and 9–13), which are themselves structured in a very fluid manner. Similar is a most difficult passage from Essay 4 (lines 5–9), where we can see the extremely pronounced associative movement of thought and language, with an abrupt change of syntactical structure at 4.6 (τὴν λύμανσιν· || ἡ κρίσις) and a loose paratactical unit at 4.8–9 (μὴ τῇ κρίσει ... τὸ ἀνόμημα).

Laskaris often wrote in a manner that looks as if improvised, and the texts closest to this style of the six essays are the twelve *Moral Pieces* of 1252. Otherwise, however, his style was very carefully prepared, giving only the appearance of improvisation as, for example, a long passage in the *Response to Mouzalon* (composed between 1250 and 1254), clearly shows¹³⁶. The author was admired for his capacity for swift and powerful improvised composition as a comment of George Pachymeres suggests: “He was a highly learned man to the greatest degree, and he showed himself beneficent towards all learned men, but he no less practiced himself also literary culture, possessing the power of writing more from nature than education, so that he could compose a lot with great fluency should he start.”¹³⁷ Pachymeres offers an anecdote to support his claim, in which the readers see the emperor improvising an excellent hymnic canon (κανόνα πλακῆναι ἄριστον) for the feast of a saint, while the priest is chanting the six psalms introducing the matins service (τὸν προκαταρκτικὸν τοῦ ὁρθροῦ ἐξάψαλμον)¹³⁸. A few such canons by Laskaris have survived, one of which is a hymn of salutation to

¹³³ Ep. 27.18–20 (FESTA 37): τὸν ἐμὸν τῆς γλώττης καὶ τῆς καρδίας καὶ τοῦ νοὸς νοημάτων ἐπιστήμονα θαυμαστὸν γραφέα τε.

¹³⁴ See above n. 12 to the translation.

¹³⁵ For a detailed analysis of such tropes in a poem see P. A. AGAPITOS, Public and Private Death in Psellos: Maria Skleraina and Styliane Psellaina. *BZ* 101 (2008) 555–607, esp. 565–568.

¹³⁶ *Response to Mouzalon* § 5–6 (TARTAGLIA, Opuscula 127.169–133.316). Laskaris describes to his close companion and future “prime minister” the character traits of a man who wishes to be a friend out of advantage (§ 5) and out of pleasure (§ 6). The first section appears as an improvised “stream-of-consciousness” composition but is not, while the second section appears as a rhetoricized list of sentences describing the pleasures of court life. For an analysis of this passage see A. ANDREOU – P. A. AGAPITOS, Of Masters and Servants: Hybrid Power in Theodore Laskaris’ *Response to Mouzalon* and in the *Tale of Livistros and Rodamne*. *Interfaces—A Journal of Medieval European Literatures* 6 (2019) — forthcoming.

¹³⁷ PACHYMERES I 1, 13 (FALLER I, 59.12–16): φιλολογώτατος δ’ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὢν, καὶ πᾶσι μὲν λογίοις εὐεργετικῶς προσφερόμενος, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λογικῇ παιδείᾳ προσεσχηκῶς, οὐ μᾶλλον ἐκ μαθήσεως ἢ φύσεως τὴν περὶ τὸ γράφειν δύναμιν ἔχων, ὥς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιρρῶδην ἐκτιθέναι, εἰ μόνον ὁρμήσειεν. Note that the crucial adverb ἐπιρρῶδην is a *hapax legomenon* of Pachymeres, not documented in the LBG.

¹³⁸ Ibid. (FALLER I, 59.16–61.2).

the Virgin Mary (Χαιρετισμὸς εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον) in the style of the Akathistos Hymn¹³⁹. As Antonia Giannouli has shown, the hymn is based on a prose encomium of Laskaris in honour of the Akathistos Feast¹⁴⁰. Here we have the opportunity to see how an extremely rhythmical prose text—simultaneously ecstatic and fully controlled—is transformed into a hymn of similar ecstatic style and yet bound in the form of the hymn’s metrical model. To these two texts one can easily compare the oration Περὶ Θεωνυμίας (*On the Divine Names*) from Laskaris’ *Christian Theology*, where a series of over seven hundred attributes of God are collected and catalogued in a superbly rhythmical and mystical manner¹⁴¹.

However, this power of a performative, ritualistic and ecstatic way of writing is not what we find in the six essays. Their style is neither performative nor ritualistic, and certainly not ecstatic. The continuous syntactic shifts, internalized rhythmical organization and obscure language suggest a person dictating in forced haste his thoughts in order to communicate them to himself or to a specific audience as advice and admonition for political or philosophical matters. In this sense, these six short notes are the only instance where we have the personal voice of an emperor and author speaking εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ τὰ καθ’ αὐτόν.

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE ESSAYS

Essay 1: “Full completeness”

The essay lays out a theory on the relationship between division (διαίρεσις) and the Aristotelian concept of ἐντελέχεια (“full completeness”). It is notable that the author used the phrase “full completeness of imperial rule” (ἐντελέχεια τῆς βασιλείας) to refer to his accession as sole emperor. *Entelecheia* commonly features in headings of texts in collections prepared during Laskaris’ four-year reign, such as *Christian Theology* and collection β as reconstructed above¹⁴². The essay confirms Theodore’s interest in the concept of *entelecheia* and—what is more significant—demonstrates that its presence in so many headings was a conscious choice of the author, for he interpreted his accession through the prism of this Aristotelian term. The usage of the phrase strongly suggests that during the last years of his life he supervised the copying of his works in edited collections.

The proposition of the essay takes its subject from its heading. The author gives a hint in the opening sentence that he has already received the *axioma* of *entelecheia* (“after the dignity of full completeness”). The meaning of the puzzling expression becomes clear when one considers that ἀξίωμα can refer to the dignity of the emperor. The proposition is that division is close to full completeness as well as to dignity itself. Division generates new entities in a completed form and bestows on them dignity which, *mutatis mutandis*, is absent from conjoined things. A range of abstract examples is given in support of this thesis. The inspiration for the proposition is never discussed, but can be gleaned by reading between the lines. The death of his father and Theodore’s accession as sole emperor was itself an act of division, because it put an end to the joint rule of the senior and junior emperor, and brought about the “full completeness” of his rule.

¹³⁹ Ed. by S. EUSTRATIADIS – SP. LAURIOTIS, Θεοτοκάριον. Chennevières-sur-Marne 1931, 39–42. Other hymns by Laskaris include his Great Supplicatory Canon to the Virgin (μέγας παρακλητικὸς κανὼν), PG 140, 771–780, and another canon to the Virgin ed. by NIKODEMOS HAGIORITES – G. MOUSAIOS, Στέφανος τῆς Ἀειπαρθένου, ἡ Θεοτοκάριον. Constantinople 1849, 93–96.

¹⁴⁰ A. GIANNOULI, Eine Rede auf das Akathistos-Fest und Theodoros II. Dukas Laskaris. *JÖB* 51 (2001) 259–283, esp. 264–266.

¹⁴¹ KRIKONIS, Χριστιανικὴ θεολογία 99–108.

¹⁴² On the headings of the works in the two collections, see above pp. 49–52, 54–56 and nn. 49, 56–57.

Essay 2: The pleasures of courtly life renounced

This is the most explicitly autobiographic essay of the collection, with no proposition to argue about, but with the author's gaze focused on himself. The essay's main theme is the need of the ruler to control his fleshly desires and to elevate himself and his soul through his ruling intellect (ἡγεμών) and his leonine body (λεοντώδες σῶμα) with its regal leonine gait (βασιλικὸν βᾶδισμα λεόντειον). There is a similarity here with Essay 6 which also focuses on the emperor's body, albeit from a very different angle (see the analysis below).

The direct addressee of this essay is the emperor's "belly-enslaved flesh" (γαστρίδουλος σάρξ) that stirs itself in arrogant rebellion and ultimately leads the ruler to the worst¹⁴³. The ally, or even weapon, of the flesh is pleasure (ἡδονή). In the essay, Theodore refers to three types of pleasure: (i) "marital fictions" (γαμικαὶ μυθοπλαστίαι); (ii) dancing; (iii) singing. The last two types of pleasure appear as a form of play (παίζειν) and coerced participation therein (παίζειν ἡνάγκασε). Only a few years earlier, Laskaris as crown prince had described such activities in his *Response to Mouzalon*. In this text, pleasures handed out by the emperor at the "imperial court" (βασίλειαι αὐλαί) saturate the person desirous of money, banquets, luxurious clothing, songs, hunting, riding, or sports¹⁴⁴. That Theodore enjoyed these aspects of courtly life is vividly described by Pachymeres in a moralizing anecdote in his *History*, according to which Vatatzes met his son out in the countryside as the latter was returning from a hunt dressed in luxurious clothes. The emperor scolded the young prince for foolishly spending the "blood of the Rhomaioi" in such pastimes¹⁴⁵. In another essay titled *Encomium on Spring and on a Charming Man*, also written before 1254, Laskaris speaks of an inner disposition towards melancholy. "Conditions of gloom, as if by a winterstorm, and thoughts disturb my own soul," he writes. He imitates the charming man (χαρίεις ἀνὴρ), who appears in the essay as the perfect courtier, in order himself to feel like spring, always pleasant and smiling, always ready to be friendly to other people, although this is not his "true" character¹⁴⁶. What Laskaris expresses in Essay 2, now that he is the sole ruler, is a rejection of this courtly life in favour of imperial austerity, which has elevated him to "magnificence" (μεγαλοπρέπεια) and "beautified nobly and marvellously the habitual state of our soul through our leonine body" (τῷ λεοντώδει σώματι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἕξιν εὐγενῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς καλλωπίσαντες).

A most intriguing issue is the "marital fictions" to which Laskaris refers. The whole sentence reads: "And in marital fictions you invent for me phantoms of truth, confusing my faculty of imagination and presenting me with shadows instead of the actual being, while divesting grace of its prominence through a small and fleeting pleasure" (9–12). Does Laskaris hint here at his own marriage with Elena as a "fiction"? Or does he refer to the reading of love stories as "fictions"? The second option seems more probable, because Laskaris expressed most passionately his love for his deceased wife in the *Moral Pieces*¹⁴⁷. With Elena he not only had a very good marriage but also six children, of

¹⁴³ The rare noun γαστρίδουλος was used as an adjective by the Church Fathers, especially to characterize "the race of eunuchs" with abusive terms (see, for example, Basil of Caesarea, ep. 115.22 or Palladius, Dial. 92.12). Here, the negative characterization is transferred to the flesh, i.e. the body in its carnal manifestation. The image of the belly as an independent force of greed is already present in the *Odyssey* (see 17.228 and 18.1–4) and plays an important role in the early ecclesiastical authors (Clemens of Alexandria, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Evagrius Ponticus). We find the motif fully developed as a satirical trope in Psellos' verse invective Against the Sabbaitan Monk (*Poemata* 21.17–18 and passim) and Prodhomos' novel *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (4.122–188).

¹⁴⁴ *Response to Mouzalon* § 6 (TARTAGLIA, Opuscula 130.251–132.296).

¹⁴⁵ PACHYMERES I 1,14 (FAILLER I, 61–63). In his *Encomium on the Emperor John Doukas* § 11 (TARTAGLIA, Opuscula 46.536–47.558), he praises his father for having rejected such courtly pleasures in favour of a more austere way of life.

¹⁴⁶ *Encomium on Spring* § 7 (TARTAGLIA, Opuscula 151.252–152.260).

¹⁴⁷ *Moral Pieces* § 12 (ANGELOV, *Moral Pieces* 267.483–268.495).

which their son was to become his successor. Furthermore, Laskaris refused, against the advice of his counsellors, to remarry after the death of Elena and voiced dramatically his preference for the austere life of a philosopher¹⁴⁸. It is difficult to see that such a marriage was “a small and fleeting pleasure” that “divested <his> grace of its prominence”. In fact, the phrase γαμικαῖς ἐν μυθοπλαστίαις suggests an objectification of this image; it is “in” (ἐν) these fictions that pleasure “invents for [him] phantoms of truth” which confuse the intellect. Furthermore, love stories are “marital fictions” because they end in marriage. Needless to say, the often mentioned codex C (see above p. 52) transmits, along with Laskaris’ letters to Mouzalon and other Nicaean texts, four of the five surviving ancient novels (Longos, Achilles Tatios, Chariton, and Xenophon)¹⁴⁹. It might not be a coincidence that in Chariton’s novel, the marriage of the protagonist couple is presented as a public lawful act (I 1.11, III 1.6, III 2.8), while in the author’s narratorial intervention that leads his story to its happy conclusion, the core of the novel is described as “just loves and lawful marriages” (VIII 1.4: ἔρωτες δίκαιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ νόμμοι γάμοι). The reading of such stories did offer “a small and fleeting pleasure” that would fit quite well into the pleasures of courtly life, which Theodore now rejects.

Essay 3: Nature and empiricism

The proposition that nature “does not turn upon itself” (εἰς ἑαυτὴν οὐ στρέφεται) is based on received philosophical tradition. According to Proclus in his *Elements of Theology* (§ 15–17), a material body cannot revert on itself (the verb used is ἐπιστρέφεται) by reason of its nature, but that which is incorporeal and entirely separate from the body is capable of doing so. Everything that is self-motive is capable of returning to itself. Blemmydes adapted the same idea to the Christian context in the chapter devoted to nature in his encyclopedic *Epitome of Physics*. Here Blemmydes compared God and nature with regard to their work of creation. He supplied Aristotle’s definition of nature as “the principle of motion and rest” (*Physics* 253b8–9) with the qualification that “nature moves by being moved” by God, a qualification that rests on the criticism of Aristotle for denying the theory of Creation¹⁵⁰. Blemmydes went on to contrast the supreme creative power of God to the secondary power of nature, the latter being “without knowledge and reversion upon itself” (γνώσεως μὲν ἄτερ καὶ τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστροφῆς)¹⁵¹.

The same idea forms the proposition of the essay. Notably, Laskaris avoided any reference to theology or the scriptures and supported the proposition through an argument based on *reductio ad absurdum*. If nature “turned upon itself,” then it would either grind to a halt (in accordance with Aristotelian theory of motion in the sublunary sphere) or lose its characteristics. The reasoning betrays a conception of nature as a powerful force in continual and uninterrupted action, a view found elsewhere in his philosophical thought. According to his treatise *Natural Communion*, nature has generative and motive power: everything comes from or revolves around nature in a way similar to the water cycle of rainfall and vaporization. Nature is the beginning and the midpoint of the four

¹⁴⁸ See his short piece against remarriage, where he opts for marrying “philosophy” (TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 110–117); first edition with Italian translation by IDEM, Una apologia inedita di Teodoro II Duca Lascari. *Bolletino dei Classici*, ser. III, 12 (1991) 69–82.

¹⁴⁹ The four texts are preceded by a poem written by the school teacher Skoutariotes, wherein he dedicated the four novels to the young emperor Alexios II Komnenos (1180–1183); see G. CAVALLI, Il libro come oggetto d’uso nel mondo bizantino. *JÖB* 31.2 (1982) 395–427, esp. 414–415.

¹⁵⁰ This strand of Byzantine criticism of Aristotle has been surveyed by B. BYDÉN, ‘No Prince of Perfection’: Byzantine Anti-Aristotelianism from the Patristic Period to Pletho, in: *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, eds. D. Angelov and M. Saxby. Farnham 2013, 147–176, esp. 164–165.

¹⁵¹ Blemmydes, *Epitome of Physics* 7 (PG 142, 1089BC).

elements and their mixtures. This view is illustrated by a drawing of concentric circles of the four elements—earth (the innermost circle), water, air, and fire (the outermost circle)—with nature lying at the centre¹⁵². In the essay, Laskaris continues his argument by invoking two phenomena of natural movement. Yet he does not do so in order to back up his initial proposition, but to attack the gross and ignorant misinterpretation of the phenomena by unnamed opponents. These opponents are alleged to have thought that when matter falls on earth and then rises through fire, and when stones are thrown and then fall down, these phenomena meant that nature in fact “turns upon itself.”

Who are Laskaris’ intellectual opponents called enigmatically by him “some people” (τινές)? The view of nature turning upon itself is found in a text by the alchemist Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd–4th cent.), whom Laskaris never mentions in his writings. Blemmydes dabbled in alchemy and Laskaris himself was fascinated with the occult, but his fascination is not a sufficient basis to conclude that the essay represents veiled criticism of the ancient author¹⁵³. Another more plausible possibility is that the essay echoes contemporary debates on the meaning of natural phenomena within the educated entourage of Laskaris. The emperor was fond of drawing philosophical conclusions from observations of nature. The treatise *Explanation of the World* reveals notable empiricist tendencies. In the first chapter (titled *On the Elements*), the author states that “the demonstration is most forceful when it abounds in observed and sensed things.”¹⁵⁴ Thus, water poured into a container and left for a sufficiently long time evaporates and gives way to earth (namely, deposits), which shows the transformation of the elements¹⁵⁵. In the second chapter (titled *On Heaven*), the author draws attention to how round stones fall to the ground faster than those with angular shapes, which explains the circular form of throwing discs and projectiles shot by catapults¹⁵⁶. Members of Laskaris’ circle would have discussed with him such natural phenomena. One can easily picture how individuals around him who were familiar with the drawing of the concentric circles of the elements in his *Natural Communion* could have interpreted a natural movement toward the lowest circle (earth) and the centre (nature) as a return of nature to itself. This was the misunderstanding which Laskaris wished to correct.

Essay 4: Universal justice and the partiality of judges

The fourth essay makes a critical comment on justice and judges. The context emerges from the references to judgement (κρίσις), the scales (τρυτάνη) of justice¹⁵⁷, the pity (οἶκτος) felt by a judge who prefers to remain silent and not “reveal secret things,” and the resulting transgression of the law (ἀνόμημα). Theodore starts by positing the principle of universal justice. In this way “the preservation of the whole” (συντήρησις τῆς ὁλότητος) is secured—a duty of the ruler according to

¹⁵² PG 140, 1281B, 1284A, 1364B. Only rarely does the author allude in this work to the idea of God as the creator of nature, something which he never spells out. See *ibid.* 1297A: “Nature assumed its power (δύναμις) from the first and all-supreme beginning (ἀρχή).” For a philosophical analysis of the treatise, see G. RICHTER, *Theodoros Dukas Laskaris: Der Natürliche Zusammenhang. Ein Zeugnis vom Stand der byzantinischen Philosophie in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts.* Amsterdam 1989.

¹⁵³ Zosimos, *On Virtue*, in M. BERTHELOT – C. É. RUELLE, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Vol. 2. Paris 1888, 111.5–6: Ἡ γὰρ φύσις στρεφόμενη εἰς ἑαυτὴν στρέφεται. For Blemmydes’ alchemical tract on gold-making, see *ibid.*, 452–459. For Laskaris and his complex attitude to the occult, see, for example, ep. 131 (FESTA 183–185) addressed to the metropolitan of Adrianople Germanos.

¹⁵⁴ Κοσμικὴ Δίηλσις I 108.25–26: ἔστι δὲ οὕτω ἡ ἀπόδειξις ἀναγκαιοτάτη, ὅταν ἐκ τῶν θεωρουμένων πληρῶται καὶ αἰσθητῶν.

¹⁵⁵ Κοσμικὴ Δίηλσις I 109.30–110.1; see also *ibid.* 110.7–15.

¹⁵⁶ Κοσμικὴ Δίηλσις II 8.13–22.

¹⁵⁷ Laskaris calls it explicitly a “scale of justice” (δικαιοσύνης τρυτάνη and τρυτάνη τῆς θέμιδος) in ep. 206.26 (FESTA 257) or *On Divine Names* § 22 (KRIKONIS, *Χριστιανικὴ θεολογία* 108.269–270: ἡ τρυτάνη τῆς θέμιδος). For the metaphor of the ruler handling steadfastly the scale of justice, see his *Memorial Discourse* for Frederick II (TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 91.145–156); see also Blemmydes, *Imperial Statue* § 130 (ŠEVČENKO–HUNGER 84).

Blemmydes¹⁵⁸. The author makes an allusion to the corruption of a “partial” judge who “purchases” his pity and acts mercifully. The judge keeps the matter private and pursues his own self-interest. Nevertheless, secrets become public over time. The essay lacks specificity, and the author himself admits at the end that his arguments are only a hint. One wonders whether he had in mind the trial of Michael Palaiologos (autumn 1253) resulting in his acquittal. In any case, Laskaris displayed the same preoccupation with impartial and universal justice in other works. In his *Memorial Discourse* for Frederick II Hohenstaufen (d. 1250), he notes that the impartial administration of justice leads to the preservation of the polity while provoking implacable hatred for the ruler¹⁵⁹. In the third chapter of the *Explanation of the World* he alludes to the venality of judges¹⁶⁰. The essay shows that the fair dispensation of justice, as the author perceived it, was in the forefront of his mind during his four-year reign.

Essay 5: The satire of clergymen

The satirical essay makes no effort to disguise its target who was a well-known individual in the empire of Nicaea in the 1240s and 1250s—the archbishop of Ephesos Nikephoros Pamphilos. Nikephoros started his career as archdeacon in the palace clergy of Vatatzes and was one of the three candidates for the patriarchal post in 1243, but was not elected on that occasion due to the emperor’s objections; he would eventually become patriarch in 1260. In 1243 or 1244 he was appointed instead as the archbishop of the large and wealthy episcopal see of Ephesos¹⁶¹. In two satirical letters Laskaris notified Blemmydes, who was then abbot of the monastery of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgos near Ephesos, of Nikephoros’ imminent assumption of pastoral responsibilities. One of the letters (Ep. 10) is a humorous comparison of the newly ordained cleric with the statue from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in the second book of the prophet Daniel¹⁶². The other (Ep. 11) ridicules the greed of the bishop and the fiscal injustices he was about to inflict on artisans, merchants, and peasants¹⁶³. Notably, the letter plays on the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18:9–14), and foreshadows the humour of the essay: “The lowly Pharisee has welcomed the tax-collector presiding on high and has embraced with great desire the city of Ephesos as his bride.”¹⁶⁴ The six letters of Laskaris to Nikephoros of Ephesos, all dating to a period before 1254, are marked by aloofness and confirm the tension between the two men¹⁶⁵.

The essay composed a decade after the two epistolary satires shows that the churchman remained a subject of jokes. The essay bears resemblance to letters addressed by Laskaris to laymen, in which he lampooned members of the clergy¹⁶⁶. The arrival of the bishop at the court on the Sunday of the

¹⁵⁸ *Imperial Statue* § 4 (ŠEVČENKO–HUNGER 44); see also Κοσμική Δίγλωσσις IV 49.24.

¹⁵⁹ TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 91.143–92.153.

¹⁶⁰ Κοσμική Δίγλωσσις III 23.3–5.

¹⁶¹ On the patriarchal elections in 1243 and 1259–1260, see V. LAURENT, *La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople au XIII^e s. (1208–1309)*. *REB* 27 (1969) 129–150, esp. 138–139; A. FAILLER, *Chronologie et composition dans l’Histoire de Georges Pachymère*. *REB* 38 (1980) 45–53. On Nikephoros’ candidacy in 1243 and the disapproval of him by Vatatzes, see PACHYMERES I, 2, 15–16 (FAILLER I, 163.27–28, 165.18–23). On the surname “Pamphilos,” see J. DARROUZÉS, *Le traité des transferts: Édition, critique et commentaire*. *REB* 42 (1984) 147–214, esp. 153, 186.

¹⁶² Ep. 10 (FESTA 14).

¹⁶³ Ep. 11 (FESTA 15–16).

¹⁶⁴ Ep. 11.6–7 (FESTA 15): τὸν γὰρ ἐν ὕψει προκαθημένον τελώνην ὁ χθαμαλοῖς ἡσπάσατο φαρισαῖος καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον νυμφικῶς ἐν ἐφέσει πολλῇ ἡγαλίσατο. One should note the highly ironic wordplay on Ἐφεσος and ἔφεσις.

¹⁶⁵ Ep. 103 (FESTA 140–143) responds to accusations coming from the circle of the metropolitan bishop that the crown prince was not virtuous; ep. 108 (FESTA 148–149) mentions an inappropriate text written by the bishop, which offended the emperor and the patriarch.

¹⁶⁶ See ep. 73 (FESTA 99–101) addressed to Akropolites and ep. 158 (FESTA 218–219) addressed to Mouzalon.

Pharisee and the Tax Collector, which opens the pre-Lenten period, was the occasion for the satirical sketch. This event is described as providential, because Nikephoros wished to display “the evils innate in him” from that Sunday rather than the following four ones, namely, the Sunday of the Prodigal Son, the Sunday of the Last Judgment, the Sunday of Forgiveness with its focus on the Fall of Adam and Eve, and the Sunday of Orthodoxy. It is unclear why Laskaris reverses the actual liturgical order of the feasts of the Sunday of the Last Judgment and the Sunday of Forgiveness. His reference to the “circular state of the Ephesians” (9 Ἐφεσίων σχέσει τῇ κυκλικῇ) is puzzling. The author might be alluding to Saint Paul’s prophetic admonition to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20.29–30) that the troubles he had with some of the inhabitants of the city would reappear in the future: “Know that after I have gone, savage wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock. Some even from your own group will come distorting the truth in order to entice the disciples to follow them.” It is also possible that Laskaris satirized a physical characteristic, the rotundness of the Ephesians. Elsewhere he used a different, but similarly “geometrical,” phrase to refer to the obesity of a mocked individual (τὸ σφαιρικώτερον τῆς διαπτίας)¹⁶⁷. In any case, Laskaris continues to develop playfully the theme further on in the essay where he makes fun of the bishop’s circular way of reasoning (14: περιφερῶς).

The essay approaches the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax-Collector with an interesting twist at the end. Throughout the essay Nikephoros is cast in the role of the sanctimonious and self-righteous Pharisee. In the last sentence, the author sets himself up as the penitential and remorseful tax-collector who gained Christ’s approval. He ironically asks Nikephoros (“o most wondrous man”) to have consideration for him, and presents himself as “standing apart from the multitude” and being “truly the greatest.” The closing of the essay plays on the tax-gathering responsibilities of the emperor and may be related to his dispute with Blemmydes in 1257 over tax-based army financing¹⁶⁸. It also reflects Laskaris’ sense of distance from the crowd that arose out of his sharp self-awareness of being a philosopher¹⁶⁹. The theme of remorse appears, too, in his other writings—for example, in the *Moral Pieces*.

Essay 6: The self-sacrifice of rulers

The sixth essay comments on the gruelling experiences of rulers during military campaigns and the adverse effect this hard life has on their physical wellbeing. The essay resembles in spirit the *Memorial Discourse* for Frederick II, a text likewise written in the third rather than the first person, in which the crown prince had contemplated the pitiable fate of rulers who are misunderstood and maligned¹⁷⁰. As in the *Memorial Discourse*, the author draws generalizations about any ruler, but the descriptions are more intimate and based on the Balkan campaign (1255–1256) that Laskaris had recently led against the Bulgarians. The sudden switch of narrative perspective at the end of the essay, where another voice is introduced and the third person “he” becomes the author of the preceding comments (that is, Laskaris), highlights the personal character of the essay. As we have seen, this ending creates the impression of an improvised composition by dictation.

The physical suffering of the ruler described in the essay resembles the complaints Laskaris made in campaign letters addressed to Mouzalon. In a letter composed in the summer of 1255 at the army camp set up in Adrianople along the Hebros River, he wrote that the freezing cold of the winter had given way to a hot summer and his soldiers were unable to quench their thirst caused by the scorching

¹⁶⁷ Satire of the Tutor § 21 (TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 186.779–780).

¹⁶⁸ Ep. 44.40–53 (FESTA 57–58). This letter dates to 1257 because of the mention of the acquisition of Dyrrachion.

¹⁶⁹ Ep. 49.78–97 (FESTA 70); ep. 199.5–16 (FESTA 244–245).

¹⁷⁰ TARTAGLIA, *Opuscula* 86–94.

heat¹⁷¹. The same grievances about extreme weather conditions appear in the essay, where the private individual is said to lead a healthier life by staying home and keeping warm during the winter, when the ruler has to provide for his security. During the summer, the private individual has easy access to drinking water, while thirst torments the ruler and commander-in-chief surrounded by the dust and stench of the camp. At the end of 1255, Theodore addressed to Mouzalon another letter in which he summarized his achievements and noted the sacrifice of his body during the campaign¹⁷². The same idea appears in the essay, although the emphasis lies on explaining illness. Only the ruler who takes care of himself happens to be healthy. As Laskaris felt symptoms of bodily weakness, he looked retrospectively at the Balkan campaign and sought there the causes of his current condition. He deemed the subject worthy of broader reflections on the sorrowful destiny of rulers.

BRIEF CONCLUDING REMARKS

The six essays paint a rich self-portrait of the author. They present Laskaris in various guises: the thinker who explores the meaning of philosophical concepts (Essay 1); the austere and repentant ruler who reevaluates the pleasure of court life (Essay 2); the natural philosopher who discusses the principles of the universe (Essay 3); the social commentator who criticizes problems in his own state and society (Essay 4); the satirist with an eye for comic occasions (Essay 5); and the political theorist who reflects on rulership based on his own experiences (Essay 6). Laskaris undoubtedly valued the short pieces enough to include them in a collection prepared near the end of his life, along with letters, devotional pieces and a philosophical work. The essays are, thus, part of the editorial project by which Laskaris shaped his literary and philosophical legacy, and gave a discursive form to his self-portrait.

In contrast to other textual expressions of rulers in Byzantium until the twelfth century—for example, the orations of Leo VI, the admonitory texts “written” by Basil I and Alexios I Komnenos, or the tombstone poem of Basil II—the six essays of Theodore II Laskaris constitute a unicum in the entire Byzantine literature. Just as Laskaris’ letters are, to a certain extent, the expression of the author’s “person” (comparable to the letter collection of Manuel II Palaiologos about a hundred and fifty years later), the six essays capture for us, in their peculiar stylistic and structural form, the closest possible moment of an authorial self-representation of an emperor who felt torn between politics, philosophy, artistic emotionality, and an inner anguish at his demanding life. In this sense, these six short texts are among the most “modernist” pieces Medieval Greek literature has to offer.

¹⁷¹ Ep. 202.30–41 (FESTA 249).

¹⁷² Ep. 205.6–8 (FESTA 255).



Fig. 2: ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 108r



Fig. 1: ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 74r



Fig. 4: ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 127r

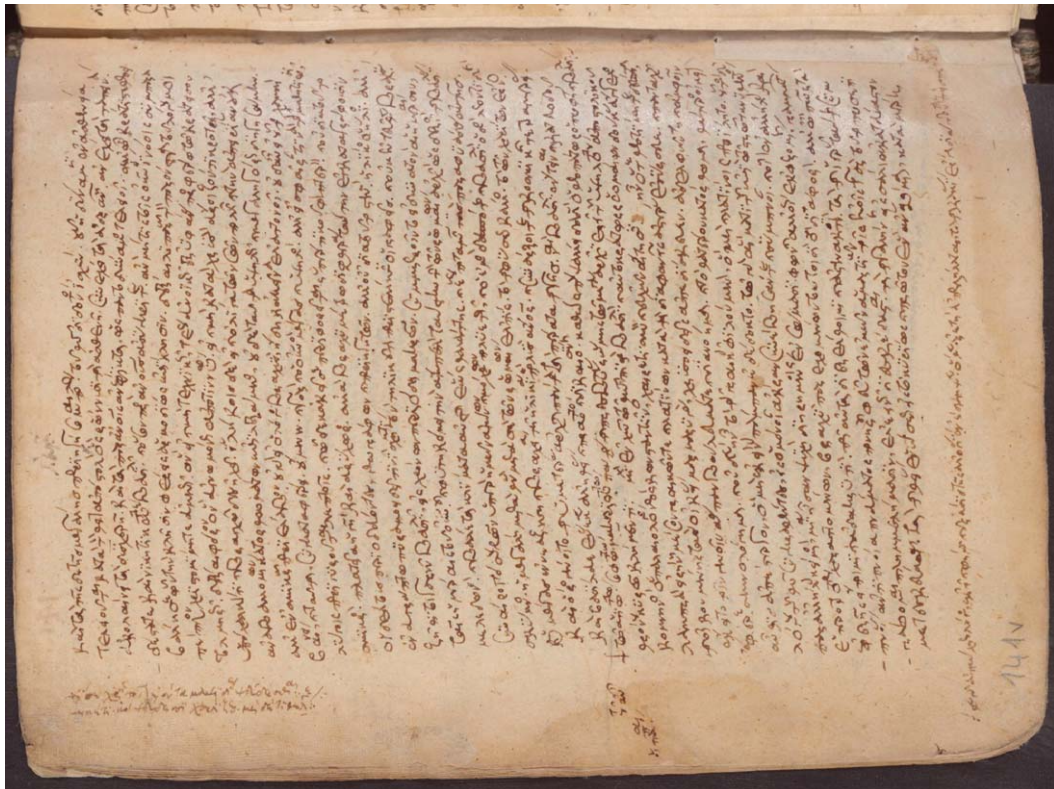


Fig. 3: ÖNB, Cod. phil. gr. 321, f. 141v

PIETRO D'AGOSTINO

Un nouvel exemple de *compendium logicum* byzantin attribué à Théodore Abū Qurra*

Abstract: The article focuses on the critical edition, translation and commentary of a short logical compendium, found in MS Ambrosianus Q 74 Sup. (= MARTINI – BASSI Gr. 681, *Diktyon* 43158), ascribed for a long time to Theodore Abū Qurra, bishop of Harrān. In the first part of the article, the attribution to Abū Qurra is discussed in an attempt to contextualize the compendium in the scope of middle-byzantine logical and philosophical literature. The critical text is enriched by an *apparatus fontium*, which may help the reader to appreciate the relationship of this work with the literary and scholastic production from late ancient Neoplatonism.

LE MS. AMBR. Q 74 SUP. (= GR. 681)

Parmi les ouvrages attribués à Théodore Abū Qurra († *post* 829)¹ dans les catalogues figurent deux inédits assez brefs, intitulés habituellement *Tò aĩtiov τετραχῶς* et *Περὶ γέλωτος*². L'attribution à Théodore se trouve déjà dans le catalogue de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne rédigé par Emidio Martini et Domenico Bassi au début du siècle passé³, à propos du codex gr. 681 (actuellement Q 74 Sup., *Diktyon* 43158) de la fin du X^{ème} s.⁴. Le codex a été décrit à plusieurs reprises⁵ de façon approfondie,

* Il m'est agréable de remercier ici tous ceux qui ont bien voulu prendre le temps de relire cet article et auxquels je suis redevable de plusieurs références et suggestions : Peter Van Deun et Bram Roosen (KULeuven) ; Alexis Chrysostalis (UMR 8167) et Pierre Benic (Sorbonne Université), auxquels j'ai présenté ce travail dans le cadre du séminaire de M. Chrysostalis à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (séance du 23 février 2017) ; Jacques Beauseroy (Sorbonne Université) et François Miran (LabEx RESMED – EPHE), qui ont corrigé le texte final. Toute erreur subsistante serait exclusivement de mon fait.

¹ Les dates de la vie d'Abū Qurra auxquelles nous ferons référence au cours de cette contribution sont celles établies par l'étude de S. GRIFFITH, *Reflections on the biography of Theodore Abū Qurrah. Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993) 143–170 : *praes.* 148–149.

² Selon la tradition philologique, les ouvrages ont été pourvus d'un titre latin : *De causa quadrifaria* (dorénavant *CQ*) et *De risu* (dorénavant *Ris*).

³ Cf. E. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. Milan 1906, II n. 681, 767–780 : 769. Pour une mise à jour des données présentées par Martini – Bassi, cf. C. PASINI, *Inventario agiografico dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana (Subsidia Hagiographica* 84). Bruxelles 2003, 148. Pour une bibliographie complète sur le ms. jusqu'en 2006, cf. C. PASINI, *Bibliografia dei manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana (1857–2006)*. Milan 2007, 306–307. Cf. aussi B. ROOSEN, *Eulogii Alexandrini quae supersunt. Old and new fragments from Eulogius of Alexandria's oeuvre (CPG* 6971–6979). *MEG* 15 (2015) 201–240, *praes.* 212.

⁴ Dans le ms. on retrouve, en outre, des *marginalia* d'une main latine et de quatre mains grecques datant de la fin du XIII^{ème} s. (cf. D. ARNESANO, *Manoscritti greci di Terra d'Otranto. Recent scoperte e attribuzioni (2005–2008)*, dans : Toxotes. *Studies for Stefano Parenti (Analekta Kryptopherres* 9), éd. D. Galadza – N. Glibetić – G. Radle. Grottaferrata 2010, 63–101 : 76, n. 16). À l'une des mains grecques il faut attribuer les titres indiqués dans la marge supérieure du f. 158^r : *Περὶ ψυχῆς, Κατὰ πόσους τὸ πρόπους τὸ κατεικό(να) κ(ατὰ) ζ'* (dans sa liste des apostilles ajoutées par les mains grecques, C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Un testimone della conoscenza del greco negli ordini mendicanti verso la fine del Duecento (Ambr. Q 74 Sup.) e un codice appartenuto al Sacro Convento d'Assisi (Ambr. E 88 Inf.)*. *Nea Rhome* 3 (2006) 355–359 : 358, n. 16, ne mentionne pas celle-ci).

⁵ Cf. *Florilegium Coislinianum A (CCSG* 66), éd. T. Fernández. Turnhout 2018, XLVI–XLIX ; MAZZUCCHI, *Un testimone 355 ; M. RASHED, Textes inédits transmis par l'Ambr. Q 74 sup. Alexandre d'Aphrodise et Olympiodore d'Alexandrie. Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 81.2 (1997) 219–238, réimprimé dans IDEM, *L'héritage aristotélicien. Textes inédits de l'Antiquité. Nouvelle édition revue et augmentée*. Paris 2016, 399–428 (c'est à cette deuxième édition que nous ferons référence au cours de cette étude) ; voir aussi IDEM, *Les définitions d'Aquilius. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 55 (2012) 131–172.

et nous nous bornons ici à rappeler ses caractéristiques les plus saillantes. Il s'agit d'un ms. de parchemin, mesurant 260 × 187 mm et composé à ce jour de 267 feuillets, qui fut copié par au moins deux mains dans une minuscule aux tendances cursives comparable à la minuscule dite « type Éphrem »⁶. Le ms. s'ouvre avec la recension III du *Florilegium Coislinianum*⁷ (ff. 3^v–131^v). En dehors de ce florilège, plus d'une vingtaine d'auteurs sont représentés dans le ms., sans compter les quelques ouvrages anonymes, dont ceux que nous analyserons au cours de cette étude. Si nous considérons le nombre d'écrits contenus, l'un des auteurs les plus représentés est Théodore Abū Qurra, et le ms. est connu pour être l'un des témoins les plus importants de l'œuvre de cet auteur. On l'a défini comme une « miscellanée théologique »⁸, un « florilège anti-iconoclaste »⁹ ou une « silloge sacro-profane »¹⁰; les deux premières définitions sont globalement appropriées, mais l'intérêt du ms. ne se limite pas à l'étude des querelles christologiques ou de la production liée à la crise iconoclaste. La troisième définition, tout en restant assez vague, semble tenir compte de la variété interne du ms. En effet, nous y retrouvons, à côté des œuvres théologiques, des écrits à contenu philosophique : il s'agit des textes attribués à Alexandre d'Aphrodise, à Jean Philopon, à Olympiodore d'Alexandrie et à Thémistios (ff. 167^v–190^v)¹¹, et des extraits de la *Dialectica* de Damascène (ff. 150^v–151^r). Il semble donc plus respectueux de la complexité du codex de le définir comme un manuscrit miscellané composé d'une première partie correspondant à la recension brève du *Florilegium Coislinianum*, et d'une deuxième à caractère christologique et polémique, incluant des sections philosophiques¹². Pour ce qui est de l'histoire du ms., une origine syro-palestinienne a été évoquée, mais sans apporter de réels arguments en faveur de cette hypothèse¹³. Le codex aurait été présent, à un moment donné, dans l'aire

⁶ Cf. C. PASINI, Integrazioni e correzioni al Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae di Emidio Martini e Domenico Bassi (=MB). *RSBN* 31 (1994) 185–261 : 189, n. 10. Sur cette écriture, cf. E. FOLLIERI, La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X, dans : *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 21–25 octobre 1974). Paris 1977, 139–165 : *praes.* 148 ; L. PERRIA, Un nuovo codice di Efrem: l'Urb. gr. 130. *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–1979) 33–114 ; EADEM, Osservazioni su alcuni manoscritti in minuscola « tipo Efrem », dans : *Studi bizantini e neogreci. Atti del IV Convegno Nazionale di Studi Bizantini* : Lecce, 21–23 aprile 1980, Calimera, 24 aprile 1980. Galatina 1983, 137–145 ; EADEM, Un aspetto inedito dell'attività del copista Efrem. L'uso delle abbreviazioni nel *Laur.* 28.3. *BollGrott* 53 (1999 = *Ἐφρέμ*). Studi in onore di mgr Paul Canart per il LXX compleanno, éd. S. Lucà – L. Perria. Grottaferrata 1999, III) 97–101 ; G. PRATO, Il monaco Efrem e la sua scrittura. A proposito di un nuovo codice sottoscritto (Athen. 1). *Scrittura e civiltà* 6 (1982) 99–115 ; P. ANDRIST, Genavensis gr. 30 : Un manuscrit d'Éphrem dans la Bibliothèque de Théodose IV Princeps ? *Script* 52 (1998) 12–36.

⁷ Cf. M. RICHARD, Florilèges spirituels, dans : *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, éd. A. Rayez – C. Baumgartner – M. Olphe-Galliard. Paris 1964, V coll. 475–512, *praes.* 484–486 (réimprimé dans IDEM, *Opera minora*, Turnhout – Leuven 1976, I 1) ; I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, L'art de compiler à Byzance: La Lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 78 (2008) 159–223 ; I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – C. MACÉ – P. VAN DEUN, La lettre B du florilège Coislin : editio princeps. *Byz* 80 (2010) 72–120 ; R. CEULEMANS – I. DE VOS – E. GIELEN – P. VAN DEUN, Continuation de l'exploration du *Florilegium Coislinianum* : la Lettre Èta. *Byz* 81 (2011) 74–126 ; R. CEULEMANS – E. DE RIDDER – K. LEVRIE – P. VAN DEUN, Sur le mensonge, l'âme de l'homme et les faux prophètes : la Lettre Ψ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 83 (2013) 49–82 ; R. CEULEMANS – P. VAN DEUN – F. A. WILDENBOER, Questions sur les deux arbres du paradis : la lettre Ξ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 84 (2014) 49–79 ; R. CEULEMANS – P. VAN DEUN – S. VAN PEE, La vision des quatre bêtes, la Théotokos, les douze trônes et d'autres thèmes : la Lettre Θ du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 86 (2016) 91–128 ; R. CEULEMANS – J. MAKSYMCIUK – P. VAN DEUN – C. GAZZINI, La Lettre Rhô du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 87 (2017) 143–158 ; R. CEULEMANS – J. MAKSYMCIUK – P. VAN DEUN, La Lettre N du Florilège Coislin. *Byz* 88 (2018) 103–127.

⁸ Cf. PASINI, Integrazioni e correzioni 187.

⁹ Cf. A. CHRYSOSTALIS, Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite du Contra Eusebium de Nicéphore de Constantinople. Paris 2012, 265.

¹⁰ Cf. MAZZUCCHI, Un testimone 355.

¹¹ Pour une analyse plus détaillée des textes d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise et Olympiodore d'Alexandrie transmis par l'Ambrosianus, ainsi que du recueil de définitions d'un Aquilius autrement inconnu, cf. RASHED, Textes inédits ; IDEM, Les définitions.

¹² Cf. à tel propos PASINI, Integrazioni e correzioni 187, n. 4. ARNESANO, Manoscritti greci 76, en suivant Mazzucchi, le définit brièvement « miscellanea sacro-profane ».

¹³ Cf. MAZZUCCHI, Un testimone 355. Il nous est difficile de comprendre si l'affirmation de Mazzucchi se réfère à la composition de la « silloge » ou à la production matérielle du ms.

italo-grecque, où il fut annoté par les quatre mains grecques et par la main latine¹⁴. Il a appartenu, selon une note de possession lisible dans le *pinax*, au cardinal vénitien Domenico Grimani¹⁵.

LA SECTION ANONYME (FF. 157^r–158^r) : CONTENU ET DATATION

Comme nous l'avons vu, on trouve dans le ms. une section contenant des écrits anonymes à contenu philosophique, qui peuvent être considérés comme des recueils de définitions et des notes assemblées dans le but d'être utilisées comme promptuaires scolaires¹⁶ ; il s'agit, notamment, des ff. 157^r–158^r. Nous avons ici affaire à de brèves compositions transmises sans signaler le nom de l'auteur et sans que l'on puisse comprendre exactement les limites de chaque texte¹⁷.

Les catalogueurs ont listé les œuvres et les auteurs respectifs dans l'ordre suivant :

(f. 151^v) [...] **Θεοδώ<ρου> ἐπισκ<όπου> Καρῶν** <sc. **Abucarae**> *Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μίαν φύσιν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ* [...]

Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου *Κεφάλαια* ι (153^v) [...] (= CPG 7707 [19])

(f. 154) **Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ** *Περὶ διαφόρων κεφαλαίων · πρὸς Μαρίνον* etc. [...] (= CPG 7697 [1])
Mox [154^v] *Περὶ φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἡγουν θελήσεως*. [...], cum [157] scholio [MIGNE 91, 12–13 C. 17–28]) [...]

(f. 157) <**Theodori Abucarae?**> *Περὶ γέλωτος* [= cod. Vallic. 12 f.120: Martini, Catal. p. 22,6]
[...] ibid. <**eiusdem?**> *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς* [...]

(f. 158^r) *ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ* [...]¹⁸

Cet ordre des œuvres et des auteurs a été reproduit dans la base de données *Pinakes*¹⁹. Comme on peut le constater à partir du catalogue, et comme l'a confirmé notre analyse des feuillets concernés²⁰, il n'y a pas d'indication de l'auteur avant *Ris* et *CQ*. À l'époque de la rédaction du catalogue, l'existence de quelques feuillets appartenant à l'origine au ms. concerné mais transmis séparément et répertoriés comme D 137 suss. 4–7, n'était pas connue²¹. Le fragment contient le *pinax* initial du ms., mais, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, là non plus *Ris* et *CQ* ne sont pas attribués à un auteur en particulier. Nous transcrivons ici le texte du *pinax* au f. 5^v, ll. 15–23²² :

¹⁴ Celle-ci est l'hypothèse de MAZZUCCHI, Un testimone 358–359, qui se base sur la présence de quatre lettres ἐν ἐκθέσει remplies de vermillon selon la mode des *scriptoria* de la Terre d'Otrante (à ce sujet, cf. A. JACOB, Les écritures de Terre d'Otrante, dans : La paléographie grecque et byzantine. [Paris 21–25 octobre 1974]. Paris 1977, 269–281 : 276, n. 11). La main latine semblerait appartenir au milieu des ordres mendiants, probablement à un couvent franciscain.

¹⁵ Cf. PASINI, Integrazioni e correzioni 189. Sur la bibliothèque du cardinal, cf. T. FREUDENBERGER, Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936) 15–45 ; A. DILLER – H. D. SAFFREY – L. G. WESTERINK, Bibliotheca Graeca manuscripta cardinalis Dominici Grimani (1461–1523). Mariano del Friuli 2003 ; D. JACKSON, A List of Greek Mss of Domenico Grimani. *Script* 62 (2008) 164–169 : 168.

¹⁶ Cf. P. VAN DEUN, L'Unionum definitiones (CPG 7697, 18) attribué à Maxime le Confesseur : étude et édition. *REB* 58 (2000) 123–147 : 124.

¹⁷ Cet aspect avait déjà été souligné par RASHED, Textes inédits 423, n. 1.

¹⁸ Cf. MARTINI – BASSI, Catalogus 769. Nous avons normalisé l'orthographe des auteurs et ajouté les caractères gras et soulignés.

¹⁹ Page web consultée en août 2018. Le point d'interrogation que mettaient Martini – Bassi est supprimé dans *Pinakes* selon la pratique du répertoire.

²⁰ L'examen a été effectué sur les reproductions mises à disposition par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Paris).

²¹ Les fragments ont été identifiés et recensés par PASINI, Integrazioni e correzioni 187–191.

²² La fréquence des chevrons dans la transcription est due à l'abondance de lieux où l'encre est décolorée. Le symbole () indique le développement des abréviations, < > l'intégration des lettres illisibles mais qui étaient présentes à l'origine.

1. 15 ζ **Θεοδώ(ρου) ἐπ(ισ)κ(ό)π(ου) Καρῶν** πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντ(ας) μίαν φύ(σιν) ἐπὶ χ(ριστο)ῷ
 η **ἁγίου Μαξίμου** κεφάλαια δέκα :–
 θ **Μα(ξίμου) (μον)αχ(οῦ)** περ(ι) δ(ια)φόρων κεφαλαί(ων) πρὸς Μαρίνον πρ(εσβύτερον)
 Κύ(πρου)
 ι πε(ρι) φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἡγουν θελήσεως
 ια πε(ρι) βουλήσε(ως) ιβ πε(ρι) δόξης ιγ πε(ρι) φρονήσε(ως)
 1. 20 ιδ ὅτι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον οὐκ <ἔσται μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν> ἐν τὸ θέλ(ημα) τῶ(ν)
 <ἁγίων> καὶ τοῦ θ<εοῦ> <ι>ε **πε(ρι) γέλω<τος>**.
 ις **τὸ αἴτιον τ<ε>τ<ραχ>(ῶς)** ιζ ὅτι τὸ διατὶ ἐξαχῶς
 ιη κατὰ πόσους <τρόπους> τὸ κατει<κόνα>

1. 15 λέγοντ(ας)] corr., λέγωντ(ας) cod. | 1. 20 τρόπον scripsi] τρέπον potius scriptum vid. in cod. | 1. 21 <ἁγίων> supplevi]
 ἁγίων post τῶν add. PG 91,21D

Comme on le voit, *Ris* et *CQ* sont insérés après deux écrits de Maxime le Confesseur (*Capita X de voluntatibus et energiis*²³ [ff. 153^v–154^r] et des extraits de *Ad Marinum presbyterum*²⁴ [154^r–157^r]), qui les séparent du traité *Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας μίαν φύσιν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ*²⁵ de Théodore.

Quelles sont les raisons qui ont poussé Martini et Bassi à attribuer *Ris* et *CQ* à Abū Qurra, en considérant le manque absolu de références dans le témoin et dans son *pinax* ? Nous pensons que la brève annotation = *cod. Vallic. 12 f. 120: Martini, Catal. p. 22,6*, que l'on retrouve dans leur catalogue, peut aider à formuler une première réponse. En effet, le catalogue de la Bibliothèque Vallicellienne rédigé par Martini²⁶ à l'entrée n. 12 (c.-à-d. le ms. B 53, *Diktyon* 56262)²⁷, p. 22, aux ff. 93^r–120^r enregistre plusieurs œuvres²⁸ de Théodore, introduites par la formule Θεοδώρου ἐπισκόπου Καρῶν τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Ἀβουκαρᾶ γενομένου, suivies au f. 120^r par deux brefs écrits intitulés *Διάλεξις περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότος* (dont l'*incipit* est ἡ οὐσία τετραχῶς etc., et qui se développe sous la forme d'*erotapokrisis*) et *Περὶ γέλωτος*. Les deux traités sont suivis, au f. 120^v, du traité de Théodore numéroté XXVIII dans la *PG* (désormais *PG* XXVIII). Néanmoins, tandis que le texte de *Ris* s'avère être le même dans les deux mss., les textes de *CQ* et de la *Διάλεξις περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότος* ne sont pas identiques ; ils ne s'agit pas non plus de deux formes différentes d'un même texte. Tout en portant tous les deux sur des thèmes, *lato sensu*, aristotéliens et logiques, ce sont deux entités tout à fait distinctes. Or comme *Ris* et cette *Διάλεξις* sont transmis parmi des écrits de Théodore, le catalogueur les a librement attribués à sa plume ; ensuite, la similitude entre l'*incipit* de la *Διάλεξις* et le titre de *CQ* l'a amené à attribuer ce dernier ouvrage également à l'évêque de Harrân. Mais il y a aussi une deuxième raison qui a pu faire pencher les catalogueurs pour la paternité théodorienne de *Ris* et *CQ* : il s'avère que la section que nous avons numérotée VIII dans notre édition de *CQ* (cf. *infra*) est reproduite presque littéralement (à quelques variantes près) à l'intérieur du traité de Théodore *PG* XXVIII *fus.* (+ *bip* et *mix.*)²⁹. Il n'est pas impossible que Martini et Bassi, en constatant cette corres-

²³ Correspondant à *CPG* 7707 (19).

²⁴ Correspondant à *CPG* 7697 (1). Nous avons identifié les chapitres suivants : περὶ φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἡγουν θελήσεως, *PG* 91, 12D–13A ; περὶ βουλήσεως, *PG* 91, 13B–16A ; περὶ δόξης, *PG* 91, 20B–C ; περὶ φρονήσεως *PG* 91, 20D–22C ; ὅτι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον οὐκ ἔσται μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν τὸ θέλημα etc., *PG* 91, 21D–28A).

²⁵ Cet écrit est en réalité une réécriture de certains passages du traité théodorien *PG* IV (= *PG* 97, 1503D–1521C). Nous comptons le publier en appendice aux autres œuvres de Théodore dans notre édition à paraître.

²⁶ Cf. E. MARTINI, *Catalogo di manoscritti greci esistenti nelle biblioteche italiane II : Catalogus codicum Graecorum qui in Bibliotheca Vallicellana Romae adservantur*. Milan 1902.

²⁷ Il s'agit d'un ms. remontant à la fin du XIII^{ème} s. ; d'autres informations dans le catalogue cité.

²⁸ Plus particulièrement *PG* 97 numéros 3, 5–8, 16, 9–14, 33, 31, 1, 17, 42, 2, 43, 4, 29 (XIX ?), 30.

²⁹ Cf. *Διάλεξις αἰρετικοῦ πρὸς ὀρθόδοξον περὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεότητος*, dans *PG* 97, coll. 1569 A l. 7 – B l. 3. L'abbreviation *fus.* (= *fusior*) oppose la recension plus longue à la *brevior* (*brev.*), à la *bipertita* (*bip.*), à la *defectiva* (*def.*) et à la *mixta* (*mix.*).

pondance, aient pensé attribuer les deux œuvres au même auteur. Ainsi le choix d'attribuer finalement *Ris* et *QC* à Théodore dans le catalogue, en citant à l'appui le Vall. 12 (B 53), semble avoir été suggéré par trois éléments différents : a. La similitude que l'on perçoit entre *CQ* et la *Διάλεξις περὶ οὐσίας καὶ συμβεβηκότος* ; b. Le fait que dans le Vall. 12 (B 53) cette dernière et *Ris* sont transmis entre les ouvrages d'Abū Qurra ; c. Le fait que la section VIII de *CQ* est contenue presque à l'identique dans le traité *PG* XXVIII de Théodore. Cependant, cette attribution n'est pas soutenue par la présence d'une *inscriptio* explicite, ni dans les mss., ni dans le *pinax* de l'Ambrosianus. En l'état actuel des connaissances, nous ne possédons pas de preuve positive pour exclure la paternité théodorienne de ces écrits, ni, d'ailleurs, de preuve du contraire. Nous nous limitons à reconnaître que, si Abū Qurra avait une connaissance suffisante du grec et des sources grecques – comme le laissent supposer plusieurs données indépendantes –, nous ne sommes pas en mesure d'exclure qu'il eût pu composer le recueil qui nous occupe ici³⁰.

Dans l'Ambrosianus, comme nous l'avons évoqué, *CQ* a été transcrit après des écrits de Maxime le Confesseur. En feuilletant la *CPG* dans la section consacrée à Saint Maxime, on retrouve un bref écrit, intitulé *In Isagogen Porphyrii et in Categorias Aristotelis*, numéroté 7707 (34). Le texte a été édité il y a une quarantaine d'années par Mossman Roueché³¹ avec d'autres écrits similaires, et une nouvelle édition du texte est en cours de préparation par Bram Roosen qui a consacré une partie de sa thèse à cet ouvrage³². Il s'agit de ce que l'on appelle, avec une définition efficace, « logical compendium »³³. Le genre, qui prévoit un recueil de définitions logiques et de brèves explications, souvent accompagnées d'exemples typés, se développe entre le VII^{ème} et le VIII^{ème} s., selon l'interprétation historique de Roueché³⁴. Les auteurs de ces recueils, souvent anonymes, réélaborent les matériaux et les commentaires de la fin du VI^{ème} s. dus aux maîtres du néoplatonisme aristotélisant de l'école alexandrine³⁵. Ces ouvrages s'avèrent être antérieurs à la *Dialectica* de Jean Damascène. Le caractère chrétien du rédacteur de ce genre d'écrits est manifeste, ce qui amène à les considérer comme une *manuductio* à l'étude de l'*Organon* aristotélicien en vue d'une application des contenus logiques à la dogmatique et à la dispute anti-hérétique³⁶.

Dans certains manuscrits collationnés par Roueché, à savoir le Vaticanus Graecus 507 et le Vatopedinus Graecus 57, *CPG* 7707 (34) est attribué de manière explicite à Saint Maxime, avec la formule, respectivement, μακαριωτάτου Μαξίμου et Μαξίμου τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ. Cependant, l'éditeur rejette catégoriquement l'attribution au Confesseur (« clearly none are the work of the Saint »³⁷), bien que l'écrit relève du genre *ῥοποι*, qui semble avoir été cultivé aussi par Maxime (cf. les *ῥοποι ἐνώσεων*, *CPG* 7697 [18])³⁸. La solution proposée par l'auteur, d'après laquelle les écrits auraient

Puisque le texte imprimé dans la *PG* ne saurait être considéré comme scientifique selon les standards modernes, nous avons collationné tous les mss. qui le transmettent.

³⁰ Nous noterons aussi que *Ris* fut traduit en géorgien au tournant du XII^{ème} s. et que, dans le *corpus* géorgien, il est transmis parmi les écrits d'Abū Qurra (cf. *infra*).

³¹ Cf. M. ROUECHÉ, *Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century*. *JÖB* 23 (1974) 61–76.

³² La thèse (B. ROOSEN, *Epifanovitch Revisited*. (Pseudo-)Maximi Confessoris Opuscula varia: a critical edition with extensive notes on manuscript tradition and authenticity. Louvain 2001) n'ayant pas été publiée, nous dépendons ici des informations que l'auteur lui-même a eu l'amabilité de partager avec nous. Toute considération sur les écrits généralement appelés *opuscula varia* et attribués à Maxime demeure donc provisoire, tant que les recherches de B. Roosen ne seront publiées.

³³ À propos du genre du *compendium*, cf. aussi M. ROUECHÉ, *A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology*. *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71–98.

³⁴ VAN DEUN, *L'Unionum definitiones* 124, étend à juste titre cette période au IX^{ème} s.

³⁵ Pour de plus amples renseignements sur les sources utilisées par le rédacteur de notre recueil, cf. *infra* les notes au texte.

³⁶ Cf. ROUECHÉ, *Byzantine Philosophical Texts* 61–62 ; IDEM, *Byzantine Handbook* 72–73.

³⁷ Cf. ROUECHÉ, *Byzantine Philosophical Texts* 63.

³⁸ Cf. l'édition de VAN DEUN, *L'Unionum definitiones* 126–127, qui plaide prudemment en faveur de la paternité maximienne. Cependant, l'attribution à Maxime, bien que possible, ne saurait être considérée comme définitive. Au genre *ῥοποι* on attribue

été attribués à Maxime en ayant été trouvés parmi ses papiers après sa mort³⁹, nous semble un peu hasardeuse : il suffit d'imaginer que des compilateurs anonymes ou des copistes, en voulant garantir survie et transmission à ces *compendia*, les aient attribués au plus illustre théologien du VII^{ème} s.⁴⁰ ; de plus, cette pseudépigraphie pouvait atténuer l'allure païenne qui caractérisait la philosophie néoplatonicienne et la logique (pensons, par exemple, à la réputation anti-chrétienne de Porphyre). Quelles que soient les raisons justifiant une telle attribution, ce processus ne constitue en rien une nouveauté pour la philologie patristique, où le nombre d'ouvrages pseudépigraphiques transmis sous le nom de Damascène ou de Chrysostome est énorme.

Il n'est pas aisé de proposer une datation pour notre texte puisque le genre para-littéraire des *compendia* composés pour un usage scolaire n'a jamais cessé d'être florissant dans le monde byzantin. Au premier abord, deux limites s'imposent : un *terminus ante quem*, à savoir le X^{ème} s., quand le ms. fut produit, et un *terminus post quem*, que nous pouvons fixer, sous toute réserve, au VI^{ème}–VII^{ème} s. Nous avons fixé au X^{ème} s. la borne la plus récente puisque la confection matérielle du codex est le seul jalon irréfutable. Quant au *terminus* plus ancien, c'est à partir de cette époque que l'on situe le développement de ce genre d'ouvrages⁴¹. Il y a néanmoins la possibilité concrète de considérer la vie d'Abū Qurra (755–829 ca.) comme le vrai *terminus post quem* pour la production de notre texte. En effet, nous avons vu que l'auteur utilise la définition de θεότης (correspondant à la section VIII dans notre édition de *CQ*) à l'intérieur de son traité *PG XXVIII*. Or cette même définition de θεότης se lit aussi, isolée, dans le ms. Sinaiticus Graecus 383 (*Diktyon* 58758), qui la transmet parmi les écrits de Théodore. Nous en possédons donc trois attestations différentes : *CQ*, *PG XXVIII* et le Sin. gr. 383 (désormais *Def.Sin.* [= *definitio Sinaitica*])⁴². Il n'est pas aisé de comprendre leur relation. Le premier jalon que nous pouvons poser consiste à considérer *Def.Sin.* comme l'œuvre de Théodore : le fait qu'elle soit transmise parmi ses écrits dans le Sin. gr. 383, sans être une preuve irréfutable, demeure malgré tout un indice important. En ce qui concerne *PG XXVIII*, la question est bien plus compliquée. Ce traité nous est parvenu sous cinq formes différentes dans la tradition manuscrite : nous les appellerons *recensio fusior* (*PG XXVIII fus.*), *recensio bipertita* (*PG XXVIII bip.*), *recensio brevior* (*PG XXVIII brev.*), *recensio defectiva* (*PG XXVIII def.*) et *recensio mixta* (*PG XXVIII mix.*). *PG XXVIII fus.* est représentée par le texte imprimé par Migne qui correspond au texte que l'on retrouve dans six mss. *PG XXVIII brev.* présente un texte beaucoup plus court, s'arrêtant à *PG 97, 1569A 4* (ὑποστάσεως θεωρουμένην), juste avant la définition de θεότης. Cette recension est représentée par quatre mss., dont le Sin. gr. 383. Ensuite, *PG XXVIII bip.*, que l'on lit dans trois mss., à l'endroit où les quatre mss. précédents s'arrêtent, présente un titre intermédiaire (σχόλιον τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου) séparant la première partie du texte de ce qui suit. Dans un ms. (Ambr. Q 74 Sup., notre ms. A),

aussi les recueils édités par C. FURRER-PILLIOD, sous le titre de Ὅροι καὶ ὑπογραφαί (Collections alphabétiques de définitions profanes et sacrées [StT 395]. Cité du Vatican 2000), même si les définitions qui y sont contenues appartiennent à une tradition différente.

³⁹ Cf. ROUECHÉ, *Byzantine Philosophical Texts* 63.

⁴⁰ Un avis négatif à propos de la paternité maximienne se retrouve aussi chez B. ROOSEN, *Epifanovitch Revisited* (thèse non publiée) 886.

⁴¹ Cf. aussi à ce propos M. ROUECHÉ, *The Definitions of Philosophy and a new Fragment of Stephanus the Philosopher*. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 107–128 : 107 ; A. LOUTH, *St. John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*. Oxford – New York 2002, 42 ; T. T. TOLLESEN, *The Christocentric Cosmology of St. Maximus the Confessor*. Oxford 2008, 15 ; A. CASIDAY, *The Orthodox Christian World*. Londres – New York 2012, 489.

⁴² La définition se lit au f. 154^{r-v}, entre *PG XVII* (ff. 153^v–154^r) et *PG XXVII* (ff. 154^v–155^r), dans un feuillet restauré plus tardif (XII^{ème}–XIII^{ème} s. ?) sur lequel on a recopié le texte des feuillets originels. Pour être précis, elle est suivie par les quelques péripécies que l'on retrouve dans *PG 97, 1569B 3* (ἐτι) – 11 (θεωρεῖται). Le texte de *Def.Sin.* se rapproche de celui de *PG XXVIII* par la présence de certaines variantes (ἄνευ comme les mss. de *PG XXVIII pro χωρίς* de *CQ* [l. 47 de notre éd.] ; ἡ θεωρία comme les mss. *pro θεωρία* de *CQ* [l. 48 de notre éd.]), plutôt que de celui de *CQ*. Cela plaide en faveur d'un rapport relativement étroit entre *Def.Sin.* et *PG XXVIII*.

seul représentant de *PG XXVIII def.*, le texte passe de *PG 97, 1569A 4* à *1569B 12* sans solution de continuité, en omettant ainsi la définition de θεότης. Enfin, la recension *mix.* se retrouve, elle aussi, uniquement dans l'Ambrosianus A, qui la transmet dans une autre section ; elle présente le même texte que la *recensio bip.*, mais sans le titre intermédiaire.

En premier lieu, l'interprétation de ces données est compliquée par notre connaissance encore imparfaite de la tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Théodore et des rapports stemmatiques entre les témoins. Sur la base de nos connaissances actuelles, nous pouvons supposer que la recension originelle que présentait l'archétype de la tradition de *PG XXVIII* ressemblait de près à *bip.*, qui aurait été abrégée dans le cas de *brev.* et allongée dans le cas de *fus.* Cette dernière, effectivement, a accru le texte originel par l'ajout d'une longue section tirée d'un dialogue pseudo-athanasien entre un orthodoxe et un anoméen (*CPG 2284*). Puisque, comme nous l'avons dit, la recension originelle correspondait vraisemblablement à la *recensio bipertita*, nous pouvons en conclure que la définition de θεότης a fait partie dès le début du texte de *PG XXVIII*⁴³.

Il nous reste maintenant à interpréter ces données pour une datation de *CQ*. La question qui se pose est la suivante : est-il plus probable que l'auteur de *CQ* ait incorporé la définition de θεότης en l'ayant lue chez Théodore, ou faudrait-il plutôt penser que ce dernier se serait approprié une définition qu'il aurait lue dans ce recueil ? Ou encore, devons-nous imaginer que Théodore est l'auteur aussi bien de *Def.Sin.* que de *PG XXVIII* et *CQ* ? Nous ne disposons pas d'éléments pour prouver ou réfuter cette dernière hypothèse, qui était la solution implicitement suggérée par Martini – Bassi et que nous avons prise comme point de départ pour notre enquête ; ni la codicologie ni l'histoire des idées ne viennent à notre secours, *CQ* étant dépourvu du nom de son auteur et ses contenus étant tellement communs dans la production des recueils logiques que nul ne pourrait les attribuer à la plume d'Abū Qurra sans être accusé d'un excès de confiance. Ainsi contraints de nous limiter aux deux possibilités évoquées plus haut, si nous considérons la définition de θεότης elle-même comme véritablement théodorienne, nous sommes obligés d'en déduire que *CQ* est contemporain ou postérieur à l'auteur.

À la fin de notre argumentaire, nous pouvons restreindre, sous toute réserve, la période de composition de *CQ* entre les dernières décennies du VIII^{ème} s. (activité de Théodore) et la fin du X^{ème} (date du ms. A).

LIMITES INTERNES⁴⁴ DE LA SECTION ANONYME (FF. 157^r–158^r)

Nous pourrions nous demander si notre recueil philosophique doit être considéré comme une œuvre cohérente et accomplie et s'il est donc possible de l'éditer dans la forme sous laquelle il se présente dans le ms. En effet, les limites entre une définition et une autre sont parfois assez claires, tandis que dans d'autres cas nous avons peine à comprendre la physionomie exacte du texte. Le rédacteur même du *pinax*, en énumérant les ouvrages contenus dans le ms., a séparé d'une façon assez arbitraire les micro-sections du *compendium* : il sépare, par exemple, *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς* de la définition suivante⁴⁵ (c.-à-d. *Ὅτι τὸ διατί ἐξαχῶς*), alors que, dans le ms., *Ὅτι τὸ διατί ἐξαχῶς* ne semble pas avoir été écrit avec l'*Auszeichnungsschrift* qui est habituellement employée pour les titres dans le cas d'autres sections⁴⁶. De plus, il est difficile de déterminer si les écrits concernés ont été composés par le même

⁴³ À l'avenir, sans doute faudra-t-il approfondir le rôle que Jean le Diacre, auteur d'une partie des écrits anti-musulmans, a eu dans la composition du *corpus* théodorien dans sa globalité.

⁴⁴ Nous utilisons ici le terme « limites » pour nous référer aux confins idéaux que le rédacteur a voulu donner aux textes.

⁴⁵ Cf. *supra*, l. 22 du *pinax*.

⁴⁶ C'est le cas, par exemple, des micro-sections I et II du bref traité intitulé *Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ*. Dans le cas de *Ὅτι τὸ διατί ἐξαχῶς*, il est difficile de dire s'il s'agit d'une minuscule à proprement parler, car certaines lettres présentent une morphologie onciale

auteur ou à la même occasion, et s'ils constituent ou ont déjà constitué une unité littéraire. Après tout, il s'avère peut-être inutile de chercher une cohérence particulière dans la composition de ce recueil, et il est probable que, tout simplement, la logique exacte qui a guidé le rédacteur nous échappe.

Pour ce qui est de notre approche ecdotique, nous avons décidé d'éditer tous les textes contenus aux ff. 157^r–158^r, à savoir entre la fin de la scholie au chapitre du *Ad Marinum presbyterum* (= CPG 7697 [1]) intitulé *περὶ φυσικοῦ θελήματος ἡγουν θελήσεως* de Maxime (157^r, l. 13 a.i.) et le début de la *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* (= CPG 7698, f. 158^r, l. 3 a.i.) du même auteur. Nous donnons d'abord le texte intitulé *Περὶ γέλωτος*, que nous pouvons considérer comme ayant une certaine autonomie, dans la mesure où on le retrouve tel quel dans le Vall. B 53. Ce texte est suivi par celui appelé *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς*, bien qu'il soit évident qu'un tel titre ne s'applique qu'à la première définition. Cependant, *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς* est le nom utilisé dans le catalogue de Martini – Bassi pour indiquer l'écrit qui commence avec ce titre et qui se termine à la section VIII de notre édition⁴⁷. Les sections I et II que nous avons regroupées sous le titre de *Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ* avaient déjà été unifiées par Martini – Bassi sous le même nom, malgré la présence d'un titre en écriture distinctive qui introduit la section II, en la séparant ainsi de celle qui précède. Finalement, le répertoire *Pinakes* suit de près le catalogue pour *Περὶ γέλωτος* et *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς*, mais semble ignorer la présence de *Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ*. Pour éviter des divergences entre le catalogue, les répertoires et notre édition, nous avons décidé de publier séparément les trois unités *Περὶ γέλωτος*, *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς* et *Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ*, tout en étant conscient qu'il ne s'agit que d'un regroupement artificiel qui n'a aucun lien direct avec le contenu spécifique de chaque micro-section ; ceci évitera de créer d'autres sous-unités dans un cadre qui s'avère déjà assez complexe.

NOTULE SUR LA TRADITION GÉORGIENNE

Comme le savent les spécialistes de notre auteur, les œuvres de Théodore Abū Qurra ont joui d'une certaine diffusion dans le monde géorgien. Selon l'interprétation la plus courante – qui n'est pas d'ailleurs sans poser problème –, la plupart des opusculs théodorien ont été traduits dans sa langue maternelle par Arsène d'Iqalto⁴⁸ (XI^{ème}–XII^{ème} s.). Le manuscrit le plus remarquable, légèrement postérieur à Arsène lui-même, est le Tbilissi, Centre National des Manuscrits, S 1463 (XII^{ème} s.). Or ce codex contient, au f. 289^r, l'écrit que nous avons dénommé *Ris*. À notre demande, notre collègue géorgienne Nino Mgebrishvili (Université d'État de Tbilissi) a collationné le feuillet concerné avec notre édition du texte grec. Nous avons noté dans l'apparat deux cas dans lesquels le texte géorgien confirme les leçons des mss. grecs. Il nous semble pouvoir affirmer que la tradition géorgienne reflète dans un cas le texte de A, dans un autre le texte de V. De toute manière, elle présente un texte qui correspond bel et bien au grec que nous avons reconstruit⁴⁹.

(p.e. Δ et A). Néanmoins, si l'on compare cette écriture avec l'écriture distinctive utilisée six lignes plus haut pour le titre de la section *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς*, il semble que le copiste n'avait pas l'intention de séparer le texte de *Ὅτι τὸ διατὶ ἐξαχῶς* du précédent. En outre, l'appartenance de *Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς* et *Ὅτι τὸ διατὶ ἐξαχῶς* au même opuscul semblait être confirmée par le fait que ce dernier résume et reprend le contenu de la définition précédente.

⁴⁷ Au f. 158^r, dans la marge externe à côté de la l. 10, on a l'impression de voir un signe de *paragraphos* avec un *dikolon*, qui indiquerait la fin d'une section (se terminant avec la définition VII.[2]) et le début d'une autre. Toutefois, le signe (suivi par un autre signe difficile à déchiffrer) est un peu décoloré et pourrait remonter à une époque différente de celle où le texte a été copié. Si nous avons bien compris le raisonnement de MAZZUCCHI, Un testimone 356, il s'agirait d'une *manicula* grossièrement tracée par la main latine pour signaler un passage intéressant du texte. Quoi qu'il en soit, le titre de la définition suivante (VIII) n'est pas écrit en écriture distinctive, et, dans le *pinax*, elle n'est pas considérée comme une œuvre indépendante.

⁴⁸ D'après les informations les plus récentes que notre collègue tbilissienne N. Mgebrishvili a eu l'amabilité de nous transmettre, il existerait aussi des traductions d'écrits attribués à Théodore qui ne sont pas dues à la plume d'Arsène. Toutefois, la question reste à approfondir et nous n'en faisons mention que par souci d'exhaustivité.

⁴⁹ Nous avons renoncé à noter toutes les variantes du texte géorgien dans les cas où elles représentaient des innovations du géorgien par rapport à la *Vorlage* grecque et s'avéraient inutiles pour la reconstruction de cette dernière.

CRITÈRES D'ÉDITION ET TEXTE CRITIQUE

En ce qui concerne *Ris*, nous éditons le bref texte sur la base d'une collation de l'Ambrosianus (**A**), du Vallicellanus (**V**) et du ms. géorgien S 1463 (**Ge**). Pour ce qui est de *CQ*, nous avons divisé le texte selon ses noyaux thématiques en huit brèves sections, dont chacune développe un concept ou une définition. Pour ce qui est de la ponctuation, nous nous sommes référé à celle du ms. A pour comprendre le sens que le copiste a voulu donner à son texte. Il semble avoir eu recours principalement à l'ὀποστιγμή pour marquer la fin de chaque κῶλον, bien que dans certains cas on puisse se demander s'il ne voulait pas utiliser la μέση στιγμή⁵⁰. Pour notre édition, nous avons normalisé la ponctuation en utilisant le point pour marquer la fin d'une phrase, la virgule pour souligner les pauses faibles, et le point médian pour marquer les pauses moyennes, à l'instar du point-virgule et du deux-points français. *In textu*, le signe | marque le changement de folio dans A. Nous n'avons pas modifié l'usage du copiste du -ν ἐφελκυστικόν (sauf dans *Ris*, sur la base de la collation de V), ni noté les cas où les copistes ont commis des fautes d'esprit.

NOTE À LA TRADUCTION

Les nombreux crochets droits indiquent les intégrations que nous avons considérées comme strictement nécessaires pour l'intelligence du texte. Les possibilités d'abstraction du grec étant pratiquement illimitées, il a fallu adapter le texte aux exigences de la syntaxe française.

SIGLA

A = Ambrosianus Q 74 Sup.

V = Vallicellanus 12 (B 53)

Ge = Tiphlisensis S 1463 (versio Georgica)

⁵⁰ Il est toutefois difficile de répondre à cette question, car il s'avère souvent impossible d'affirmer avec certitude s'il s'agit d'un point marqué au niveau de la ligne d'écriture ou un peu au-dessus.

Περὶ γέλωτος (*De risu*)

Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ γελαστικὸν διὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν συστατικὸν τῆς οὐσίας, οὐ λέγεται διαφορά, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρίζεσθαι οὐκ ἔστι συμβεβηκός. Μέσον ἄρα ἐστὶ διαφορᾶς καὶ συμβεβηκότος· κοινωνεῖ γὰρ τῇ μὲν διαφορᾷ κατὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρίζεσθαι, τῷ δὲ συμβεβηκότι κατὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι
 5 συστατικόν. Τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτον ἴδιον ἂν εἴη· ἴδιον ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ γελαστικόν.

Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς (*De causa quadrifaria*)

I. Τὸ ὑφ' οὗ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη κίνησις, ἡγουν γένεσις· ἡ τὸ οὗ ἔνεκα, ὃ ἐστὶ τέλος· ἡ τὸ ἐξ οὗ, <ὃ> ἐστὶ ὕλη· ἡ τὸ δι' ὃ, ὃ ἐστὶ εἶδος. Τινὲς δέ, οἷον Πλάτων, εἰσάγουσιν ἄλλα δύο αἴτια· τὸ ἐν ᾧ, ὃ ἐστὶν ὄργανον, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ὃ, ὃ ἐστὶν παράδειγμα ἡγουν πρωτότυπον· ταῦτον γὰρ σημαίνει κατὰ
 5 φιλοσόφους παράδειγμα καὶ πρωτότυπον.

II. Ὅτι τὸ διατὶ ἐξαχῶς ἐρμηνεύεται· οἷον τὸ ὑφ' οὗ ἡ πρώτη γένεσις, ὃ λέγεται πρώτη αἰτία, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, | β' ἡ ὕλη, γ' τὸ εἶδος, δ' τὸ ὄργανον, ε' τὸ πρωτότυπον, ς' τὸ τέλος. Παράδειγμα ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐστίν· ὡς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς δὲ ὑλικὸς διὰ τὸ σῶμα, ὡς δὲ εἶδος πεποιημένος ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ μεμορφωμένος διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς δὲ δεόμενος ὄργανῳ διὰ τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἢ τὴν τροφήν, ὡς δὲ εἰκὼν
 10 διὰ τὸν πρωτότυπον χαρακτήρα τοῦ πλάσαντος, ὡς δὲ ἐν τέλει ἵνα μετέχῃ ἀγαθοῦ τινος, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐεργεσίας.

III. Τὸ περὶ τινος κατηγορούμενον ἥτοι καθόλου ἐστὶν ἡ μερικόν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν καθόλου, ἥτοι ἀντικατηγορεῖται ἡ οὐ· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀντικατηγορεῖται, ἡ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου δηλοῖ καὶ λέγεται εἶδος ἢ ὀρισμός (εἶδος μὲν τὸ ὄνομα, ὀρισμός δὲ ὁ λόγος), ἡ τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ λέγεται ἴδιον·
 15 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἀντικατηγορεῖται, εἴτοι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀρισμῷ ἐστίν, ἡ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶν κατηγορεῖται καὶ λέγεται γένος, ἡ ἐν τῷ ποῖόν τί ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται διαφορά. Ὅταν κατηγορεῖται τι κατὰ τινος, σκόπει εἰ ἄρα ἰσάζει τὸ κατηγορούμενον τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἢ ὑπερέχει· εἰ μὲν οὖν ἰσάζει, σκόπει εἰ ἄρα σημαίνει τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ πράγματος ἢ οὐ· καὶ εἰ μὲν σημαίνει, ὅρος ἐστίν, εἰ δὲ οὐ σημαίνει, ἴδιον· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἰσάζει τὸ κατηγορούμενον τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, ἀλλὰ ὑπερέχει, σκόπει εἰ ἄρα χωρίζεται τοῦ ὑποκειμένου
 20 πράγματος ἢ οὐ· καὶ εἰ μὲν χωρίζεται, ἔσται συμβεβηκός, εἰ δὲ οὐ χωρίζεται, σκόπει πῶς κατηγορεῖται· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποῖόν τί ἐστὶν, ἔσται διαφορά, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστίν, ἔσται γένος.

Περὶ γέλωτος: 2 ὅτι V Ge] ὅτι ἔργον A | μὴ A Ge] om. V || 3 ἔστι V] ἔστιν A ἐστὶ V | ἐστὶν A | διαφορᾶς A] διαφορᾶς V || 5 ἐστὶ V] ἐστὶν A

loci paralleli: cf. Porphyre, *Isag.* (éd. A. BUSSE, Porphyrii Isagoge et in Aristotelis categorias commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4, I]. Berlin 1887), 4, 1, 12, l. 17.

2 διὰ μὲν τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν συστατικὸν τῆς οὐσίας : cf. David, *In Porph.* (éd. A. BUSSE, In Porphyrii Isagogen commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18, II]. Berlin 1904), 203, ll. 29–31.

Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς: 2 ἡγουν scripsi] ἡτουν A | ἔνεκα] ἔνεκεν A a. corr. || 3 <ὃ> suppl. | δι' ὃ scripsi] διὸ A | ἐν ᾧ corr.] ἐννῶ sic A | 4 ἡγουν scripsi] ἡτουν A || 6 ἐρμηνεύεται scripsi] ἐρμ(ηνεύετ)αι sic A || 10 χαρακτήρα] παραχτήρα A a. corr. || 14 ἴδιον] ἴδια A a. corr. || 16 σκόπει scripsi] σκοπεῖν A || 17 ἰσάζει corr.] ἰσάζει A | εἰ² scripsi] ἡ A || 18 μὲν corr.] μὴ A || 19 ἰσάζει corr.] εἰσάζει A ut vid.

loci paralleli: 12–21 cf. Aristote, *Top.* 103b7 (éd. W. D. Ross, *Aristotelis topica et sophistici elenchi*. Oxford 1958).

15–16 εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἀντικατηγορεῖται, εἴτοι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀρισμῷ ἐστίν, ἡ ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶν κατηγορεῖται καὶ λέγεται γένος, ἡ ἐν τῷ ποῖόν τί ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται διαφορά : cf. Aristote, *Top.* 103b, ll. 12–15 (Ross) : εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀντικατηγορεῖται τοῦ πράγματος, ἥτοι τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀρισμῷ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου λεγομένων ἐστίν ἡ οὐ. καὶ εἰ μὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ ὀρισμῷ λεγομένων, γένος ἢ διαφορὰ ἂν εἴη [...].

Sur le rire

Il faut savoir que la capacité de rire, pour le fait de ne pas être constitutive de la substance, n'est pas appelée « différence » ; d'ailleurs, parce qu'elle ne peut pas en être séparée, elle n'est pas un accident [non plus]. Elle se trouve donc au milieu entre différence et accident : elle a en commun avec la différence l'impossibilité d'être séparée [de la substance], et avec l'accident le fait de ne pas [en] être constitutive. Celle-ci pourrait être [considérée comme] un propre : donc, la capacité de rire est un propre.

Sur la cause quadruple

I. [La raison] « par laquelle », dont dérive le premier mouvement, c'est-à-dire l'origine⁵² ; ensuite, [la raison] « pour laquelle », c'est-à-dire le but⁵³ ; ensuite, [la raison] « dont », c'est-à-dire la matière⁵⁴ ; ensuite, [la raison] « à cause de laquelle », c'est-à-dire la forme⁵⁵. Certains, comme Platon, introduisent deux autres causes : l'une est le contenant⁵⁷, c'est-à-dire l'organe, et l'autre, [ce] « par rapport auquel », qui est le modèle, c'est-à-dire le prototype. En effet, d'après les philosophes, prototype et exemple ont la même signification.

II. Sur le fait que la cause peut être interprétée de six manières, à savoir : le [principe] « par lequel » ou « origine première », ce qui est dit [aussi] « cause première » (c'est-à-dire Dieu) ; la deuxième est la matière ; la troisième est la forme ; la quatrième est l'organe ; la cinquième est le prototype ; la sixième est le but. Un exemple [de cela] est l'homme : il vient de Dieu ; il est matériel à cause du corps ; en tant que forme, il est façonné et formé par l'âme ; il a besoin d'un organe pour la respiration et la nutrition ; en tant qu'image, il possède la marque originelle du Créateur ; en tant qu'ayant un but, il est destiné à participer à un bien, c'est-à-dire à un bienfait.

III. Ce qui est prédiqué de quelque chose, soit est dit en général, soit en particulier. S'il est dit en général, soit il peut être contre-prédiqué, soit il ne le peut pas. S'il peut être contre-prédiqué, soit il manifeste la substance du sujet, et [dans ce cas] est appelé « espèce » ou « définition » (« espèce » s'il s'agit d'un nom, « définition » s'il s'agit d'une phrase), soit il manifeste quelque chose concernant la substance, et s'appelle « propre » ; si, par contre, il ne peut pas être contre-prédiqué, soit il est l'un des termes de la définition, soit il prédique à propos de la substance de la chose et est appelé « genre », soit il concerne sa qualité et s'appelle « différence ». Quand on énonce un prédicat au sujet de quelque chose, considère si le prédicat équivaut au sujet ou s'il l'inclut. Si donc il lui équivaut, considère s'il signifie ou pas la substance du sujet ; s'il la signifie, il est une définition ; si, au contraire, il ne la signifie pas, il s'agit d'un propre. Si le prédicat n'équivaut pas au sujet, mais qu'il l'inclut, considère s'il se sépare ou pas de ce qui constitue le sujet : s'il s'en sépare, ce sera un accident, s'il ne s'en sépare pas, considère la façon dont il prédique : s'il concerne la qualité, il s'agira d'une différence ; s'il concerne la substance, ce sera un genre.

¹⁴ Nous avons toujours traduit ὁρισμός et ὅρος comme « définition » – bien que le grec utilise deux termes différents –, faute de synonymes en français.

⁵² Il s'agit de la cause efficiente (motrice).

⁵³ La cause finale.

⁵⁴ La cause matérielle.

⁵⁵ La cause formelle.

⁵⁶ Il semble que dans ce cas τὸ ἐν ᾧ (que nous avons traduit par « contenant », en suivant H. CHARENTON, *Aristote, Physique*, I–IV. Paris 1926, 128) signifie plus précisément le « lieu » dans lequel l'action s'achève.

IV. Εἰσὶν αἱ ἅπται ποιότητες ἰδ' θερμότης καὶ ψυχρότης, ξηρότης καὶ ὑγρότης, βαρύτης καὶ
κουφότης, λεπτότης καὶ παχύτης, τραχύτης καὶ λειότης, μαλακότης καὶ σκληρότης, γλισχρότης καὶ
25 αἰσχροτης· λεπτότης καὶ κουφότης τὸ πῦρ· βαρύτης καὶ παχύτης ἡ γῆ· λεπτὸν καὶ κοῦφον ὁ ἀήρ· βαρὺ
καὶ παχὺ τὸ ὕδωρ.

V. Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῶον, τὸ ζῶον γένος, ὁ ἄνθρωπος γένος· οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους ἐλήφθησαν αἱ
προτάσεις· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάττων πρότασις ἐστὶν φυσικὴ, ἡ δὲ μείζων λογικὴ· ἀπὸ δὲ φυσικῆς προτάσεως
καὶ λογικῆς ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι συλλογισμόν. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ὁ ἄνθρωπος
ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν· τὸ ζῶον λογικὸν θνητὸν ὁρισμός ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου· ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄρα ὁρισμός
30 ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον. Ἔστι δὲ λύσαι ὅτι οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς εἴληπται ὅρος ἐν ταῖς δυοῖς
προτάσεσιν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλάσσων πραγματικὴ πρότασις ἐστίν· τὸ γὰρ ζῶον λογικὸν θνητὸν ὡς πρᾶγμα
εἴληπται ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ οὐχ ὡς φωνή, | καθ' ὃν τρόπον εἴληπται ἐν τῇ μείζονι προτάσει.

VI.(1). Διαλεκτικὴ ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη ἡ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν ἀρχαῖς χρωμένη καὶ
προκείμενον διὰ συλλογισμοῦ δεικνύουσα.

35 VI.(2). Διαλεκτικὴ ἐστὶν μέθοδος ἡ οἰκείας μὲν ἀρχὰς μὴ ἔχουσα, ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις δὲ χρωμένη
μετὰ συλλογισμοῦ περὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα.

VII. Τὸ γένος περιέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ περιέχει τὸ εἶδος· καὶ περιέχεται μὲν ὡς μέρος ὃν τοῦ
ὁρισμοῦ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ μέρος καὶ τοῦ εἶδους ἐστὶ μέρος· ταῦτόν γὰρ ὁρισμός καὶ τὸ εἶδος, οἷον
ἄνθρωπος καὶ ζῶον λογικὸν θνητόν· ὁ τούτου ὁρισμός καὶ ἐπὶ ταῦτόν ἐστι ἄνθρωπος ζῶον λογικὸν
40 θνητόν· τὸ δὲ ζῶον μέρος ἐστὶν τοῦ ζώου λογικοῦ θνητοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἂν εἴη μέρος· τούτῳ οὖν
τῷ τρόπῳ λέγεται τὸ γένος περιέχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶδους.

Τὸ αἷτιον τετραχῶς: 33 τὸ] s.l. add. A || 34 post δεικνύουσα signum vix intellegibile pr. A || 38 ὁρισμός corr.] ὁρισμὸν A

22–24 θερμότης [...] ἀβρότης : cf. Aristote, *Cat.* 9a29 (éd. L. MINIO-PALUELLO, Aristotelis categoriae et liber de interpretatione. Oxford 1949) ; Simplicius, *In Cael.* (éd. J. L. HEIBERG, Simplicii in Aristotelis de caelo commentaria [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 7]. Berlin 1894), 87, l. 29. et 89, l. 17.

24–25 λεπτότης [...] ὕδωρ : cf. Jean Philopon, *In Cat.* (éd. A. BUSSE, Philoponi (olim Ammonii) in Aristotelis categorias commentarium [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 13, I]. Berlin 1898), 65, l. 22 ; Némésios d'Émèse, *Nat. Hom.* (éd. M. MORANI, Nemesii Emeseni de natura hominis. Leipzig 1987), 5, 51, l. 25.

28–29 Τὸ αὐτὸ [...] ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος : cf. Jean Damascène, *Dialect.* (éd. B. KOTTER, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 7]. Berlin 1969] 71, fus. η' (8), ll. 50–53. Cf. aussi ROUECHÉ, Byzantine Philosophical Texts 70–71.

33–36 cf. Jean Philopon, *In Ar. Phys.* (éd. H. VITELLI, Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis physicorum libros octo commentaria [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 16]. Berlin 1887), 6, l. 23 : αὕτη οὖν ἡ μέθοδος ἡ διαλεκτικὴ οὐκ οἰκείας ἀρχὰς ἔχουσα, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις χρωμένη, οὕτως ἐνεργεῖ περὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα.

37 Τὸ γένος περιέχεται ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ περιέχει τὸ εἶδος : cf. Porphyre, *Isag.*, 4, 1, 15, l. 15 (BUSSE) : [περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ εἶδους] Διαφέρει δὲ ἢ τὸ μὲν γένος περιέχει τὰ εἶδη, τὰ δὲ εἶδη περιέχεται καὶ οὐ περιέχει τὰ γένη κτλ.

IV. Les qualités qui peuvent être perçues par le toucher sont quatorze : la chaleur et la froideur, la sécheresse et l'humidité, la pesanteur et la légèreté, la subtilité et l'épaisseur, la rugosité et la douceur, le moelleux et la dureté, la viscosité et la mollesse. Subtilité et légèreté le feu ; pesanteur et épaisseur la terre ; subtil et léger l'air ; lourde et épaisse l'eau.

V. *L'homme est un animal, animal est un genre, [donc] homme est un genre* ; les prémisses n'ont pas été prises à partir du même genre : en effet, la prémisses mineure concerne le nature, la majeure concerne la logique ; à partir d'une prémisses qui concerne le nature et la logique il est impossible de produire un syllogisme. Il faut considérer la même chose aussi dans d'autres cas : *l'homme est un animal rationnel et mortel*. L'expression *animal rationnel et mortel* est une définition de l'homme. *L'homme* est-il donc la définition de l'homme ? [Non,] cela est impossible. On peut en déduire que dans les deux prémisses n'a pas été choisie la même définition : en effet, la mineure est une prémisses factuelle ; en celle-ci, *animal rationnel et mortel* est pris comme un fait, non pas comme une expression⁵⁷, comme c'est le cas dans la prémisses majeure⁵⁸.

VI.(1). La dialectique est une discipline qui se sert des principes d'autres disciplines et arts et qui démontre son objet par le biais du syllogisme.

VI.(2). La dialectique est une méthode qui ne possède pas de principes propres, mais qui se sert des principes venant d'ailleurs⁵⁹ avec le syllogisme à propos des sujets.

VII. Le genre est inclus par l'espèce et en même temps inclut l'espèce : il est inclus en tant que partie de la définition, car la partie de la définition est aussi une partie de l'espèce ; en effet, définition et espèce sont la même chose, comme *homme* et *animal rationnel et mortel*. La définition de celui-ci, de même, est *l'homme est un animal rationnel et mortel*. *Animal* est une partie d'*animal rationnel et mortel*, et pourrait être aussi une partie de *l'homme*. De cette manière, donc, on dit que le genre est inclus par l'espèce.

22 *id'* : il ne nous a pas été possible de trouver d'autres attestations du chiffre quatorze à propos de ἀπταὶ ποιότητες.

22–24 Dans son œuvre, Simplicius se borne à donner deux listes de six qualités chacune, tout en en laissant d'autres de côté avec des formules comme [...] καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπτάς καὶ παθητικὰς ποιότητας. Les différentes ποιότητες énumérées par Simplicius sont au total de neuf, mais l'ordre est différent de celui donné par *De causa quadrifaria*.

24–25 L'utilisation des quatre éléments pour exemplifier les qualités se retrouve déjà chez Jean Philopon et Némésios d'Émèse, mais les qualités attribuées aux éléments sont différentes. Dans le même ms. A on retrouve un autre recueil de définitions, dans lequel l'auteur (un certain Ἀκύλιος, inconnu par ailleurs) donne une définition des quatre éléments en spécifiant leurs qualités. Dans ce cas aussi, il y a des différences par rapport à notre texte (cf. RASHED, Les définitions d'Aquilius 135, déf. n. 80).

26–32 La cinquième section analyse les conditions pour la formulation d'un syllogisme, en prenant pour point de départ un paralogisme. Il n'est pas inutile de signaler que la conclusion du paralogisme en question (*l'homme est un genre*) est visiblement erronée, *homme* étant une espèce et non pas un genre.

28–29 Il s'agit d'un exemple véritablement omniprésent dans la production des manuels philosophiques.

35–36 Διαλεκτική ἐστὶ ἐπιστήμη [...] περὶ τὰ ὑποκείμενα : nous avons l'impression que la présence de deux différentes définitions de διαλεκτική peut s'expliquer par l'interpolation d'une glose dans l'antigraphe de A. C'est pourquoi, nous avons préféré diviser la même section en deux parties.

⁵⁷ L'auteur du recueil veut ici signifier, en jouant sur l'opposition entre πράγμα et φωνή, que les différents termes peuvent être employés en référence à leur contenu (πράγμα) – autrement dit, au signifié –, ou par rapport à leur forme et à leur aspect matériels (φωνή) – à savoir, au signifiant.

⁵⁸ En lisant cette dernière partie de la section V, on a l'impression qu'une certaine confusion subsiste dans l'usage des termes techniques. En effet, l'auteur qualifie implicitement d'ἐλάσσων (« mineure ») la prémisses que nous aurions tendance à considérer comme la majeure (*l'homme est un animal*) et de μείζων (« majeure ») la prémisses mineure (*animal est un genre*), c'est à dire celle qui utilise le terme animal comme une φωνή. Nous avons laissé le texte grec tel qu'il se lit dans A, mais nous tenons à souligner la difficulté qui demeure quant à son interprétation exacte.

⁵⁹ C'est-à-dire, des autres disciplines.

VIII. Ἰστέον ὅτι ἡ θεότης οὐκ ἔστιν χωρὶς τῶν τριῶν ὑποστάσεων· θεωρουμένη δὲ καθ' αὐτήν, ἄνευ τῶν ὑποστάσεων θεωρεῖται (καὶ γὰρ θεωρία οὐκ ἔστιν κωλυτικὴ τῆς ὑπάρξεως)· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ θεότης καθ' αὐτήν νοουμένη φύσις ἄνευ ἰδιωμάτων νοεῖται, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ ὑποστάσεων· εἰ γὰρ
 45 νοεῖται καθ' αὐτήν μετὰ ὑποστάσεων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ μετὰ ἰδιωμάτων, ὅπερ οὐχ ὑπέκειτο. Ἔτι τὸ μὴ δυνάμενον νοεῖσθαι ἄνευ ἄλλου, ἀνάγκη πρὸς τι εἶναι καὶ οὐκ οὐσίαν· ἡ δὲ θεότης οὐ πρὸς τι ἔστιν ἄλλ' ὑπερούσιος οὐσία, ὥστε δύναται θεωρεῖσθαι καθ' αὐτήν μόνην καὶ οὐ μετ' ἄλλου.

Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ (*De anima*)

I. Ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ μὲν τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τῷ αἰσθητῷ γινομένη, πλανᾶται ὥσπερ μεθύουσα.

II. Κατὰ πόσους τρόπους τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα; κατὰ ἐπτά·

κατὰ τὸ νοερὸν καὶ λογικὸν καὶ αὐτεξούσιον·

5 κατὰ τὸ γεννᾶν τὸν νοῦν λόγον καὶ προβάλλειν τὸ πνεῦμα·

κατὰ τὸ ἀρχικὸν (κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατ' εἰκόνα· ἔτι δὲ ἐκ περιουσίας οἱ ἄνθρωποι)·

κατὰ τὸ ἀγγένητον τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ γεννητὸν τοῦ Ἀβελ καὶ ἐκπορευτὸν τῆς Εὐας·

κατὰ τὸ φύσει ἀρχικὸν (φύσει γὰρ ἔχει δοῦλον ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐξουσιάζει αὐτοῦ)·

10 καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνάγειν πάσαν τὴν κτίσιν· ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐνοῦται πᾶσα κτίσις καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ σύνδεσμος γάρ ἐστιν νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς κτίσεως·

καὶ ὅτι κατ' εἰκόνα οὐ ἔμελλεν γίνεσθαι ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (οὐ γὰρ ἄγγελος γέγονεν ἄλλ' ἄνθρωπος).

Τὸ αἴτιον τετραχῶς: 42 αὐτὴν scripsi] αὐτὴν A

46–47 Ἡ δὲ θεότης οὐ πρὸς τι ἔστιν ἄλλ' ὑπερούσιος οὐσία : cf. Jean Damascène, *Dialect.*, 59, fus. δ' (4), ll. 68–69 (KOTTER) et Jean Damascène, *Inst. Elem.*, 20 (KOTTER).

Ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ: 2 ἡ² corr.] εἰ A | τῷ αἰσθητῷ] malim τὸ αἰσθητὸν || 6 κατ' εἰκόνα scripsi] κατεῖκόνα A ut vid. || 10 ἐνοῦται corr.] αἰνοῦται A || 12 κατ' εἰκόνα scripsi] κατεῖκόνα A

loci paralleli: 1–3 cf. Platon, *Phaedo*, 79c8 (éd. J. BURNET, *Platonis Opera*, I. Oxford 1900 [réimpr. 1967]) : καὶ αὐτὴ [scil. ἡ ψυχὴ] πλανᾶται καὶ ταράττεται καὶ εὐλιγυῖα ὥσπερ μεθύουσα, ἅτε τοιούτων ἐφαπτομένη.

6–7 cf. pseudo-Grégoire de Nysse, *De eo, quid sit, ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem* (PG 44, coll. 1327–1346, désormais *imag.*) col. 1340A, l. 7 ; Anastase le Sinaïte, *Sermones in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem Dei* (éd. K.-H. UHTEMANN [CCSG 12], Turnhout – Louvain 1985 [CCSG 12], désormais *serm.const.*), I, 4, 51–53.

9 cf. pseudo-Grégoire de Nysse, *imag.*, col. 1329C, l. 3 (PG 44) ; Anastase le Sinaïte, *serm.const.*, I, 1, 63 (Uthemann).

VIII. Il faut savoir que la divinité n'existe pas sans les trois hypostases. Considérée en elle-même, elle est considérée sans les hypostases (en effet, le fait de la considérer n'en empêche pas l'existence) ; puisque la divinité, pensée en elle-même, est pensée comme une nature sans propriétés caractéristiques, il est clair [qu'elle peut être pensée] aussi sans hypostases. En effet, si elle est pensée en elle-même avec des hypostases, il est clair [qu'elle peut être pensée] aussi avec des propriétés caractéristiques, ce qui n'avait pas été présupposé. Donc, ce qui ne peut pas être pensé sans quelque chose d'autre, est forcément un relatif et non pas une substance ; la divinité n'est pas un relatif, mais elle est substance au-delà de la substance, au point qu'elle peut être considérée seulement en elle-même et sans rien d'autre.

Sur l'âme

- I. L'âme qui est encline aux aspects sensibles du corps se trompe comme si elle était ivre⁶⁰.
- II. De combien de manières peut-on comprendre [l'expression] « à l'image » ? Sept :
 1. selon la faculté intellectuelle, la faculté rationnelle et le libre arbitre ;
 2. selon le fait que l'intellect engendre la pensée et émet l'esprit⁶¹ ;
 3. selon ce qui concerne l'origine (selon ce principe-ci aussi bien les anges que les hommes sont « à l'image [de Dieu] », et les hommes à plus forte raison) ;
 4. selon le non engendrement d'Adam, l'engendrement d'Abel et la procession d'Ève⁶² ;
 5. selon ce qui est dominant par nature (par nature, en effet, l'âme asservit le corps et le maîtrise) ;
 6. selon le fait que [l'homme] rassemble [en soi] toute la création : en Dieu toute la création est réunie et en l'homme il y a la conjonction de la création rationnelle et sensible ;
 7. selon l'image dans laquelle le Fils de Dieu devait advenir⁶³ (en effet, il ne devint pas un ange, mais un homme)⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ La syntaxe grecque de cette phrase n'est pas sans poser problème, la valeur du génitif τοῦ σώματος demeurant assez difficile à comprendre.

⁶¹ Dans la traduction française on perd inévitablement la polysémie des termes grecs νοῦς, λόγος et πνεῦμα, qui désignent les qualités de l'homme avec une référence explicite à la doctrine trinitaire.

⁶² Cf. note précédente. Il s'agit, dans ce cas, des termes ἀγέννητος, γεννητός et ἐκπορευτός. Le dernier est utilisé pour décrire la naissance d'Ève de la côte d'Adam.

⁶³ Notre traduction est interprétative, la syntaxe du grec étant elliptique.

⁶⁴ Dans cette dernière phrase on retrouve l'explication de l'expression ἐκ περιουσίας utilisée au point numéro 3. L'homme est « à plus forte raison » à l'image de Dieu parce qu'il possède, contrairement aux anges, la nature que le Verbe assumait dans l'incarnation.

BÖRJE BYDÉN

The Byzantine *Fortuna* of Alexander of Aphrodisias' Commentary on Aristotle's *De sensu et sensibilibus**

Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to trace the reception of Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on Aristotle's *De sensu et sensibilibus* in philosophical literature in Greek between the end of Late Antiquity and the fourteenth century. It offers a summary account of the material evidence for the presence of the commentary in the period, as well as more detailed discussions of texts in which its influence is manifest, especially Michael Psellos, *Philosophica minora* 2:8, George Pachymeres, *Philosophia* 8.1–2 and Theodore Metochites, *In De sensu*. The two latter texts are still unedited.

THE ANCIENT *FORTUNA* OF ARISTOTLE'S *PARVA NATURALIA* AND ALEXANDER'S COMMENTARY

The collection of short treatises by Aristotle on actions and affections of the soul commonly referred to as the *Parva naturalia* does not seem to have been on the syllabus of any philosophy schools in Late Antiquity. This goes some way towards explaining why, after Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the first treatise, the *De sensu et sensibilibus*, in the early third century, it took until the early twelfth century for the first Greek commentaries on the rest of the collection to appear¹. These were composed by Michael of Ephesus², not because Byzantine school reform had triggered a sudden demand for study aids relating to the *Parva naturalia*, but rather, it seems, at the behest of an imperial matron who saw fit to fill the gaps in the existing secondary literature on Aristotle. In his funeral oration for Anna Komnene (1083–c. 1153), George Tornikes recalls how the learned princess had encouraged the philosophers of her time, including “the Ephesian”, to write “commentaries on those of Aristotle's works on which none had been written before”³. Tornikes' testimony is largely

* The research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the research programme *Representation and Reality: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Aristotelian Tradition*, funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and hosted by the University of Gothenburg. I owe thanks to Lutz Koch, Katerina Ierodiakonou and *JÖB*'s two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

¹ See B. BYDÉN, Introduction: The Study and Reception of Aristotle's *Parva naturalia*, in: *The Parva naturalia in Greek, Arabic and Latin Aristotelianism. Supplementing the Science of the Soul*, ed. B. Bydén – F. Radovic. Cham 2018, 1–50, esp. 12–15. See also I. HADOT, Simplicius, *Commentaire sur les Catégories*. Fasc. 1. Introduction, première partie. Leiden – New York 1990, 85–90. Alexander's commentary was edited by Paul WENDLAND, in: *CAG* III/1. Berlin 1901. When Alexander refers, at *De anima* 69.19–20 (ed. I. BRUNS, *CAG* Suppl. II/1), to “another work” in which the distinction between memory and recollection has already been made, he might have in mind a commentary by himself on the *De memoria et reminiscencia*; and if so, he might have written commentaries on all of the *Parva naturalia* (cf. R. B. TODD, Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics. Leiden 1976, 15, n. 71), but there is no other evidence to corroborate this inference.

² Ed. P. WENDLAND, *CAG* XXII/1. Berlin 1903.

³ Τεκμήριον τοῦ ταύτης φιλομαθοῦς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκπεφωνημένα τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν φιλοσόφων πονήματα, ἐφ' οἷς τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους μέχρις ἐκείνης ὑπομνηματισμοὶ μὴ συνεγράφησαν ἐξηγήσεων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀκροάσεως ἢ τούτων σαφήνεια διεδίδото παντοίως οὐκ ἀσφαλὴ οὐδ' οὕτω φιλότιμος. Λόγων γὰρ ἄσυλον ταμίειον αἱ βίβλοι καὶ νοημάτων ἀκαθαίρετα μνημεῖα τὰ γράμματα, ἀκοὴ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῇ λήθῃ καθάπερ κλέπταις σεσύληται. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἐφεσίων ἡκηκόειν σοφοῦ ταύτης τῆς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀβλεψίας τὴν αἰτίαν προσεπιρίπτοντος, ὅτι παννύχοις σχολάσειεν αὐπνίας ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἀριστοτελείων, κελευούσης αὐτῆς, ἐξηγήσεσιν· ὅθεν τὰ ἐλλύχνια τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς διὰ ξηρασίαν παθήματα. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκείνη, καὶ μῆπω τὰ τῆς ἱατρικῆς ἀκριβοῦσα—καὶ γὰρ ἀνεβάλετο τέως τὴν ταύτης ἀνάλυσιν· καὶ ταῦτα, φιλοσοφοῦσα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἱατρικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τῆς τῶν σωμάτων προκρίνουσα—, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κατὰ τὰ ἐκείνης ἐπιστημονικώτατα παραγγέλματα τὰ κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν συνδιετίθετο (Or. 14, ed. J. DARROUZÈS, Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, *Lettres et Discours*. Paris 1970, 283.4–16). The credit for having first called attention to Tornikes' oration and the light it sheds on the date and other circumstances

borne out by the extant output of Michael and his contemporaries, which includes commentaries on Aristotle's *Sophistici elenchi*⁴, *De generatione animalium*⁵, *De partibus animalium*, *De motu animalium* and *De incessu animalium*⁶, *Metaphysics* 7–14⁷, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1, 5–7, 9–10⁸, *Politics*⁹, and *Rhetoric*¹⁰, as well as Pseudo-Aristotle's *De coloribus*¹¹.

The scope of Anna's enterprise explains why Michael's commentaries on the *Parva naturalia* do not cover the *De sensu*, on which Alexander's commentary was still available. Michael himself must have had it on his desk, for the first few lines of the preface to his commentary on the *De memoria et reminiscencia* (1.4–14) are adapted from its preface¹². The copy he used has not survived—nor indeed have any other manuscripts from that time or earlier—but judging from WENDLAND's apparatuses it had disjunctive errors that place it in the α family, closest to Vat. gr. 1028 (*Diktyon* 67659, WENDLAND's V, see below).

The only relatively clear evidence of the use of Alexander's commentary in the first few centuries following its composition is in Themistius' paraphrase of Aristotle's *De anima* (mid-fourth century). At least Robert Todd, in the notes to his translation, asserts quite categorically that "Themistius got the idea of substituting *leptê othonê* for *humên* [at 73.2, paraphrasing 423a3] from Alexander's commentary on the *de Sensu* [23.23–24.2]", evidently assuming that the same substitution was not to be found, for example, in Alexander's lost commentary on the *De anima*¹³. The latter work is freely

of the early 12th-century commentaries is due to Robert BROWNING, An Unpublished Funeral Oration on Anna Comnena. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 8 (1962) 1–12. For a more recent discussion of the relevant material, see P. FRANKOPAN, The Literary, Cultural and Political Context for the Twelfth-Century Commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, in: *Medieval Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics*, ed. C. Barber – D. Jenkins. Leiden – Boston 2009, 45–62.

⁴ By Michael (Ps.-Alexander). Ed. M. WALLIES, *CAG* II/3. Berlin 1898.

⁵ By Michael (Ps.-Philoponus). Ed. M. HAYDUCK, *CAG* XIV/3. Berlin 1903.

⁶ By Michael. Ed. M. HAYDUCK, *CAG* XXII/2. Berlin 1904.

⁷ By Michael (Ps.-Alexander). Ed. M. HAYDUCK, *CAG* I. Berlin 1891. The authentic commentary by Alexander of Aphrodisias covers books 1–5 only, but, as Pantelis GOLITSIS has shown (Who Were the Real Authors of the *Metaphysics* Commentary Ascribed to Alexander and Ps.-Alexander, in: *Aristotle Re-Interpreted. New Findings on Seven Hundred Years of the Ancient Commentators*, ed. R. Sorabji. London 2016, 565–587, esp. 579–583), the pseudo-Alexandrian commentary on book 6 is not by Michael.

⁸ By Michael (5, 9–10), Eustratius of Nicaea (1, 6) and Anonymus (7). Ed. G. HEYLBUT, *CAG* XX. Berlin 1892. For a general discussion of this composite commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, see H. P. F. MERCKEN, The Greek Commentators on Aristotle's *Ethics*, in: *Aristotle Transformed. The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence*, ed. R. Sorabji. London 1990, 407–443. For a discussion of the identity of the author of the commentary on book 7, which may be later than the commentaries commissioned by Anna, see E. FISHER, The Anonymous Commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* VII: Language, Style and Implications, in: *Medieval Greek Commentaries*, ed. Barber – Jenkins (as in n. 3) 145–161.

⁹ By Michael. Thirty-odd pages of scholia survive, which may or may not be excerpted from a full commentary. Ed. O. IMMISCH, in: *Aristotelis Politica*. Leipzig 1909, 295–329. For Michael's authorship, see *ibid.* xv–xx.

¹⁰ Two commentaries are extant, a longer one, which is anonymous, and a shorter one attributed to Stephanus (perhaps Stephanus Skylitzes, later Metropolitan of Trebizond). Ed. H. RABE, *CAG* XXI/2. Berlin 1896.

¹¹ By Michael. Ed. V. PAPARI, in: *Der Kommentar des Michael von Ephesos zur ps.-aristotelischen Schrift De coloribus/Περὶ χρωμάτων*. Unpublished PhD-thesis, University of Hamburg 2013.

¹² See WENDLAND's apparatus ad 1.5, in: *CAG* XXII/1. Berlin 1903. On Michael's assiduous use of Alexander's *De anima*, see P. MORAUX, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen von Andronikos bis Alexander von Aphrodisias*. Berlin – New York 2001, III 354–355, n. 162 and P. L. DONINI, *Il de anima di Alessandro di Afrodisia e Michele Efesio*. *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 96 (1968) 316–323. Michele TRIZIO (Eliodoro di Prusa e i commentatori greco-bizantini di Aristotele, in: *Vie per Bisanzio*, ed. A. Rigo – A. Babuin – M. Trizio. Bari 2013, II 803–830, here 812 n. 32) has suggested that Michael's colleague Eustratius of Nicaea borrowed one of his examples of false belief, namely that the moon at perigee shines entirely with its own light, in his commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* 6, 289.15–17, from Alexander's commentary on the *De sensu*, 11.9–11. For possible traces of Alexander's *De anima* in Eustratius, see M. TRIZIO, *Neoplatonic Source-Material in Eustratius of Nicaea's Commentary on Book VI of the Nicomachean Ethics*, in: *Medieval Greek Commentaries*, ed. Barber – Jenkins (as in n. 3) 71–110, here 107.

¹³ R. B. TODD, *Themistius, On Aristotle's On the Soul*. Ithaca, NY 1996, 178 n. 2.

drawn upon in the three line-by-line commentaries on the *De anima* to have survived, in whole or in substantial part, from Late Antiquity, by John Philoponus (books 1–2 and 3.4–8, based on the lectures of Ammonius, early sixth century), Priscian of Lydia (books 1–3, previously ascribed to Simplicius, early to mid-sixth century) and Pseudo-Philoponus (book 3, perhaps attributable to Stephanus, mid-to-late sixth century)¹⁴, all of whom strongly emphasize Aristotle's Platonic affiliation and duly censure Alexander's interpretations of his views on sensitive matters such as the immortality of the human soul¹⁵. But they never cite Alexander's commentary on the *De sensu*.

Alexander's somewhat dubious reputation as an Aristotelian commentator, especially within the realm of psychology, was part of the Neoplatonic legacy to Byzantium¹⁶. Not that he did not have his admirers—foremost among them, perhaps, Michael of Ephesus¹⁷. But if it is taken into account that not only Alexander's commentary on the *De anima*, but also those on the *Categories*, the *De interpretatione*, the *Analytica posteriora*, the *Physics*, the *De caelo* and the *De generatione et corruptione* must have been lost before the twelfth century¹⁸, and that the students and scholars of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium showed little interest in its subject matter, it may be put down to fortunate coincidence that there were any manuscripts at all containing Alexander's commentary on the *De sensu* extant in Michael's days. Yet the fact that some but not all currently existing manuscripts share the errors of Michael's copy (see above) reveals that there must have been at least two of them around. Let us now have a brief look at the surviving material evidence for the presence of Alexander's commentary in Byzantium.

THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE FOR ALEXANDER'S COMMENTARY IN BYZANTIUM

Three lists of commentators on Aristotle's works have been preserved from the early Palaiologan period (1261–1351): two very similar ones (Marc. gr. Z 203 [*Diktyon* 69674], f. 230 and Vat. gr. 241 [*Diktyon* 66872], f. 6) and one which is apparently more independent (Hierosol. Patr. Hagiiou Taphou 106 [*Diktyon* 35343], ff. 6v–7v)¹⁹. Only the latter mentions any commentary on the *De sensu*, namely

¹⁴ For Philoponus' authorship of the five chapters from the third book of the first commentary, only preserved in Latin translation, see W. CHARLTON, Philoponus, *On Aristotle On the Intellect*. London 1991, 4–6. For Priscian's authorship of the second commentary, see C. STEEL, "Simplicius", *On Aristotle On the Soul* 3.6–13. London 2013, 1–4. For arguments in favour of Stephanus' authorship of the third commentary, see W. CHARLTON, "Philoponus", *On Aristotle On the Soul* 3.1–8. London 2000, 1–12; for a recent attempt to defend Philoponus' authorship of the third commentary, see P. GOLITSIS, John Philoponus' Commentary on the Third Book of Aristotle's *De anima*, Wrongly Attributed to Stephanus, in: *Aristotle Re-Interpreted*, ed. Sorabji (as in n. 7) 393–412. For a new assessment of the evidence concerning Stephanus' identity and date, see M. ROUECHÉ, A Philosophical Portrait of Stephanus the Philosopher, in: *Aristotle Re-Interpreted*, ed. Sorabji, 541–563.

¹⁵ On the attitudes of the *De anima* commentators towards Alexander, see H. BLUMENTHAL, Alexander of Aphrodisias in the Later Greek Commentators on Aristotle's *De anima*, in: *Aristoteles, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. J. Wiesner. Berlin – New York 1987, II 90–106. On Simplicius and Alexander, see H. BALTUSSEN, *Philosophy and Exegesis in Simplicius. The Methodology of a Commentator*. London 2008, 107–135.

¹⁶ For a typical evaluation (albeit as late as the 1440s), see George Scholarios (Gennadius II), Ep. 1, 399.20–34 (ed. M. JUGIE – L. PETIT – X. A. SIDERIDÈS, *Œuvres complètes de Georges [Gennadios] Scholarios IV*. Paris 1935). Cf. that of Scholarios' arch-enemy, George Gemistos [Plethon], *De differentiis* (ed. B. BYDÉN, George Gemistos [Plethon], *On Aristotle's Departures from Plato 0–19. Greek Text and English Translation*, in: *The Aristotelian Tradition: Aristotle's Works on Logic and Metaphysics and Their Reception in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. Bydén – C. Thomsen Thörnqvist. Toronto 2017, 267–296), lines 228–231 (= 327.40–328.3 Lagarde), partly echoing Philoponus, *In De an.* 9.39–10.3 (ed. Hayduck, *CAG* XV).

¹⁷ Michael, *In Parva nat.* 135.23–27 (ed. WENDLAND, *CAG* XXII/1); *In De motu an.* 121.1 (ed. HAYDUCK, *CAG* XXII/2).

¹⁸ For the commentary on the *Analytica posteriora*, see P. MORAUX, Le commentaire d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise aux "Seconds analytiques" d'Aristote (*Peripatoi* 13). Berlin – New York 1979. For the others, see MORAUX, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen III* (as in n. 12).

¹⁹ For the Marcianus, see H. USENER, Interpreten des Aristoteles, *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* N.F. 20 (1865) 133–136; for the Vaticanus, see HAYDUCK in *CAG* XVIII/3, v; for the Hierosolymitanus, see WENDLAND in *CAG* III/1, xvii–xix.

that by one “Alexios”. The fact that a commentary on the *Topics* by “Alexios of Aphrodisias” is also included in the list reinforces the suspicion that the *De sensu* commentary meant is really Alexander’s.

There are half a dozen manuscripts from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries preserving all or substantial parts of Alexander’s commentary, usually as a continuous text. The oldest of these may be Mutinensis 80 (a.R.5.22 [*Diktyon* 43386]) from the late twelfth century, whose text ends at 51.20 WENDLAND. The mid-to-late thirteenth-century Oceanus of the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Laur. Plut. 85,1 [*Diktyon* 16761])²⁰ contains the second book only, that is to say, the commentary on chapters 5–7 of Aristotle’s work in modern editions. The oldest more or less complete witnesses are Vat. gr. 1028 (*Diktyon* 67659, s. XIV/XV) (WENDLAND’s V, text ends at p. 168.12 W) and Marc. gr. Z 230 (*Diktyon* 69701, s. XIV in.) (WENDLAND’s A, complete). Of the two remaining *vetustiores*, Par. gr. 1921 (*Diktyon* 51548, c. 1360) contains no less than three versions of Alexander’s commentary or parts thereof: (1) the latter half of Book 1 (pp. 46.12–87.12 W) as a continuous text (ff. 1r–4v); (2) substantial excerpts, apparently taken from a badly damaged exemplar, in the margins of Aristotle’s text (ff. 142r–145v; 5r–9v); (3) the whole commentary (pp. 1.3–173.12 W) in the margins of Aristotle’s text (ff. 146r–169v)²¹. In Par. gr. 1925 (*Diktyon* 51552, s. XII)²², on the other hand, only the latter half of the commentary is found (from p. 77.10 W).

In addition, as we have already seen in the case of Par. gr. 1921, some manuscripts of Aristotle’s work exhibit marginal scholia. To the best of my knowledge, no systematic study of these has been published, but to the extent that they have been examined, notably by David Bloch²³, they seem to derive for the most part from Alexander’s commentary²⁴. There are not strictly speaking any scholia to the *De sensu* in codex E, the famous Par. gr. 1853 (*Diktyon* 51479)²⁵, but, according to Bloch, more than a few (51, to be exact) are shared by two of E’s fourteenth-century descendants, Par. Suppl. gr. 314 (*Diktyon* 53069) and Vat. Urb. gr. 37 (*Diktyon* 66504)²⁶.

More interesting for our purposes is the fact that three manuscripts in Bloch’s θ-group (part of the β family of witnesses to Aristotle’s *Parva naturalia*, roughly equivalent to Siwek’s families II–V), some of which may date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, have a number of scholia in common, partly excerpted from Alexander’s commentary. This is true of Vat. gr. 260 (*Diktyon* 66891, dated variously between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries), Vat. gr. 1026 (*Diktyon* 67657, s. XIII/XIV) and Laur. Plut. 87,20 (*Diktyon* 16837, s. XIV)²⁷. Scholia deriving from Alexander’s commentary are also found in Laur. Plut. 87,4 (*Diktyon* 16821, s. XII) and Vat. gr. 1339 (*Diktyon* 67970, s. XIV)²⁸. In addition, Bloch suspects contamination from Alexander’s commentary in several unre-

²⁰ For the date of the Laurentianus, see B. MONDRAIN, La constitution de corpus d’Aristote et de ses commentateurs aux XIII^e–XIV^e siècles. *Codices manuscripti* 29 (2000) 11–33, here 18–19.

²¹ See WENDLAND in *CAG* III/1, vii; ix–x; xiv. Cf. J. WIESNER, Zu den Scholien der *Parva naturalia* des Aristoteles, in: Proceedings of the World Congress On Aristotle (Thessaloniki, August 7–14, 1978). Athens 1981, I 233–237, esp. 234–236, who erroneously maintains that there are only two copies of the text in the manuscript.

²² Dating suggested by Lutz Koch in private communication. WENDLAND ascribed Par. gr. 1925 to the 14th century (*CAG* III/1, vii).

²³ D. BLOCH, Alexander of Aphrodisias as a Textual Witness. The Commentary on the *De sensu*. *CIMAGL* 74 (2003) 21–38; D. BLOCH, The Text of Aristotle’s *De sensu* and *De memoria*. *Revue d’histoire des textes* n.s. 3 (2008) 1–58.

²⁴ However, some of the scholia (including the interlinear ones) on ff. 142r–145v and 5r–9v of Par. gr. 1921 seem not to have been culled from Alexander’s commentary.

²⁵ Although the clarification, by the first hand, of a reference to *Gen. Corr.* at 441b12 in the margin of f. 205v might derive from Alexander (72.26–27).

²⁶ BLOCH, The Text of Aristotle’s *De sensu* (as in n. 23) 15 n. 45.

²⁷ BLOCH, The Text of Aristotle’s *De sensu* 26; 30; 42.

²⁸ BLOCH, The Text of Aristotle’s *De sensu* 44 n. 142; 55.

lated branches of the textual tradition of Aristotle's work, in which case, of course, the commentary must have been accessible to different scribes at different times²⁹.

Finally, mention must be made of William of Moerbeke's translation of Alexander's commentary, probably executed during his sojourn in Thebes in 1260³⁰. Moerbeke's Greek exemplar must have been superior to any of the manuscripts surviving today: Paul Wendland deemed his translation the best witness in the α family (together with the seventeenth-century transcription of a lost manuscript in the margins of a copy of the Aldine edition in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), on the sole testimony of Thurot's edition, itself based on a single manuscript of poor quality³¹. Moerbeke also drew on Alexander's commentary for the preface to his translation of the *De partibus animalium*, which was finished in Thebes on 23 December, 1260³².

THE INFLUENCE OF ALEXANDER'S COMMENTARY ON ORIGINAL BYZANTINE WORKS: (1) FROM MICHAEL PSELLOS TO GEORGE PACHYMERES

Let us now turn to the evidence of an influence of Alexander's commentary on original works from the period after Iconoclasm. Not that the distinction between collections of scholia and original works is always so easy to maintain, a circumstance which is well illustrated by the earliest surviving original work in Greek to be undeniably and heavily indebted to Alexander's commentary. This is found on ff. 408v–409r of the famous miscellany in the Bodleian library, Barocci 131 (*Diktyon* 47418)³³. Among the diverse and sundry items on philosophical subjects contained in this part of the codex is a short essay purporting to provide the answers to two questions asked by an unnamed addressee. Only the first question is relevant to the interests of this paper³⁴. This is the coordination problem that, according to Aristotle in *De sensu* 2 (437a19–22), is bedevilling "certain people": If each sense (organ) is made up of a different element, how can there be five senses and only four elements?

The answer is pieced together from passages in Alexander's commentary, in such a way that it pits against each other, on the one hand, Plato's view in the *Timaeus* (65b–69a), to which the unnamed addressee is said to subscribe, namely that sight consists of fire, hearing of air, taste of water, touch of earth and smell of an intermediate between air and water, and, on the other hand, the view osten-

²⁹ BLOCH, The Text of Aristotle's *De sensu* 18; 19; 20; 31; 36; 54.

³⁰ See the Introduction in Thomae de Aquino Opera omnia, vol. 45/2, *Sentencia libri de sensu et sensato cuius secundus tractatus est de memoria et reminiscencia*. Rome – Paris 1985, ch. 4.1, esp. pp. 92*–94*. Where Moerbeke had found his Greek exemplar is unclear: his translation of Alexander's commentary on the *Meteorology* is dated *apud Niceam, urbem Grece* on the 24 April, 1260, but scholars have disagreed as to whether the city referred to should be identified as Nicaea in Bithynia, Nike in Thrace or Nikli in Arcadia (ibid.).

³¹ WENDLAND in *CAG* III/1, viii–ix. Cf. H. USENER in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 3/34 (1876) 534–539. THUROT's edition of Moerbeke's translation (in: Alexandre d'Aphrodisias, *Commentaire sur le traité d'Aristote De sensu et sensibili* édité avec la vieille traduction latine par Charles Thurot, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 25/2 [1875] 5–367) has not yet been superseded, although a critical edition in the series *Aristoteles Latinus* has been announced by C. DI MARTINO, *Le Commentaire du De sensu par Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, in: *Les Parva naturalia d'Aristote. Fortune antique et médiévale*, ed. C. Grellard – P.-M. Morel. Paris 2010, 77–100, here 77 n. 1. Of the four manuscripts preserving Moerbeke's translation, Thurot used only Par. lat. 14714, "qui est nettement le moins bon des quatre témoins", according to W. VANHAMEL, *Biobibliographie de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, in: *Guillaume de Moerbeke. Recueil d'études à l'occasion du 700e anniversaire de sa mort (1286)*, ed. J. Brams – W. Vanhamel. Leuven 1989, 301–383, here 350–352.

³² See A. J. SMET, Chapitre 1. La traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke, in: Alexandre d'Aphrodisias, *Commentaire sur les Météores d'Aristote: Traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. A. J. Smet. Louvain – Paris 1968, xi–xiv. Cf. G. VUILLEMIN-DIEM, La traduction de la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote par Guillaume de Moerbeke et son exemplaire grec: *Vind. phil. gr.* 100 (J), in: *Aristoteles, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. J. Wiesner. Berlin – New York 1987, II 434–486, here 483 n. 48.

³³ On which see N. G. WILSON, A Byzantine Miscellany. MS Barocci 131 Described. *JÖB* 27 (1978) 157–179.

³⁴ The second, ill-formed, question is "what is the part of the political art?" The answer is culled from Aspasius' commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* (6.28–30, ed. HEYLBUT, *CAG* XIX/1): it is the care of each particular citizen.

sibly defended by Aristotle in *De sensu* 2 (438b16–439a5), that sight consists of water, hearing of air, smelling of fire (since odours are supposed to be “smoke-like evaporations”—but, as Aristotle concludes in *De sensu* 5, 443a29–b1, since odours exist in water, they cannot be smoke-like evaporations, which do not) and both touch and taste of earth³⁵. The author of the essay fails to call attention to the explicitly hypothetical character of Aristotle’s argument (438b17–19) or indeed to any of Alexander’s warnings not to take it at face value (38.12–41.6). Some of the passages from Alexander are presented as reports of Aristotle’s views, some even as quotations of his words. The actual source is not mentioned. The Baroccianus is dated in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, but much of its content is evidently older. The collection of philosophical material on ff. 397v–446v has been plausibly connected with the activities of Michael Psellos, the famous historian and polymath in the third quarter of the eleventh century³⁶. This applies to our treatise as well, which was accordingly edited as opusculum 8 of Psellos’ *Philosophica minora*, vol. 2, by Dominic O’MEARA³⁷.

Michael of Ephesus’ dependence on Alexander’s commentary for the preface to his own commentary on the *De memoria et reminiscentia*—as well as a possible echo in Eustratius of Nicaea’s commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* 6—have been noted above (n. 12).

When it comes to those works from Late Byzantium that discuss the organs and objects of sense perception more independently of Aristotle’s treatise, methodological caveats apply: the relatively expository nature of Alexander’s commentary may make it difficult to establish beyond doubt whether a particular passage is influenced by it or by Aristotle’s treatise. In addition, part of what Alexander says in the few digressions that his commentary does contain is also repeated in other works correctly or otherwise attributed to him, which means that even relatively close matches are not always conclusive proof of the use of his commentary.

All the same, when I started collecting material for this paper I thought I had reason to hope I would find evidence of the use of Alexander’s commentary in a number of early Palaiologan works. To be sure, I had already realized that Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–1272), that cantankerous grand old man of Late Byzantine philosophy, was drawing on Alexander’s *Meteorology* commentary rather than the *De sensu* one for his brief account of the extramission theory of sight in the *Epitome physica*, ch. 21 (c. 1263)³⁸. But in the *apparatus fontium* of a subsequently published edition of the philosophical works of Nikephoros Choumnos (c. 1250–1327)³⁹, Alexander’s *De sensu* commentary is mentioned a dozen times with reference to passages in the treatise *On the Nutritive and the Perceptive Souls*⁴⁰. Alas, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the only passage for which it is legitimate to

³⁵ Nikephoros Blemmydes, *De anima* 34.30–35.34 (ed. anon. in: Νικηφόρου μοναστοῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ Βλεμμίδου Ἐπιτομὴ Λογικῆς Leipzig 1784, III 29–48 = 13.3–15.6 Verhelst), who plumps for the Platonic resolution to the coordination problem, adding ἄτμις, “steam”, as a fifth element “in between air and water”, may possibly have drawn inspiration from the Baroccian text (or, less likely, from Alexander himself), although his discussion here and elsewhere in the work is clearly more indebted to Galen (in this case notably *De instrumento odoratus* 2.10–11). For steam being “a kind of humid exhalation, consisting as it does of air and water, in the process of being changed into water”, see Alexander, *In De sensu* 92.28–93.1 (explicating Aristotle, *De sensu* 5, 443a26–28). In contrast to the Baroccian text and Alexander (41.2–6), Blemmydes thinks that the organs of touch and taste are connected to the brain like all the others (*De anima* 35.10–17 ≈ 14.1–6 Verhelst).

³⁶ I. N. PONTIKOS’ argument (Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica. A Miscellany in the Tradition of Michael Psellos [Cod. Baroccianus Gr. 131]. Athens 1992, xxxix) for reassigning this collection to the twelfth century is unconvincing (cf. J. DUFFY, Hellenic Philosophy in Byzantium and the Lonely Mission of Michael Psellos, in: *Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources*, ed. K. Ierodiakonou. Oxford 2002, 139–156, here 153).

³⁷ It was re-edited as Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica 7 by PONTIKOS (Anonymi Miscellanea Philosophica 19–22).

³⁸ See B. BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites’ *Stoicheiosis astronomike* and the Study of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics in Early Palaiologan Byzantium. Gothenburg 2003, 203–205. Regarding Blemmydes’ *De anima*, see above n. 35.

³⁹ K. P. CHRESTOU, Τὸ φιλοσοφικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Νικηφόρου Χούμνου. Thessaloniki 2002.

⁴⁰ The full title is Περὶ τῆς θρεπτικῆς καὶ αἰσθητικῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ ταύτας κινήσεων, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῆς λογιστικῆς ἱκανῶς ἔσμεν πρότερον καὶ ἐπισκεψάμενοι καὶ εἰρηκότες.

infer that the source is Alexander's commentary rather than Aristotle's treatise is one where Choumnos argues, as against Aristotle's interpretation of Plato's theory of sight, that all movement comes to pass in time, so if sight involves the movement of something from the eye to the visible object (and assuming, no doubt, that this movement is always of equal speed), the time required for seeing will vary in direct proportion to the distance from the eye to the visible object, whereas in fact we see far and near objects alike instantaneously and simultaneously (113.13–20 CHRESTOU). This is roughly what Alexander also says in his commentary, at 30.1–6⁴¹. All other resemblances that Choumnos' treatise bears to Alexander's commentary but not to Aristotle's treatise seem to be superficial and insignificant⁴².

Similarly, I was encouraged by the results of my own previous studies to expect to find in Alexander's commentary the origin of two of the arguments against an extramission theory of sight (and in favour of an intromission one) deployed in Nikephoros Gregoras' (1293/94–1360/61) second *Solution to Helena Palaiologina* (c. 1357)⁴³. But again, my expectations were dashed. It remains a possibility, but nothing more, that at least one of these arguments (500–501.111–118 Leone) was inspired by either Aristotle's or Alexander's account of the reflections in the eye underlying Democritus' theory of sight.

Let us turn, for safer bets, to the few works of the period especially designed to shed light on Aristotle's doctrines in the *De sensu*. The first of these is George Pachymeres' (1242–after 1307) *Philosophia* 8.1–2 (Berol. Ham. 512 [*Diktyon* 9300], ff. 132r–136r)⁴⁴. This is a compendious account of sense perception and its objects in close dependence on Aristotle. In fact, Pachymeres follows roughly the same cut-and-paste method in this as in other books of the *Philosophia*: his text is about half as long as Aristotle's and half of the sentences it contains are copied from Aristotle's text with no or slight adjustments⁴⁵. I have examined chapter 8.1 (ff. 132r–134r), which corresponds to the first three chapters of Aristotle's treatise. In this there are five details, all of them quite trivial, which are not found in Aristotle but may well originate from Alexander. Most of these also crop up in Theodore Metochites' paraphrase of the *De sensu*, of which I will say more in a little while.

The five details are the following: (P1) When Aristotle says at 436b4–6 that all the “most important functions” of living beings are accompanied or enabled by sense perception, as affections or states of it, as means of defending and safeguarding it or as privations and destructions of it, Pachymeres specifies that sleep is an affection of sense perception; memories and recollections are means of defending and safeguarding—not sense perception, surprisingly, but the animals themselves—whereas instances of forgetfulness are privations and deaths are destructions⁴⁶. This corresponds to Alexander, *In De sensu* 7.25–8.4, except, of course, that the Aphrodisian does not commit Pachymeres' mistake regarding what memories and recollections are supposed to defend and safeguard.

⁴¹ And similarly in *Mantissa* 130.6b–12 (ed. R. W. SHARPLES, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *De anima libri mantissa* [*Peripatoi* 21], Berlin – New York 2008).

⁴² For a brief discussion of Choumnos' treatise and its sources, see BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis astronomike* (as in n. 38) 206–208, and, most recently, R. BETANCOURT, *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*. Cambridge 2018, 46–50.

⁴³ Cf. BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis astronomike* 209. Gregoras' text was edited by P. L. M. LEONE, in: Nicephori Gregorae “Antilogia” et “Solutiones quaestionum”. *Byz* 40 (1970) 471–516, esp. 497–502.

⁴⁴ Pantelis GOLITSIS has argued in favour of a date of composition in c. 1307 for the *Philosophia* (La date de composition de la *Philosophia* de Georges Pachymère et quelques précisions sur la vie de l'auteur. *REB* 67 [2009] 209–215).

⁴⁵ On Pachymeres' method in the *Philosophia*, see K. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΟΣ, Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης: Φιλοσοφία, Βιβλίον ἐνδέκατον, Τὰ Ἠθικά, ἦτοι τὰ Νικομάχεια. Athens 2005, 19*–23*, and my review in *JÖB* 58 (2008) 261–263, esp. 262.

⁴⁶ ὅτι δὲ πάντα τὰ λεχθέντα κοινὰ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος οὐκ ἄδηλον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως συμβαίνει, τὰ δὲ δι' αἰσθήσεως. ὕπνος δὲ πάθος αἰσθήσεως· μνήμαι δὲ καὶ ἀναμνήσεις φυλακαὶ σωτηρίαι ζώων· λήθαι δὲ στερήσεις· θάνατοι δὲ φθοραί (f. 132r).

(P2) When Aristotle says at 436b12–15 that touch necessarily belongs to all animals “for the reason stated in the *De anima*”, Pachymeres explains that animals perish unless they maintain their “bodily equilibrium”⁴⁷, a phrase which parallels the remarks of Alexander, *In De sensu* 9.2–5; 9.8–11.

(P3) In presenting two possible alternatives for the elemental make-up of the organ of smell, namely fire, as ostensibly defended by Aristotle at 438b20–27 of our treatise, or air, which is a possibility entertained by Aristotle in *De anima* 3.1 (425a3–7), Pachymeres notes (f. 132v) that air is “transodorant” (δίοσμος), a word used by Alexander in his comments on *De sensu* 5 (89.2), but admittedly also by the ancient commentators on the *De anima*⁴⁸.

(P4) Like Alexander (41.21–23), Pachymeres corrects (f. 133r) Aristotle’s use of the word “touch” (ἅφή) in the list of special sense objects at 439a10–12, adding the more appropriate term “tangible object” (ἅπτόν).

(P5) Pachymeres’ summary of the different ways in which Aristotle considers, from 439b18 onward, that the colours other than black and white might come about is strongly reminiscent, in language and content, of what Alexander says at *In De sensu* 52.27–53.2, except that Pachymeres conflates the juxtaposition theory first set out by Aristotle with Aristotle’s own preferred blending theory, even substituting in this context the word κρᾶσις for μίξις (Alexander admits at 55.7–8 that some people say that κρᾶσις comes about through juxtaposition but himself reserves the term exclusively for blending [cf. 65.1])⁴⁹.

One may note, in passing, that Pachymeres seems to have considered what we would call a spiritualist account of the actualization of the sense organs to be opposed to Aristotle’s view, when he writes (in response to the suggestion, in 438b20–27, that the sense of smell consists of fire): “Odour is in actuality fire, since it is a smoke-like evaporation. Therefore the organ of smell, too, is potentially smoke and heat, the end and actuality of which is fire, unless one were to object to the Philosopher that the sense organs do not become what the sense objects are substantially, but cognitively and discriminatively.”⁵⁰

I am not going to say anything about Sophonias’ (alias Ps.-Themistius’) paraphrase of the *Parva naturalia* (CAG V/6), which leaves out not only the *De sensu*, but also the *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, the *De iuventute et senectute*, the *De vita et morte* and the *De respiratione*. It is heavily dependent on Michael’s commentaries, which probably explains why it omits the *De sensu* (but not, of course, why it omits the last four treatises). Since it does, one might think that when Sophonias claims, in the introduction to his paraphrase of the *De memoria* (1.9–10), to have previously written on sensible objects and sense perception, he should be understood as referring to the relevant parts of his paraphrase of the *De anima*. It is more likely, however, that his claim is simply a result of his con-

⁴⁷ ἅφη τοίνυν καὶ γεῦσις πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις ἀκολουθεῖ· ἀφή μὲν διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν συμμετρίαν, ὥς λέλεκται· εἰ γὰρ μὴ σύμμετρος εἴη αὐτή, τὸ ζῶον φθείρεται ... (f. 132r).

⁴⁸ Themistius, *In De an.* 62.32; 69.9 (ed. HEINZE, CAG V/1); Priscian (*olim* Simplicius), *In De an.* 139.2–6 *et alibi* (ed. HAYDUCK, CAG XI); Philoponus, *In De an.* 253.4–5 *et passim* (ed. HAYDUCK, CAG XV).

⁴⁹ ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄερί τὸ μὲν φῶς, τὸ δὲ σκότος, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι ἐγγίνεται τὸ λευκὸν καὶ τὸ μέλαν· τὰ δὲ μέσα τούτων ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλα | κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῆς τῶν ἁκρῶν κράσεως. καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔχει ταῦτα ταῖς συμφωνίαις (f. 133r–v).

⁵⁰ ἡ ὁδμὴ δὲ ἐνεργεῖα πῦρ, ὥς καπνώδης ἀναθυμίασις. ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὀσφραντικὸν δυνάμει καπνὸς καὶ θερμόν, ὃ δὴ τελειοῦται καὶ ἐνεργεῖα πῦρ γίνεται, εἰ μὴ γέ τις λέγοι πρὸς τὸν Φιλόσοφον· ἀλλὰ γνωστικῶς τε καὶ κριτικῶς, οὐκ οὐσιωδῶς, τὰ αἰσθητήρια ὅπερ | τὰ αἰσθητὰ γίνονται (ff. 132v–133r). It is worth mentioning that the phrase “γνωστικῶς καὶ κριτικῶς” most likely derives from a passage in Priscian’s (*olim* Simplicius’) commentary on Aristotle’s *De anima* (125.19–23), which was reutilized in the commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics* edited by Linos BENAKIS as the work of Michael Psellos (Michael Psellos Kommentar zur Physik des Aristoteles. Athens 2008, 89.21–90.5) but plausibly reattributed to Pachymeres by Pantelis GOLITSIS (Un commentaire perpétuel de Georges Pachymère à la *Physique* d’Aristote, faussement attribué à Michel Psellos. *BZ* 100 [2007] 637–676). Priscian’s commentary is one of the main sources for Pachymeres’ *Philosophia* 7 (Τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς): cf. especially ch. 3.8, Berol. Ham. 512, 126v–129v, with Priscian’s comments on *De anima* 3.6–8.

scious and consistent employment of a first-person mode of presentation (the conceit that Michael Psellos described as “donning the mask of Aristotle”)⁵¹.

THE INFLUENCE OF ALEXANDER'S COMMENTARY ON ORIGINAL BYZANTINE WORKS: (2) THEODORE METOCHITES

Instead, we should turn to what I like to think of as the *clou* of our story, Theodore Metochites' paraphrase of Aristotle's *De sensu*. In my opinion, the most likely date of publication for Metochites' paraphrases of Aristotle's writings on natural philosophy is around 1312–1313, although a date in 1320–1321 is also possible⁵². These paraphrases cover all the *Parva naturalia*, but in the oldest

⁵¹ For Psellos, see K. IERODIAKONOU, Psellos' Paraphrasis on Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, in: Byzantine Philosophy and Its Ancient Sources, ed. K. Ierodiakonou. Oxford 2002, 157–181, here 165 and n. 31. For Sophonias' adoption of Psellos' conceit, see his *In De anima* 2.28–34, esp. 2.33–34 (ed. HAYDUCK, in *CAG* XXIII/1). For his consistent employment of it, see B. BYDÉN, Λογοτεχνικές καινοτομίες στα πρώιμα παλαιολόγια υπομνήματα στο *Περὶ ψυχῆς* του Αριστοτέλη. *Ypomnema ste Philosophia* 4 (2006) 221–251, here 231–232.

⁵² For a careful discussion of the evidence, see M. BORCHERT, Der paraphrastische Kommentar des Theodoros Metochites zu Aristoteles' *De generatione et corruptione*. Handschriftliche Überlieferung, Textkritische Edition und Übersetzung. Unpublished PhD-thesis, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena 2011, xxvii–xxxii. Borchert is inclined towards a date of composition in 1317–1321, but admits that the evidence is inconclusive. My own reasons for preferring the earlier date were stated in BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis astronomike* (as in n. 38) 35 n. 114. As regards Borchert's arguments in favour of the later date, I would like to say the following. Unfortunately, the address to an unnamed dedicatee in Metochites' poem to the paraphrases (ed. H. J. DROSSAART LULOFS, *Aristotelis de somno et vigilia liber adiectis veteribus translationibus et Theodori Metochitae commentario*. Leiden 1943, 12.26–32) is too obscure in some of its details to allow us to identify the person meant with any confidence, but I agree with BORCHERT (Der paraphrastische Kommentar xxxii) that Nikephoros Choumnos is a likelier candidate than Nikephoros Gregoras. An especially problematic sentence is the one that suggests that the paraphrases will be ... καὶ πλείονος ἀμέλει λόγου, ἢ ὅσα κομῶν πλείστα βιωτικῆς εὐκληρίας φθάσανθ' ἡμῶν παρεσκευάσται σοι, τῆς τοῦ ... δεσπότης ... εὐγενείας καὶ εὐποιίας ... ἐπαρκούσης ... (12.30–32 DROSSAART LULOFS), translated by BORCHERT as “... von größerem Wert als was Dir vor mir alles reichlich an Wohlergehen bereitet wurde, indem die edle Gesinnung und ... Wohltätigkeit des ... Kaisers ... half” (Der paraphrastische Kommentar xxxi n. 79, original italics). As BORCHERT notes (Der paraphrastische Kommentar xxxii), it is difficult to reconcile the suggestion that many valuable things have been prepared for the dedicatee, with the emperor's help, before Metochites' days with the hypothesis that the dedicatee is Gregoras, who arrived in Constantinople as a twenty-year-old, probably in 1313/1314, to be introduced at court only in 1321 (see H.-V. BEYER, Eine Chronologie der Lebensgeschichte des Nikephoros Gregoras. *JÖB* 27 [1978] 127–155). However, while it is certainly not impossible to understand the text as Borchert does, it is worth pointing out (a) that there seem to be no other examples of φθάνω with a genitive of comparison in Metochites' *œuvre*, and (b) that one might expect the dative after the perfect middle-passive παρεσκευάσται to express the agent (as, e.g., in Theodore Metochites, *Logos* 10.18, ed. I. POLEMIS, Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης, Ἡθικός ἢ περὶ παιδείας. Athens 2002, 82.6–8: λόγοι ... ἐσκευασμένοι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ...; cf. also IDEM, *Semeioseis gnomikai* 1.2.4, ed. K. HULT, Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy. *Semeioseis gnomikai* 1–26 & 71. Gothenburg 2002, 22.17–18: ὅσα περὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς ἀσκήσιν ἅπαντα φθάσαντα τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰργασταὶ [punctuation modified]). Taking ἡμῶν, then, as a possessive with ὅσα ... πλείστα ... φθάσανθ' (as in, e.g., Nikephoros Choumnos, Epist. 25, ed. J. F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Nova*. Paris 1844, 32.6: πάνθ' ὅσα ἡμῶν), one might arrive at the following interpretation: “... indeed, of greater value even than all those very many contributions to my everyday prosperity that you have already made, with the help of the emperor's generosity and benevolence”. This interpretation has the additional advantage of making Metochites favourably compare his own intellectual gift to the dedicatee with the dedicatee's former material benefits to him, which seems perfectly in keeping with the sort of one-upmanship commonly practiced between Palaiologan courtiers (not least between Metochites and Choumnos), rather than with the emperor's former material benefits to the dedicatee, which seems an unexpectedly irreverent thing to do. Obviously, it too excludes the possibility of Gregoras' being the dedicatee. If Choumnos is indeed the dedicatee, there is nothing to prevent a date between c. 1310 (when Choumnos returned from his governorship of Salonica) and c. 1315 (when Choumnos started sending essays on natural philosophy to Metochites). — BORCHERT's main argument in favour of the later date is that Metochites, in a passage of his *Stoicheiosis astronomike* (1: 3.101–110, ed. BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis astronomike*, 453), published in 1316/1317 (see *Stoicheiosis astronomike* 1: 1.513–514 and 1: 1.635–636, ed. BYDÉN, Theodore Metochites' *Stoicheiosis astronomike*, 434 and 438), appears to be referring to the paraphrases as a forthcoming work (Der paraphrastische Kommentar xxix–xxx). But the matter is not so simple. It is true that Metochites uses the optative of wish in speaking of his own contribution to the field of natural philosophy (1: 3.101–106), and it seems reasonable to see this as an indication that he had not yet—or had only

manuscripts, Vat. gr. 303 (*Diktyon* 66934) (V), Par. gr. 1866/1935 (*Diktyon* 51492/51562) and Marc. gr. Z 239 (*Diktyon* 69710), the treatises are not presented in the traditional order. The paraphrase of the *De sensu* is always found at the very end, immediately after the paraphrase of the *Meteorology*, which has been similarly dislocated (it follows after the zoological treatises)⁵³. This is not because Metochites had an unconventional approach to the order of Aristotle's writings. He readily acknowledges, in the first few lines of the *De sensu* paraphrase, that the *De sensu* "ought to be placed in sequence after the *De anima*"⁵⁴. He does not explain why he has in fact strayed from the correct order, but the reason is not too difficult to guess. Metochites needed commentaries to carry out his work. The only Greek commentary on the *De sensu* was still that by Alexander. Presumably, then, this was not available to Metochites at the time when he finished his *De anima* paraphrase⁵⁵. Since he also used Alexander's commentary on the *Meteorology*, the paraphrase of which, as I said, immediately precedes that of the *De sensu* in the manuscripts of Metochites' work, one may venture to surmise that this lack was eventually remedied by a manuscript containing Alexander's commentaries on both the *Meteorology* and the *De sensu*. There are several manuscripts which satisfy this description: an early example is Marc. gr. Z 230 (*Diktyon* 69701)⁵⁶.

The abridgments of Metochites' paraphrases transmitted in Vat. gr. 115 (*Diktyon* 66746), a partial autograph by George Scholarios, do not include the *De sensu* paraphrase⁵⁷. Perhaps it was missing from his exemplar, a likely enough scenario in view of its position at the end of the collection. In support of this hypothesis one may cite the fact that Scholarios' abridgment of the *Meteorology*

recently—published any work in the field, but he also clearly states in the aorist indicative that he *has already* received the seeds that he hopes will bear such fruit and that he *has already* done some serious work on the subject (1: 3.106–110). Moreover, even if the paraphrases were still unpublished when this passage was composed, it is not clear what the consequences are, since we do not know when it was composed. It is perfectly possible—perhaps even probable—that Book 1, chapters 2–5 were among the first parts of the *Stoicheiosis* to be written when Metochites set to work in 1312/1313. And even if the paraphrases did remain unpublished in 1316/1317, it is not very likely that Metochites would have been able to expend much labour on them in the intervening years, which he had devoted to mastering such a demanding (and neglected) scientific discipline as mathematical astronomy well enough to write a more than 800-folio-pages-long handbook on the subject, besides his daytime duties as minister of finance (λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ) and personal adviser to the emperor (μεσάζων). We would still have to suppose, then, that the paraphrases were mainly composed in the years before 1312/1313. BORCHERT further argues (Der paraphrastische Kommentar xxx) that the announcement of the *Paraphrases* as a καινότερα σπουδή in Metochites' proem (11.16 DROSSAART LULOFS) may imply a comparison with the *Stoicheiosis* as an older work. But in the preceding lines no reference has been made to any previous publications by the author, let alone to the *Stoicheiosis*. In so far as a definite comparison is implied, it must be with the charitable deeds commended by the ancient Pythagoreans, which are mentioned in 11.6–11 DROSSAART LULOFS. It may be noted that in *Poem* 12 (ed. M. CUNNINGHAM – J. FEATHERSTONE – S. GEORGIOPOULOU, Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 [1983] 100–116), where Metochites speaks expressly of both the *Stoicheiosis* and the *Paraphrases*, it is the former, not the latter, which is qualified as καιν[ή] (line 267).

⁵³ Vat. gr. 303, ff. 579r–596v; Marc. gr. Z 239, ff. 541v–557r; Par. gr. 1935, ff. 277r–294r.

⁵⁴ Ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ Περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίον ἀκολούθως ὀφείλει μετὰ τὰ Περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλία τάττεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ ἐν προοιμίῳς τούτου τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτίκα τοῦτο δηλοποιεῖ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης (V, f. 579r).

⁵⁵ As was suggested by C. LOHR (Theodorus Metochites, Paraphrasis in Aristotelis Universam Naturalem Philosophiam übersetzt von Gentianus Hervetus. Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt 1992, x).

⁵⁶ Nikephoros Choumnos reveals in one of his letters (Epist. 76, addressed to Theodora Raoulaina, d. 1300, ed. J. F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Nova*. Paris 1844, 91–93) that he had in his possession a poorly executed and unreliable manuscript of Aristotle's *Meteorology* with Alexander's commentary "and some other of Aristotle's works, which there is no need to enumerate" (92.18–19). It could have been this manuscript that Metochites finally laid his hands on.

⁵⁷ For Scholarios' abridgments of Metochites' paraphrases, see most recently J. A. DEMETRACOPOULOS, George Scholarios' Abridgment of the *Parva naturalia*. Its Place in His *Œuvre* and in the History of Byzantine Aristotelianism, in: *The Parva naturalia* in Greek, Latin and Arabic Aristotelianism, ed. Bydén – Radovic (as in n. 1) 233–315, esp. 239–260. See also M. CACOUROS, Ο Γεώργιος Σχολάριος εξηγητής του Αριστοτέλους, ερμηνείας του Μετοχίτου καὶ μεταφραστικῆς λατινικῶν ἐργῶν στο corpus aristotelicum. Athens 2015.

paraphrase stops short after book 4, chap. 1 (at 378b26). What the hypothesis fails to explain is why Scholarios also omitted the paraphrases of *De generatione et corruptione*, *De partibus animalium*, *De incessu animalium* and *De generatione animalium*.

Metochites' method in the *De sensu* paraphrase differs somewhat from that in his earlier paraphrases. Most noticeably, he does not shrink here from reproducing whole phrases, even sentences, of Aristotle's text practically as they stand, whereas, for instance, in his *De anima* paraphrase, his borrowings are almost always carefully rephrased and integrated with the flow of his own prose. Possibly, this is a sign of haste. Such verbatim borrowings from Alexander's commentary are naturally shorter and fewer—Aristotle always being the primary source—but those that do occur leave no doubt that the commentary has been systematically consulted (or perhaps a collection of scholia based on it: for instance, like the one in version 2 of Par. gr. 1921, for which see above).

On the other hand, Metochites continues his established practice of passing over any material of a more digressive nature in his secondary sources. Thus it is not unexpected to find only very little corresponding to Alexander's arguments against the extramission and effluence theories of sight (*In De sensu* 28–31; 56–58). The only passage in which any of these arguments are utilized is the following:

[Aristotle] says [*De sensu* 2, 438a25–b2] that it is unreasonable of some people to believe that light flows out of the eyes and that visible objects are seen by means of this [light]. For how could it extend even as far as the heaven and the stars? For since it is corporeal it will necessarily become attenuated when extended, and indeed more so the more it is extended [cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 28.16–19]. For one can observe that also water, after it has been poured out, if it travels a long distance, gradually peters out and lessens, and it is evident that flames, starting from a wider span, gradually reach a pointed end [cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 29.8–11]⁵⁸.

Similarly, Alexander's account of the transparent (*In De sensu* 43–53), which is one of the few sections of his commentary in which it can be reasonably argued that he departs from Aristotle's intentions⁵⁹, has left little if any mark on Metochites' exposition. It is clear that Metochites has read it (or parts of it), since he avails himself of one of Alexander's explanations (*In De sensu* 49.15–16) as to why colour cannot be the limit of a body, namely that the limit of a body, that is, its surface, is a quantum, whereas colour is a quale⁶⁰. But there are, for instance, no echoes in his paraphrase of Alexander's often repeated catchphrase, that the medium of sight receives the colours without being affected (οὐ παθητικῶς: Alex. *In De sensu* 19.4–6; 42.26–43.1; 47.3–4; 50.16–18; 52.1–2)⁶¹. Nor is the distinction between a narrow and a wide sense of “transparent”, on which Alexander's account partly trades (Alex. *In De sensu* 45.6–17)⁶², anywhere to be found. This may have been because

⁵⁸ Ὅτι ἀλόγως, φησί, δοκοῦσι τινες ὅτι ἔξεισι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φῶς καὶ διὰ τούτου ὁρᾶται τὰ ὁρατά· πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἀποτείνοντο μέχρι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄστρον; σωματῶδες γὰρ ὃν ἀνάγκη ἐκτείνόμενον ἐξίτηλον γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοσοῦτο μᾶλλον, ὅσον ἂν ἐκτείνοντο· ὁρᾶν γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπορρεῦσαν, εἰ μέχρι πολλοῦ προοδεύει, κατ' ὀλίγον λεπυνόμενον καὶ ἐλαττούμενον, καὶ ἡ φλόξ εἰς ὅξυ ἀπὸ εὐρυτέρου κατ' ὀλίγον φαίνεται καταλήγουσα (V, f. 582r).

⁵⁹ For a somewhat more and a somewhat less benevolent assessment of Alexander's account, see K. IERODIAKONOU, Aristotle and Alexander of Aphrodisias on Colour, and P. GREGORIC, Aristotle's Transparency: Comments on Ierodiakonou, “Aristotle and Alexander of Aphrodisias on Colour”, both in: *The Parva naturalia* in Greek, Latin and Arabic Aristotelianism, ed. Bydén – Radovic (as in n. 1) 77–90 and 91–98, respectively.

⁶⁰ ἄλλ' οὐ πέρας αὐτὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πέρας ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸ ποσόν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ σῶμα οὐ πέρας ἐστὶ, ἐτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐπιφάνεια, ὥς δίχα διαστατή, κατὰ μήκος δηλονότι καὶ πλάτος· τὸ δὲ χρῶμα ὑπὸ τὸ ποιόν ἐστι, καὶ διατοῦτο εἴρηται ἐν τῷ πέρατι εἶναι, εἴτουν ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ (V, f. 583r).

⁶¹ Thus Metochites will say, e.g., that “it is the movement through the transparent medium between the eye and the visible object that produces vision” (V, f. 582r, cf. Arist. *De sensu* 2, 438b3–5) without further comment.

⁶² For the distinction between a wide sense, according to which any body that “admits light” is “transparent”, and a narrow one, which further requires that things can be seen through it, see IERODIAKONOU, Aristotle and Alexander (as in n. 59) 80.

Metochites deemed Alexander's account to be a distortion of Aristotle's meaning, but it seems more likely that he simply found it too long-winded and difficult to be of any use.

In general, then, it is difficult to say to what extent Alexander's commentary has informed Metochites' understanding of Aristotle, partly owing to Metochites' own paraphrastic method and partly also to the relatively expository nature of the commentary. Instead, the commentary has been used by Metochites mainly for two purposes, namely, (1) to supply words or phrases that can either (a) be added in explication of or (b) substituted for the words or phrases used by Aristotle, and (2) to complement Aristotle's statements, either with (a) additional "background information", (b) clarifications of references, or, on occasion, (c) illustrative examples. In a few cases (3) Metochites has opted to paraphrase Alexander rather than Aristotle. The latter seems to happen mainly when the Aristotelian account is unusually condensed, e.g. the explanation of the "flash phenomenon" at *De sensu* 2, 437a31–b9⁶³ and the criticism of Democritus' theory of vision at 2, 438a7–9⁶⁴. Similarly, his account of the superimposition theory of colour (*De sensu* 3, 440a6–15) integrates some words and phrases from Alexander's account (*In De sensu* 55.15–56.5); and his paraphrase of Aristotle's argument in favour of the (qualified) superiority of hearing over sight as a source of understanding (*De sensu* 1, 437a11–17) owes something to Alexander, *In De sensu* 13.5–21, although Metochites could justifiably be taken to task for not having adequately upheld the distinction between *vocal* sounds and the objects of hearing *per se*⁶⁵.

Except for instances of the first category of borrowings, Metochites has not necessarily copied Alexander to the letter. Since the content of some of the borrowings in the second category is rather too elementary to be considered beyond the capacity of any Aristotelian scholar, the main reason for thinking that each of these (or at any rate most of them) is indeed a borrowing from Alexander's commentary is simply the circumstance that there are other unmistakable borrowings from that commentary in Metochites' paraphrase. Instances of the first category of borrowings seem to be rather evenly spread over the paraphrase. In combination with the fact that all borrowings largely follow the order of the commentary, this seems to suggest that Metochites has worked with both the Aristotelian text and Alexander's commentary constantly in front of him, perhaps in the form of a manuscript with the commentary (or substantial parts of it) in the margins.

Let me give a few examples of the two main categories of borrowings. (1) Among the relatively numerous words and phrases that Metochites shares with Alexander but not with Aristotle one may single out, if only for its wasted potentiality, the abstract quality noun διαφάνεια (Alex. *In De sensu* 44.12 et alibi). This might have served a useful purpose in the paraphrase, since it is not always immediately clear, when Aristotle talks about τὸ διαφανές, whether he means the quality or its bearer. Unfortunately, Metochites lets the opportunity slip away the moment he allows (in his paraphrase

Alexander himself insists on treating bodies that are transparent in the narrow sense as being simply *more* transparent than those which are so in the wide sense, apparently in order to connect it with Aristotle's statement in *De sensu* 3, 439a21–25 that transparency is present not only in air and water but also in the other bodies "in greater or lesser degree".

⁶³ καὶ συμβαίνειν ὥσπερ δύο εἶναι τηνικαῦτα τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν θλιβόμενον τε καὶ κινούμενον διὰ τὸ τάχος τῆς παραγωγῆς ὀρῶντά τε καὶ ὀρώμενον· ὀρώμενον μὲν ἐν τῇ παραγωγῇ, ὀρῶντα δὲ ἐν τῇ εἰς τὴν φύσιν ἡρεμία καὶ ἐπανόδῳ· στίλβει μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὡς ἐν μόνον ὡς ὀρῶν καὶ οὐχ' ὀράται· διὰ δὲ τὸ τάχος, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ ἐπανόδου αὐθις εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν, τὶ μὲν ὡς ὀρῶν, τὶ δὲ ὡς ὀρώμενος φαντάζεται καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ στιλβήδονα διὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ποιεῖται ὀρατὴν (V, f. 581r). Cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 17.12–23.

⁶⁴ τοῦτο δ' οὐ καλῶς ἐκείνον φησὶν οἶεσθαί τε καὶ λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ πέφυκεν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ τὴν ἔμφρασιν δέχεσθαι τὸ ὀρᾶν· οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἔμφρασις, οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῃ, οὐδὲ δι' ἐκείνην, ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν ὀρατικὴν δυνάμιν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνέργεια τῆς ὀράσεως (V, f. 581v). Cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 25.1–7.

⁶⁵ ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ φωναὶ τοῖς λογικοῖς τῶν ζώων σημαντικαὶ νοημάτων εἰσὶ καὶ ὀνόματα συντιθέασιν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων λόγους συντιθέασιν, ἃ δὴ καὶ εἰσὶν ἀκουστά, οὐ καθὼς νοημάτων δηλωτικά, οὐδὲ καθὼς λόγοι ἢ ὀνόματα, ἀλλὰ καθὼς ψόφοι μόνον τοιοῦδε καὶ φωναί, κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἄρα μαθήσεώς ἐστιν αἰτία ἡ ἀκοή καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ ἐπιστήμης νοημάτων (V, f. 580v).

of *De sensu* 3, 439a25–26) the expression “the transparent bodies” to be glossed as “transparency itself”⁶⁶.

(2a) The following are some of the more noteworthy examples of complements to Aristotle's statements in the form of background information likely to have been drawn from Alexander's commentary.

(M1) When Aristotle announces his intention to examine “animals and all things that have life” (*De sensu* 1, 436a2–4), Metochites explains that Aristotle generally prefers to speak also of plants as having life (cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 3.17–22)⁶⁷.

(M2) In attempting to determine which of the four pairs of additional vital functions mentioned by Aristotle at *De sensu* 1, 436a11–15 are common to all things that have life and which are peculiar to certain animals, he notes that youth and old age are in the former category (cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 6.22–23), whereas respiration and expiration belong only to animals with lungs (cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 6.24–25), and certain kinds of fish are considered in the *Historia animalium* to be naturally sleepless (cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 6.20–22)⁶⁸. But he adds, for good measure and without Alexander's support, that of the “most important functions” enumerated by Aristotle at *De sensu* 1, 436a6–10 memory is lacking in many animals and, more curiously, “spiritedness” (θυμός) is lacking in red deer, since these animals have no gall-bladder⁶⁹. The information that red deer have no gall-bladder probably derives from Aristotle (*Hist. an.* 2.15, 506a31–32; *De part. an.* 4.2, 677a29–32), but for the major premise of the argument, that no animal without a gall-bladder is spirited, we must postulate a different source⁷⁰.

(M3) Metochites' division of the “most important functions” of animals into the three categories mentioned by Aristotle at *De sensu* 1, 436b4–6 is partly the same as we have already seen in Pachy-

⁶⁶ καὶ ὡς περ τῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων ἔστιν ἐξανάγκης ἔσχατον τι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαφανῶν σωμάτων, εἴτουν αὐτῆς τῆς διαφανείας, ἔστι τι ὡσαύτως ἔσχατον (V, f. 583r). Why Metochites insinuates the distinction between τῶν τοιούτων διαφανῶν σωμάτων, “this kind of transparent bodies”—apparently undetermined bodies, such as air and water—and τῶν ἄλλων σωμάτων, “the other bodies”—apparently determinate ones—is anybody's guess. Both Aristotle and Alexander make it perfectly clear that the two kinds of entity to which the analogy ascribes an extreme are (a) bodies, universally and as such, and (b) their property of being (to some degree) transparent (referred to by Aristotle as αὐτῆς <τῆς φύσεως>, “this <nature>”, by Alexander precisely as τῆς διαφανείας).

⁶⁷ ἐπεὶ καθόλου βούλεται ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὡς ζῶντα ἔχοντα καλεῖν καὶ τὰ φυτὰ ... (V, f. 579r).

⁶⁸ τὰ μὲν ἐν πᾶσι θεωρεῖται τοῖς μετέχουσι ζωῆς, οἷον ἡ νεότης καὶ τὸ γῆρας καὶ ἐν ζῴοις καὶ ἐν πᾶσι ἐμψύχοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ἀναπνοὴ καὶ ἡ ἐκπνοὴ μόνων τῶν ἔχοντων πνεύμονα ζῴων εἰσὶν· ἔτι δὲ ἐν τῇ Περὶ ζῴων ἱστορίᾳ βούλεται τινὰς τῶν ἰχθύων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς ἀγρυπνοῦσι διαπαντὸς τάττειν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπνώττειν πεφυκόσιν (V, f. 579v).

⁶⁹ οἷον αἰσθησις μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὄρεξις καὶ ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη πᾶσιν ἐνυπάρχει κοινῶς τοῖς ζῴοις· θυμὸς δὲ καὶ μνήμη τοῖς πλείστοις μὲν ἔναισιν, ἐνίοις δὲ οὐκ ἔναισιν· τὰς γὰρ ἐλάφους ἀχόλους φαίνει εἶναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ζῴων ἐκτὸς μνήμης (V, f. 579v).

⁷⁰ Usually the lack of a gall-bladder is supposed to entail longevity: cf. Aristotle, *De part. an.* 4.2, 677a29–35; *An. pr.* 2.23, 68b18–21; *An. post.* 2.17, 99b5–6; and dependent texts. Since it is not only in red deer that Aristotle denies, correctly or otherwise, the existence of a gall-bladder, but also in roe deer, horses, mules, donkeys, seals, certain types of swine, dolphins and camels, not to mention the human inhabitants of a certain area of Chalcis (*De part. an.* 4.2, 676b25–677a4), he would be committed to denying “spiritedness” to these other animals, too, if he thought it were dependent on this physiological detail. On the other hand, red deer are said to have exceptionally bitter intestines (*Hist. an.* 2.15, 506a31–b5; *De part. an.* 4.2, 677a29–35), and might on that account perhaps be thought to possess the physiology required for “spiritedness” nonetheless. — Some link between the production of bile and “spiritedness” is taken for granted by most if not all ancient Greek writers on the subject, but I know of no other example of the former being taken as a necessary condition for the latter. Plotinus argues that *either* bile *or* blood is required to produce anger (*Enn.* 4.4, 28.35–46), which is why trees lack “spiritedness” (ibid. 28.58–60). In Byzantine times, however, John Tzetzes, in a scholion (41) on *Iliad* 1.225 (ed. A. LOLOS, *Der unbekannte Teil der Ilias-Exegesis des Ioannes Tzetzes* [A 97–609]. Königstein 1981), and Thomas Magister, in a scholion on Aristophanes, *Nubes* 354 (ed. W. J. W. KOSTER, *Scholia in Aristophanem* 1, *Prolegomena de comoedia: Scholia in Acharnenses, Equites, Nubes*, 3.2: *Scholia recentiora in Nubes*. Groningen 1974, 62), both blame the lack of a gall-bladder for the alleged faintheartedness of red deer, which arguably is the same thing as a lack of “spiritedness”.

meres (P1 above), although Metochites has made more extensive use of Alexander (*In De sensu* 7.19–8.8), and avoids Pachymeres' mistake of understanding memory and recollection here as a means of defending and safeguarding the animals themselves rather than their sense perception⁷¹.

(M4) Metochites' elaboration of Aristotle's brief statement (*De sensu* 1, 437a1–3) of the final cause of sight and hearing in rational animals follows Alexander (*In De sensu* 11.5–23) in locating the starting points of both physical and mathematical knowledge in perceptual experience of particulars⁷².

(M5) Metochites' account of the attempts of earlier thinkers (identified as Plato and the Pythagoreans) to coordinate the five senses with the four elements (cf. Arist. *De sensu* 2, 437a19–26) follows Alexander's rather closely (*In De sensu* 14.18–15.4)⁷³.

(M6) The rationale, according to the account in Plato's *Timaeus* (45b4–d7), called into question by Aristotle at *De sensu* 2, 437b14–23, for the preservation of the visual ray in daylight and its extinction in darkness is correctly stated by Metochites, in much the same terms as by Alexander (*In De sensu* 20.25–21.2), to be, respectively, similarity and dissimilarity⁷⁴.

(M7) The effluences in Empedocles' second theory, mentioned by Aristotle at *De sensu* 2, 438a4–5, are said by Metochites, apparently following Alexander (*In De sensu* 24.5–6), to impinge on the eye and cause vision if they fit the passages in the eye⁷⁵.

(M8) Democritus' theory of vision as “mirroring” (ἐμφασίς), criticized by Aristotle at *De sensu* 2, 438a6–12, is identified by Alexander (*In De sensu* 24.18–21) with the Epicurean theory of an effluence from the visible object of a same-shaped image impinging on the eye. Metochites follows Alexander except for omitting to mention Epicurus⁷⁶.

(M9) Metochites attributes the juxtaposition theory of colour set out by Aristotle at *De sensu* 3, 439b19–440a6 to Democritus (V, f. 584r; f. 584v). Modern scholars may not agree that the attribution is correct—or indeed that any attribution is called for⁷⁷ but it rests on the authority of Alexander (*In De sensu* 56.13–15; cf. 59.15–18)⁷⁸.

⁷¹ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα πάντα ἢ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως συμβαίνει, ὡς ἐργήγορσις καὶ ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη καὶ ὑγεία καὶ νόσος, ἢ διὰ αἰσθήσεως, ὡς ἡ νεότης καὶ τὸ γῆρας· τινὰ δὲ καὶ πάθη αἰσθήσεως εἰσιν, ὡς ὁ ὕπνος· ἓνα δὲ ἕξεις εἰσιν αἰσθήσεως, ἥτοι αἱ ἐνέργειαι αἱ αἰσθητικαί· τινὰ δὲ καὶ φυλακαὶ καὶ σωτηρίαὶ αἰσθήσεως, οἷον αἱ μνήμαι καὶ αἱ ἀναμνήσεις· τινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῦναντίον, φθοραὶ καὶ στερήσεις αἰσθήσεως, οἷον ὁ θάνατος, αἱ λήθαι (V, f. 579v).

⁷² καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκουστῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρατῶν ἔστι συλλογίζεσθαι καὶ τὰ πρακτέα [ἔστι συλλογίζεσθαι] καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν διὰ συνεχοῦς χρήσεως καὶ ἐμπειρίας τῶν ὄντων· καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν γὰρ καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰσθητικῶν ἐμπειριῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς λαμβάνει (V, f. 580r).

⁷³ Ὅτι τινὲς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, φησὶν—εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τε Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Πλάτων αὐτός, ὡς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ δηλοῖ—ἕκαστον τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἑκάστου τῶν ἀπλῶν καὶ πρώτων στοιχειωδῶν σωμάτων ἐτίθεντο, οἷον πυρὸς μὲν τὴν ὄψιν, ἀέρος δὲ τὴν ἀκοήν, τὴν γεῦσιν δὲ ὕδατος, τὴν ἀφὴν δὲ γῆς· περὶ τῆς ὁσφρήσεως δὲ πέμπτης οὐσης τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐκ εὐποροῦντες πέμπτου στοιχείου ἠπόρουν ὅ τι χρῆσονται· ἐδόκει δ' ἐνίοις τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀέρος εἰς ὕδωρ, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰς ἀέρα, τοῦτο προσέμεν τῇ ὁσφρήσει· οἱ δὲ, καὶ ταύτην πυρὸς ἐτίθεντο (V, f. 580v).

⁷⁴ ἐν τούτοις δὲ φησὶ καὶ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ ὁ Πλάτων λέγει, ὅτι τὸ φῶς τῆς ὄψεως ἐν τῷ σκότει ἐξὶν σβέννυται· τῷ μὲν γὰρ φωτὶ μινγόμενον σώζεται οἰκείῳ ὄντι καὶ συγγενεῖ, πρὸς δὲ τὸ σκότος ἐμπίπτον ὡς εἰς ἀνόμοιον ἀποσβέννυται (V, f. 581r).

⁷⁵ Ὅτι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλῆν φησὶν ὅτε μὲν τὸ ὄρᾶν λέγειν γίνεσθαι τοῦ φωτὸς ἐξιόντος ἀκτινοειδῶς ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν (καὶ παρατίθεται ἔπη αὐτοῦ τοῦτο δηλοῦντα), ὅτε δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀπορροαῖς προσβαλλούσαις τοῖς πόροις τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὅτε καὶ τυχὸν ἐναρμόζειν καὶ συμμέτρως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πεφύκασι, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρᾶν γίνεσθαι (V, f. 581v).

⁷⁶ ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ Δημόκριτος εἰδωλὰ τινὰ ἀπορρεῖν ὁμοιόμορφα ἑκάστου τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐμπίπτειν (V, f. 581v).

⁷⁷ Katerina IERODIAKONOU argues that the juxtaposition theory is that of Empedocles (Empedocles on Colour and Colour Vision, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 29 [2005] 1–37). Alan TOWEY thinks that Aristotle's motive for describing different theories of the generation of intermediate colours is didactic rather than polemical (but admits that this does not rule out a historical provenance) (Time, Change, and Perception: Studies in the Aristotelianism of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Unpublished PhD thesis, King's College London 1995, 19–21).

⁷⁸ Metochites also considers the superimposition theory to have been propounded by some of Aristotle's predecessors, but refrains in this case from any attempt to identify them (V, f. 584v).

(2b) Apart from the above-mentioned identification of the thinkers discussed by Aristotle at *De sensu* 2, 437a19–26 as Plato and the Pythagoreans, the only other clarification of a reference by Aristotle in *De sensu* 1–3 is of one to the author's own *De anima* (*De sensu* 2, 438b2–3, cf. Alex. *In De sensu* 35.6). As we have seen, additional information is once adduced from the *Historia animalium*; there are also a few cross-references to relevant discussions in the *De anima*⁷⁹. And when Aristotle finishes chapter 3 by deferring discussion of the reason why there are definite and not indefinite species of colours to a later occasion (440b23–25), Metochites spares us the trouble of proceeding to chapter 6 by revealing that it is because the two limits of colour, black and white, are definite and the intermediates between definite limits must themselves be definite, all in perfect accordance with Alexander, *In De sensu* 65.22–66.5.

I have already commented on Metochites' reluctance to include in his paraphrase any Alexandrian material that is not of immediate relevance to the elucidation of Aristotle's text. I have referred in particular to the fact that Alexander's account of the transparent is almost completely elided. In addition, it may sometimes be instructive to note the absence in the paraphrase of smaller details in Alexander's commentary.

For instance, when Metochites mentions Aristotle's cross-reference, at *De sensu* 1, 436b14–15, to the *De anima* for an explanation as to why all animals have touch, he does not tell us in what the explanation consists—whereas Pachymeres, as we have seen (P2 above), follows Alexander (*In De sensu* 9.2–5) in saying that the being of animals depends upon a certain proportion (or “equilibrium”, *συμμετρία*) of constituent primary bodies. It is somewhat out of character for Metochites to forgo an opportunity to clarify an Aristotelian cross-reference, so his embarrassment here may well be an indication that he did not find Alexander's interpretation of *De anima* 3.13 very convincing⁸⁰. In his commentary on *De anima* 3.13 (V, ff. 186v–187v), Metochites refers neither to the proportion of primary bodies nor to the essential necessity for animals to possess sense perception, also mentioned by Alexander (*In De sensu* 9.2–5), which, combined with Aristotle's own remark (*An.* 3.13, 435b2), also omitted by Metochites in this context, that no other sense can exist without touch, supplies the explanation wanted in *De sensu* 1, 436b14–15⁸¹.

It is similarly conspicuous that Metochites' accounts of the juxtaposition and superimposition theories of the generation of colours do not follow Alexander's (*In De sensu* 55.3–7; 63.17–20; 65.4–12) in bracketing these theories as essentially non-realist and in this respect fundamentally different from Aristotle's.

⁷⁹ The statement at *De sensu* 2, 437a31–32 that it is natural for smooth things to glow in the dark but not to emit light is cross-referenced to the *De anima* (2.7) both by Metochites and Alexander (17.5); the expression of agreement with Democritus that the eye is composed of water at *De sensu* 2, 438a5–6 and 438a12–14 is both times erroneously cross-referenced to the *De anima* by Metochites but neither time by Alexander.

⁸⁰ Modern scholars would agree: see TOWEY's notes *ad locos* (A. TOWEY, Alexander of Aphrodisias, *On Aristotle On Sense Perception*. London 2000, 160–161, nn. 48–52). Metochites' text is as follows: καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφὴν διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἥ, φησὶν, εἴρηται ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ πλατυκώτερον λέγει ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι κοινότατον αἰσθητήριον πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις ἢ ἀφὴ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐξανάγκης ἔχει πάντα τὰ ζῶα ταύτην φησί (V, f. 580r).

⁸¹ Although the phrasing is somewhat ambiguous (ὁῦλον ... κἀντεῦθεν, ὅτι ... could mean either “it is also clear from the preceding that ...” or “this is also clear from the following, namely that ...”), it seems as though Metochites has envisaged the following alternative explanation. What Aristotle in the sequel (*De an.* 3.13, 435b7–19) describes as a consequence of the necessity for animals to possess the sense of touch, namely that tangible objects are the only perceptible objects that will, if excessively intense, destroy not only the sense organ by which they are perceived but, *ipso facto*, the whole animal, is treated by Metochites, following Themistius (*In De an.* 126.9–12), as a result of the fact that the organ of touch is the only sense organ located not only in some but in nearly every part of the animal's body. Since this is the case, no animal can survive the destruction of the organ of touch. One way of putting this is to say, as Metochites does, that “it is impossible for an animal to exist if deprived of the sense of touch” (στερισκόμενον γὰρ ἀφῆς οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι ζῶον, V, f. 187r). After which it is but a small step to concluding that it is impossible for an animal to exist without the sense of touch (ἄνευ ταύτης οὐχ οἶόν τε εἶναι ζῶον, *ibid.*).

Occasionally Metochites even seems to contradict Alexander's exegesis—and indeed any reasonable interpretation of Aristotle's text. A prime example is the reflection added to his paraphrase of Aristotle's remark at *De sensu* 3, 439b3–5 that the colour of an undetermined transparent body such as the sea varies according as it is viewed from close range or from a further distance:

[The sea] presents this variation especially when being viewed either in storm or in calm, since when it is stormy sight approaches it unevenly and disintegrates⁸².

It looks as though Metochites has here lapsed into the extramissionist theory that he himself seems to have preferred⁸³. It is true that in his paraphrase of *De sensu* 2, 438a25–27 it is not (as in Aristotle's text) the general notion that vision comes about by an emission that he dismisses as "irrational", but the more specific one that vision comes about by an emission of light⁸⁴. Still, it is inconceivable that Metochites would have taken Aristotle to be, after all, some kind of extramissionist. In his paraphrase of *De anima* 3.12 (V, f. 186v) as well as in that of *De sensu* 2 (V, ff. 581r–582r) he dutifully (albeit to some degree inaccurately) reports Aristotle's arguments against extramissionism, without suggesting that there is any other variety of extramissionism not affected by these arguments and in fact endorsed by Aristotle. In his paraphrase of *Meteorology* 3.2 he explains (following Alexander, *In Meteor.* 141.3–142.2) the extramissionist model resorted to there as a mere instrumental convenience (V, f. 557v). And I know of no other cases where he can be suspected of deliberately foisting un-Aristotelian views into his paraphrase of Aristotle.

I have saved for the last an example of Alexandrian influence which does not fit neatly into any of the three rather humdrum categories discussed above. This is found in a passage where Metochites rather exceptionally steps out of his paraphrast's role and comments on the illocutionary force of Aristotle's sentences. This happens at the end of the paraphrase of *De sensu* 2, where Metochites points out what Michael Psellos failed to note (see above, pp. 97–98), namely that Aristotle's solution to the coordination problem (*De sensu* 2, 438b16–439a5)—especially his arguments in favour of the correlation of smell with fire—is inconsistent with his own view as expressed in the *De anima*. He infers that the solution presented here must be an exercise in plausible reasoning on behalf of his predecessors. This inference is clearly inspired by Alexander, *In De sensu* 39.25–27 (cf. 38.14–16)⁸⁵.

CONCLUSION

It is time to sum up the results of this inquiry into the Greek *fortuna* of Alexander's commentary on Aristotle's *De sensu et sensibilibus*. The evidence of a reception during the first eight centuries after its production is very scanty indeed, consisting of one apparent borrowing in Themistius, *In De anima* and a few suspected interpolations in the Aristotelian text. Scholia on the Aristotelian text excerpted from Alexander's commentary are found in manuscripts dated from the eleventh century onwards. The earliest substantial use of the commentary comes in Michael Psellos, *Philosophica mi-*

⁸² μάλιστα δ' ἂν ἔχῃ [sic cod.] καὶ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν, ὅτε ἡ κυμαίνουσα ὁρᾶται ἢ ἡρεμοῦσα τῆς ὀψεως ὅταν κυμαίνῃ ἀνίσως προσπιπτούσης αὐτῇ καὶ θρυπτομένης (V, f. 583v).

⁸³ Two texts in which Metochites seems to accept something like the standard Early Palaiologan extramissionism (based on Galen) are *Semeioseis gnomikai* 42 and 43 (ed. K. HULT, Theodore Metochites on the Human Condition and the Decline of Rome. *Semeioseis gnomikai* 27–60. Gothenburg 2016, 96–103).

⁸⁴ Ὅτι ἀλόγως, φησί, δοκοῦσι τινες ὅτι ἐξεῖσι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φῶς καὶ διὰ τούτου ὁρᾶται τὰ ὀρατά (V, f. 582r).

⁸⁵ ἔοικε δὲ πιθανῶς χρησθαι τῷ λόγῳ καὶ συνηγορεῖν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα Πλάτῳ, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐαυτῷ νῦν λέγειν· αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅστις ἐν τοῖς Περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλίοις ἀποδεικνύει μὴ εἶναι πυρὸς τὴν ὁσφρησιν, μήτε ὀλως ἐκ γῆς εἶναι τὴν αἰσθητήριον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἀέρος εἶναι τῆς ὁσφρήσεως (V, f. 582v).

nora 2:8, with some probability datable to between c. 1045 (when Psellos was appointed ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων) and 1054 (when he was exiled to Bithynia). A thumbnail summary of the contents of the *De sensu* in Michael of Ephesus' commentary on the *De memoria* is based on Alexander's commentary (Michael's activities as an Aristotelian commentator probably took place between 1118, when Anna Komnene was exiled from court, and sometime in the late 1130s or early 1140s, when Anna's attention was increasingly turned towards her historical work). In the early fourteenth century, the influence of Alexander's commentary on George Pachymeres' and Theodore Metochites' paraphrases of the *De sensu* is manifest, as one might expect, but it does not seem to have left much of a mark on less exegetical discussions of the mechanisms of sense perception in the Palaiologan era.

ARNE EFFENBERGER

Klöster zwischen Aspar-Zisterne, Deuteron und Goldenem Horn Eine topographische Untersuchung*

Mit 6 Abbildungen

Abstract: The paper examines the topographical relationships between five monasteries and a church, all located between Aspar Cistern, Deuteron, and the Golden Horn, most of them on the north slope of the fourth hill. This network of convents also included the monastery τοῦ Παναγίου, which was identified in modern research with the monastery of the Theotokos Panagiotissa (Mouchliotissa) in the district of Phanarion on the slope of the fifth hill. Both monasteries were far apart and existed at different times, so they must be distinguished from each other.

VORBEMERKUNGEN

Im letzten Band dieses Jahrbuchs hatte ich einige Kirchen und Klöster behandelt, die in Ufernähe des Goldenen Horns zwischen Zeugma und Blachernen verortet werden können¹. Grundlagen der Untersuchung bildeten ein lateinisches Itinerar, das auf ein griechisches Original der Zeit 1055/75 zurückgeht², sowie die Kniga palomnik des Antonij von Novgorod, der um 1200 in Konstantinopel weilte³. In dem erwähnten Beitrag blieben die in den Paragraphen 44, 47, 48 und 60/61 des lateinischen Itinerars erwähnten Klöster unberücksichtigt, da sie nicht in Ufernähe lagen⁴. Sie sollen nun ebenfalls unter topographischen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet werden, um ihre Lokalisierung näher eingrenzen zu können. Dabei gilt das besondere Augenmerk dem Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου und dem im Phanarion gelegenen Kloster der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης, dessen Kirche erhalten ist (Theotokos Mouchliotissa bzw. Παναγία Μουγουλλίων oder Kanlı Kilise)⁵. Beide Klöster sind, wie zu zeigen sein wird, für die Klärung der topographischen Probleme von großer Bedeutung. Die herangezogenen Texte des lateinischen Itinerars sind in der nachstehenden Tabelle abgedruckt. Der Wallfahrtsbericht des Antonij von Novgorod kann hier unberücksichtigt bleiben, da die im Folgenden untersuchten Heiligtümer darin nicht erwähnt werden, was jedoch nicht bedeuten muss, dass sie um 1200 nicht mehr existiert haben.

* Für wichtige Hinweise und mancherlei Hilfe danke ich P. Magdalino, A. Rhoby, P. Schreiner und den beiden anonymen Gutachtern.

¹ A. EFFENBERGER, Die Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii und weitere Kirchen zwischen Zeugma und Blachernen. *JÖB* 67 (2017) 1–22.

² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Digbeianus lat. 112, fol. 17r–28v: K. N. CIGGAAR, Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais. *REB* 34 (1976) 211–267, Text 245–263 (die Handschrift vom Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts). – Zur Datierung der griechischen Vorlage des Textes in die Zeit um 1055/75 s. A. EFFENBERGER, Zur „Reliquientopographie“ von Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit. *Mill* 12 (2015) 279.

³ Kniga palomnik. Skazanie měst Svajatych vo Zarëgradë Antonija Archiepiskopa Novgorodskago v' 1200 godu, ed. Ch. M. LOPAREV (*Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 17.3 [= 51]). St. Petersburg 1899.

⁴ CIGGAAR, Une description de Constantinople 259–260, 262.

⁵ Die Literatur zur Kirche unten Anm. 96.

Lateinisches Itinerar §§
<p>44 <i>In monasterio Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis iacet sanctus Macharius heremita, et sanctus Antonius confessor nonus [recte: novus], brachium sancti Petri Alexandrini. Reliquie sanctorum martirum Nazarii, Protasii, Gervasii et Celso et aliorum sanctorum.</i></p>
<p>61 <i>In ipso predicto monasterio Latinorum est brachium sancti Pantaleonis martiris et usque in hodiernum diem facit miracula per ipsum Deus. Exit enim de ore nudo aqua sancta.</i></p>
<p>45 <i>Suptus autem ipsius monasterii in via sunt duae ecclesiae simul sancti Laurencii martiris et sancti Isaie prophete. Est autem sancti Laurencii caput eius non totum sed calvicium quod misit sanctus Papa Leo ad imperatores Marcianum et Pulcheriam. Et in ecclesia sancti Isaie in altari intus iacet dimidium corpus eius.</i></p>
<p>46 <i>Prope ipsam aecclesiam est monasterium feminarum sanctae Euphemiae virginis, et sunt in ipso manus eius et reliquiae.</i></p>
<p>47 <i>Iuxta autem monasterium Latinorum est monasterium feminarum et in ipso iacent virgines Eustolia et Sopatra.</i></p>
<p>48 <i>Et iuxta illud monasterium est aliud monasterium. Et in ipso iacet sancta Matrona.</i></p>
<p>49 <i>Ad Sanctam Mariam Blachernes</i> (es folgt die Aufzählung der Marien-Reliquien)</p>
<p>60 <i>Ad monasterium Manuel quod est in honore sancte Dei genetricis quod est prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum ...</i> (Schluss fehlt).</p>
<p>61 <i>In ipso predicto monasterio Latinorum est brachium sancti Pantaleonis martiris et usque in hodiernum diem facit miracula per ipsum Deus. Exit enim de ore nudo aqua sancta.</i></p>

Die Route der in den vorausgehenden §§ 40–43 erwähnten Kirchen und Klöster verläuft topographisch folgerichtig vom Zeugma nach Norden in Richtung Blachernen⁶. Die Sequenz der §§ 44–49 scheint hingegen, ausgehend vom *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis*, mehrfach wechselnde Wegrichtungen vorzugeben und endet im Blachernen-Heiligtum der Theotokos. Die anschließenden §§ 50–59 zählen in einer nur noch teilweise klaren Wegführung Kirchen und Klöster im südwestlichen Stadtgebiet und innerhalb von Konstantinopel auf⁷. Die §§ 60 und 61 sind vermutlich Nachträge des Übersetzers; § 61 fände seinen sinnvollen Platz nach § 44, kann aber ebenso an § 60 angeschlossen werden. Dass auch das Kloster des Manuel (§ 60) topographisch in die Gruppe der §§ 44–49 gehört, wird sich später erweisen. Sämtliche im lateinischen Itinerar erwähnte Kirchen und Klöster haben zu dessen Entstehungszeit noch existiert⁸. Zudem ist davon auszugehen, dass sich ihre Orte gegenüber den bereits im Typikon der Großen Kirche⁹ und im Synaxar der Kirche von Konstan-

⁶ EFFENBERGER, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii 5.

⁷ CIGGAAR, Une description de Constantinople 260–262.

⁸ Das Kloster des Manuel wird letztmals 1202 in einer Urkunde des Kaisers Isaakios II. Angelos für die Genuesen erwähnt: MM III, 28, 50, 53, 54.

⁹ J. MATEOS, Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, X^e siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes I: Le cycle des douzes mois (OCA 165). Roma 1962 = Sigle H.

tinopel¹⁰ sowie in anderen Quellen verzeichneten Lokalitäten nicht verändert haben, die jeweiligen Angaben somit zur Lagebestimmung bedenkenlos herangezogen werden können. Die Frage, wann die jeweils erwähnten Reliquien nach Konstantinopel kamen, soll hier außen vor bleiben.

Die im lateinischen Itinerar und in weiteren Quellen mitgeteilten topographischen Beziehungen der im Folgenden zu behandelten Kirchen und Klöster sind in einem Diagramm dargestellt und werden dadurch auch visuell nachvollziehbar (**Abb. 1**). Das Schema nimmt zwar das Ergebnis der Untersuchung vorweg, aus der schrittweisen Behandlung der einzelnen Örtlichkeiten wird aber deutlich werden, aus welchen Nachbarschaften sich die jeweiligen Lokalisierungen ergeben. Bereits hier wird erkennbar, dass dem im lateinischen Itinerar häufig erwähnten *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis* (Tabelle §§ 44, 45, 47, 60, 61) bei der Bestimmung etlicher Örtlichkeiten eine Schlüsselrolle zukommt. Insofern wäre seine möglichst genaue Lokalisierung zumindest zu versuchen.

Als hinlänglich gesicherte topographische Fixpunkte können – außer der Aspar-Zisterne, deren Ort auf dem fünften Hügel ohnehin feststeht (**Abb. 2**)¹¹ – die folgenden Befunde gelten¹²: 1) Das Euphemia-Kloster *prope ipsam aecclesiam* (des Laurentios-Jesaja-Kirche, Tabelle § 45 und 46) lag nach anderen Quellen ἐν Δεξιοκραταναῖς πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Λαυρεντίου¹³, πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Λαυρεντίου ἐν τῷ Πετρίῳ¹⁴ bzw. πλησίον τοῦ Σκοτεινοῦ Φρέαρος καὶ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀσπάρου στέρνῃς¹⁵, mithin unterhalb der Aspar-Zisterne und des steilen Abhangs des fünften Hügels (**Abb. 1** und **2**). – 2) Für die Doppelkirche (*duae ecclesiae simul*) von Laurentios und Jesaja (Tabelle § 45)¹⁶ ist weiterhin das Toponym ἐν Πουλχεριαναῖς belegt¹⁷. Die Kirche kann zwischen Ayakapı (πύλη τῆς ἁγίας Θεοδοσίας) bzw. der Theodosia-Kirche τῶν Δεξιοκράτους und Cibalikapı (πύλη εἰς Πηγάς, „Ispigas-Tor“) unterhalb des nördlichen Ausläufers des vierten Hügels und außerhalb der

¹⁰ Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis (ed. H. DELEHAYE. Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris). Bruxelles 1902 (Nachdruck Wetteren 1985) = Sigle S: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gr. 219 (Phill. 1622), 10. Jh., die Handschrift 12./13. Jh.

¹¹ W. MÜLLER-WIENER, Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls. Byzantion – Konstantinupolis – Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Tübingen 1977, 279; J. CROW – J. BARDILL – R. BAYLISS, The Water Supply of Byzantine Constantinople (*Journal of Roman Studies. Monograph* 11). London 2008, 128–132.

¹² Zum Folgenden schon EFFENBERGER, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii 7–9 und Tabelle: Das lateinische Itinerar und Antonij von Novgorod überliefern übereinstimmend, wenn auch in gegenläufigen Wegerichtungen, die Sequenz folgender Kirchen: Antonios Eremit, Laurentios / Jesaja, Theodosia (nur Antonij von Nowgorod), Euphemia, Blachernen (nur lateinisches Itinerar). Die Euphemia-Kirche ist, von der Blachernen-Kirche abgesehen, also das am weitesten nördlich gelegene Heiligtum im Petrion.

¹³ Synaxar zum 30. Mai: A. DMITRIEVSKIJ, Opisanie liturgičeskych rukopisej, chranjaščichsja v bibliotekach pravoslavnago vostoka, I. Τυπικα, čast' 1. Tipik velikoj konstantinopol'skoj cerkvi IX–X vekov. Kiev 1895 (Nachdruck Hildesheim 1965), 76 (Sigle P = Patmos, Kloster des Ioannes Theologos, um 900).

¹⁴ Synaxar zum 30. Mai: DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 717, 12–13; MATEOS, Typicon 300, 23–24.

¹⁵ M. GEDEON, Βυζαντινὸν Ἑορτολόγιον. Konstantinopel 1899, 131; Synaxar zum 20. November, Eustathios und Gefährten πλησίον τῆς ἁγίας Εὐφημίας ἐν τῷ Σκοτεινῷ Πηγιδίῳ: DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 240, 53–54 (nur Sigle Sa = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. gr. 2485, 12. Jh.). – Zur Identität von Σκοτεινὸν Πηγιδίον und Σκοτεινὸν Φρέαρ s. R. JANIN, Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique. Paris 1962, 426.

¹⁶ Zur Kirche des Laurentios mit dem angeschlossenen Eukterion des Propheten Jesaja s. A. BERGER, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1988, 529–532; P. MAGDALINO, Aristocratic *Oikoi* in the Tenth and Eleventh Regions of Constantinople, in: Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life, ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 53–69, hier 63–64 (wieder abgedruckt: IDEM, Studies on History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople [*Variorum Collected Studies Series* 855]. Ashgate 2007, II). – R. JANIN, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin I. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique III. Les églises et les monastères. Paris 1969, 300–304, Nr. 1 und 2 ging noch von zwei Laurentios-Kirchen aus und führte 139–140 die Jesaja-Kirche als eigenes Lemma an. Nach dem Synaxar zum 9. Mai befanden sich seine Reliquien ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου πλησίον Βλαχερνῶν, s. DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 667, 21–22.

¹⁷ Vita Basilii Imperatoris § 93 (ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplectitur [CFHB 42]. Berlin – New York 2012, 304, 22).

Konstantinsmauer (zu dieser s. unten, S. 117) lokalisiert werden (**Abb. 2**)¹⁸. Das lateinische Itinerar teilt zudem mit, dass die Kirche *suptus* des *monasterium Latinorum* und *in via* gelegen habe (Tabelle § 45), somit nur an der Straße, die am Ufer des Goldenen Horns vom Zeugma zu den Blachernen führte¹⁹. Demzufolge müsste das *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis* „oberhalb“ der Kirche von Laurentios und Jesaja im Gebiet des nördlichen Ausläufers des vierten Hügels gesucht werden, an dessen Abhang auch die Pulcherianai vermutet werden (**Abb. 1**)²⁰.

DAS MONASTERIUM LATINORUM SANCTE DEI GENETRICIS

Das *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis* (Tabelle § 44) bzw. *monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* (§ 60) oder nur *monasterium Latinorum* (§ 61) war das Kloster der in Konstantinopel ansässigen Amalfitaner, doch ist unbekannt, wann es eingerichtet wurde²¹. Im Jahre 1063 verstarb in Konstantinopel der von einer Pilgerreise aus dem Heiligen Land zurückgekehrte Bischof Bernardo di Palestrina und wurde *à lo monastier de li Amalfigiane* beigesetzt²². Diese Nachricht wird allgemein auf das *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis* bezogen, dessen Existenz somit durch zwei gleichzeitige lateinische Quellen bezeugt wird. Vermutlich bestand es schon länger, zumal die Amalfitaner bereits im 10. Jh. eine Niederlassung in Konstantinopel innehatten²³. Ob das Kloster von den antilateinischen Maßnahmen des Patriarchen Michael I. Kerularios 1053/54 betroffen worden war²⁴, wird zwar nirgendwo überliefert, ist aber anzunehmen, zumal es als Hort der katholischen Glaubenslehre galt²⁵. Außer diesem Kloster sollen die Amalfitaner in Konstantinopel noch eine Christus geweihte Kirche besessen haben, die nur im *Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum* für die Zeit um 1100 erwähnt wird²⁶. Danach *venit de urbe Constantinopoli dominus Maurus presbyter de*

¹⁸ EFFENBERGER, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii 9.

¹⁹ Sicher verfehlt ist die von S. MALMBERG, *Triumphal Arches and Gates of Piety at Constantinople, Ravenna, and Rome*, in: *Using Images in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Birk – T. M. Kristensen – B. Poulsen. Oxford – Havertown, PA 2014, 163–170 und **Abb. 9.1** vorgeschlagene Lokalisierung der Laurentios-Kirche nördlich des Melantias-Tors am „Nordstrang“ der Mese und nahe der Aetios-Zisterne. Im Übrigen zitiert der Autor hierzu nicht die in Anm. 46 angegebenen Arbeiten, die seiner These freilich entgegengestanden hätten.

²⁰ JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*, Karte Nr. I verortete die Pulcherianai sicher zutreffend bei den Dexiokratianai. S. auch unten Anm. 46.

²¹ JANIN, *Églises* 570–571; M. BALARD, *Amalfi et Byzance (X^e–XII^e siècles)*. *TM* 6 (1976) 85–95, hier 91; P. MAGDALINO, *Medieval Constantinople*, in: *Idem*, *Studies* (wie Anm. 16) I 84, 97–98, 109–110; V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Gli Amalfitani nell'Impero bizantino*, in: *Amalfi and Byzantium. Acts of the International Symposium on the Eight Centenary of the Translation of the Relics of St. Andrew the Apostle from Constantinople to Amalfi (1208–2008)*, Rome, 6 May 2008, ed. E. F. Farrugia, S. J. (*OCA* 287). Roma 2010, 17–44, hier 31; s. schon EADEM, *La chiesa amalfitana nei suoi rapporti con l'impero bizantino (X–XI secolo)*. *RSBN* n. s. 30 (1993) 81–115 (ich zitiere im Folgenden nur den jüngeren Aufsatz). – MAGDALINO, *Medieval Constantinople* 84, Anm. 166 erwog, ob *Santa Maria Latinorum* die Nachfolge eines der Klöster τῶν Πομαίων angetreten haben könnte; zu diesen s. JANIN, *Églises* 446–447, Nr. 1 und 3.

²² Amato di Montecassino, *Storia de' Normanni* IV 39 (ed. V. DE BARTHOLOMAEIS [*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 76]. Roma 1935, 211); vgl. A. HOFMEISTER, *Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitum Mauronis in Amalfi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-abendländischen Beziehungen besonders im 11. Jahrhundert*. *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* 27 (1932) 231; VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Gli Amalfitani* 31.

²³ VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Gli Amalfitani* 19–20, 29–33; EADEM, *Il commercio di Amalfi con Costantinopoli e il Levante nel secolo XII*, in: *Amalfi, Genova, Pisa e Venezia*, a cura di O. Banti. Pisa 1998, 19–38. – Zur vermutlichen Lage des Quartiers der Amalfitaner s. A. BERGER, *Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn*. *IstMitt* 45 (1995) 149–165, hier 161, **Abb. 2**.

²⁴ A. BAYER, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das sogenannte Morgenländische Schisma von 1054 (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 53)*. Köln – Weimar – Wien 2004, 63–64.

²⁵ VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Gli Amalfitani* 33, mit der Quelle (Petrus Damiani) in Anm. 95.

²⁶ Zum *Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum* s. U. SCHWARZ, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)*. Untersuchungen zur Amalfitaner Überlieferung. Tübingen 1978, 89–110; *Idem.*, *Il Chronicon Archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum una fonte di verificare*, in: *La chiesa di Amalfi nel Medioevo. Convegno internazionale di studi per il Millenario dell'Ar-*

*Monte, qui fuit per multos annos abbas ecclesiae S. Salvatoris, quae est ecclesia Amalphitanorum in praenominata urbe*²⁷. Unklar ist bislang geblieben, ob diese Kirche wirklich existierte und ob sie im Quartier der Amalfitaner lag²⁸. Die letzte mir bekannte Erwähnung des Klosters findet sich in einem Schutzbrief Papst Alexanders IV. vom 26. April 1256 (*Abbatem et conventum monasterii s. Mariae Amalphitanorum de Latina Constantinopolitani sub b. Petri et sua protectione suscipit, specialiter autem libertates et immunitates antiquas et rationabiles consuetudines etc. eis confirmat*)²⁹. Aus dieser Nachricht geht eindeutig hervor, dass *S. Maria Amalphitanorum de Latina* mit dem *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genetricis* identisch ist und noch immer in lateinischer Hand war. Über seinen Ort innerhalb von Konstantinopel wird in den zuletzt erwähnten Quellen nichts mitgeteilt. Was mit dem Kloster nach 1261 geschah, ist unbekannt.

DIE KLÖSTER VON EUSTOLIA-SOPATRA UND DAS KLOSTER DES MANUEL

Im lateinischen Itinerar begegnet das *monasterium Latinorum* noch zwei weitere Male als topographische Referenz für benachbarte Klöster (**Abb. 1**): 1) Für das Frauenkloster der Eustolia und Sopatra, das *iuxta autem monasterium Latinorum* lag (Tabelle § 47), und 2) für das Theotokos-Kloster des Patrikios Manuel³⁰, *quod est prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* (Tabelle § 60). Sopatra war die Tochter des Kaisers Maurikios; nach der Begegnung mit der Römerin Eustolia, die ihre geistliche Mutter wurde, verwandelte sie ihren Palast in ein Kloster³¹. Für das Manuel-Kloster ist weiterhin die Ortsangabe σύνεγγυς τῇ κιστέρνῃ τοῦ Ἀσπαρος belegt³². Ioseph Genesios zufolge hatte der Patrikios

chidiocesi di Amalfi. Amalfi, Scala Minori, 4–6 dicembre 1987 (*Centro di cultura e storia amalfitana*. Atti 3). Amalfi 1997, 189–206; VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani 31, 43.

²⁷ Zitiert nach SCHWARZ, Amalfi 105, Anm. 109, vgl. 160–107, der die Existenz der Kirche S. Salvatore bezweifelte.

²⁸ Dies hängt davon ab, wie man den Satz im Prolog der *Vita sanctae Herenis* des Johannes monachus (zu diesem s. unten, S. 120) interpretiert: *exortus est sermo apud nos de sancta virgine et martira Christi beata Herini, quomodo per tot annorum curricula, cum esset ecclesia Amalfitanorum sub dicione et quasi in sinu illius*, zitiert nach A. HOFMEISTER, Zur griechisch-lateinischen Übersetzungsliteratur des frühen Mittelalters. Die frühere Wiener Handschrift lat. 739. *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 4 (1924) 138. W. BERSCHIN, Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues. Bern – München 1980, 253, übersetzte: Es „kam die Rede auf die heilige Jungfrau und selige Märtyrerin Christi Irene: Dass wir so viele Jahre, da die Kirche der Amalfitaner unter ihrer Herrschaft und gleichsam in ihrem Schoß [schon] war ...“. HOFMEISTER, Der Übersetzer Johannes (wie Anm. 22) 232–234, schlussfolgerte: „Es bleibt also nur übrig, anzunehmen, dass die Kirche der Amalfitaner dicht bei und, wenn man die Worte des Johannes genau nimmt, im Bezirk einer Irenenkirche lag“ (232), womit er die Eirenen-Kirche am Perama meinte. Das Perama ist die Anlegestelle für die Überfahrt nach Pera und befand sich vor Zindankapi, weit weg vom angenommenen Quartier der Amalfitaner, s. BERGER, Ufergegend (wie Anm. 23) Abb. 1 und 2. MAGDALINO, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 16) 97–98, ging von zwei amalfitanischen Klöstern in Konstantinopel aus und bezog *sub dicione et quasi in sinu illius* („under the jurisdiction of and, as it were, within’ a church of Hagia Eirene“) auf die im Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum erwähnte Salvator-Kirche („Perhaps it refers to the monastery of the Holy Savior, if that can really distinguished from St Mary of the Latins“). Im Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum ist jedoch nur von einer *ecclesia S. Salvatoris* die Rede, nicht von einem Kloster, obgleich Maurus als *abbas* bezeichnet wird. VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani 31, äußerte sich jüngst: „Forse dobbiamo distinguere tra la chiesa e il monastero degli Amalfitani a Costantinopoli; in questo caso la prima [scil. *cum esset ecclesia Amalfitanorum sub dicione et quasi in sinu illius* = der Eirenen-Kirche am Perama] potrebbe essere la chiesa del S. Salvatore, la quale secondo il *Chronicon archiepiscoporum Amalfitanorum* fu *ecclesia Amalphitanorum in praenominata urbe*“. Es bleibt m. E. weiterhin unklar, ob mit *ecclesia Amalfitanorum* ein konkreter Kirchenbau im Quartier der Amalfitaner oder bei der Eirenen-Kirche am Perama gemeint ist. Gelegentlich wurde das *monasterium Latinorum* irrtümlich im Quartier der Amalfitaner lokalisiert, s. W. BERSCHIN, I traduttori d’Amalfi nell’XI secolo, in: Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi, a cura di C. Alzati. Rom – Freiburg – Wien 1994, I 242.

²⁹ A. POTTHAST, Regesta pontificum Romanorum 1243–1304. Berlin 1875, II 1341, Nr. 16342.

³⁰ Zu Manuel s. PmbZ I #4707; zum Kloster s. JANIN, Églises (wie Anm. 16) 320–322; MAGDALINO, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 16) 83.

³¹ BHG 2141. – Zum Kloster s. JANIN, Églises 118–119.

³² Leonis Grammatici Chronographia (ed. I. BEKKER. Bonn 1842, 222, 19); Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon 130, 28 (rec. S. WAHLGREN [CFHB 44, 1]. Berlin – New York 2006, 225, 193).

Manuel sein bei der Aspar-Zisterne gelegenes Haus in ein Männerkloster umgewandelt und wurde dort auch begraben³³. Das einige Zeit vor 1087 von Anna Dalassene gestiftete (und im lateinischen Itinerar noch nicht erwähnte) Pantepoptes-Kloster befand sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf dem Gebiet der nachmaligen Yavuz Selim Camii, somit östlich der Aspar-Zisterne (**Abb. 2**)³⁴. Dieser prominente Platz wird sicher schon vorher mit einem Kloster oder mit Häusern von Würdenträgern besetzt gewesen sein. Die Verortung des Manuel-Klosters *prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* / σύνεγγυς τῇ κιστέρνῃ τοῦ Ἀσπαρος spricht also eher dafür, dass es südlich oder südwestlich der Zisterne gelegen haben wird (**Abb. 1**). Obwohl für die Distanz zwischen Eustolia-Sopatra- und Manuel-Kloster keine Angabe vorliegt, ergibt sich aus der Anbindung des Manuel-Klosters einerseits an die Aspar-Zisterne und andererseits an das *monasterium Latinorum* auch für das Eustolia-Sopatra-Kloster eine Lokalisierung südlich der Zisterne (**Abb. 1**).

DAS MATRONA-KLOSTER

In einer Synaxarnotiz zum 9. November, die sich nur in einer einzigen Handschrift des 12. Jhs. findet, dient das Manuel-Kloster als Bezugspunkt für das Frauenkloster der hl. Matrona von Perge, dessen Ort mit πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μανουήλ angegeben wird³⁵. Für das Matrona-Kloster, das einerseits *iuxta* des Eustolia-Sopatra-Klosters (Tabelle § 47 und 48) und andererseits πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μανουήλ lag, kann somit ebenfalls eine räumliche Nähe sowohl zum Manuel- als auch zum Eustolia-Sopatra-Kloster vorausgesetzt werden (**Abb. 1**). Die späte Synaxarnotiz legt die Vermutung nahe, dass es im 12. Jh. noch existierte. Nach der *Vita prima* der hl. Matrona befand sich ihr Kloster an einer Σευεριανά genannten Örtlichkeit nahe (ἐγγύς) mehrerer Klöster, vor allem dem ihres geistigen Vaters, des hl. Bassianos, und zwar „innerhalb der Stadtmauer“ (τοῦ τείχους ἔσωθεν)³⁶. Für das Bassianos-Kloster sind mehrere Ortsangaben überliefert: Σευήρον³⁷, πλησίον τῆς ἀγίας Ἀννης ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ³⁸ bzw. nur πλησίον τοῦ Δευτέρου (zum Deuteron s. unten, S. 117–118)³⁹. In der metaphorischen *Vita altera* wird die Lage des Matrona-Klosters wie folgt beschrieben: ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν τὴν

³³ Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor (rec. A. LESMUELLER-WERNER – I. THURN [CFHB 14]. Berlin – New York 1978, 61, 12–16). Deutsche Übersetzung: Byzanz am Vorabend neuer Größe. Überwindung des Bilderstreits und der innenpolitischen Schwäche (813–886). Die vier Bücher der Kaisergeschichte des Ioseph Genesios. Übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von A. LESMUELLER-WERNER (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 18). Wien 1989, 95. Weitere Quellen bei JANIN, Constantinople byzantin (wie Anm. 15) 384.

³⁴ C. MANGO, Where at Constantinople was the Monastery of Christos Pantepoptes? *DChAE* 52 (1998) 87–88.

³⁵ DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 203, 53–54 (Sigle Sa). – Im „Menologion“ Basileios' II. unter dem 8. November verzeichnet (*PG* 117, 130D–131A). Matrona ist abgebildet im Cod. Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 169, s. II Menologio di Basilio II. Codice Vaticano greco 1613. A cura di P. Franchi de' Cavalieri (*Codices Vaticani selecti phototypice expressi* 8). Turino 1907, II Abb. 169 = http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (Bild 169, zuletzt aufgerufen 09.04.2018).

³⁶ *AASS* Nov. III, 806D, 820E, § 36 (= *BHG* 1221). Englische Übersetzung: Life of St. Matrona of Perge translated by J. Featherstone, introduction and notes by C. Mango, in: Holy Women of Byzantium. Ten Saint's Lives in English Translation, ed. A. M. Talbot (*Byzantine Saint's Lives in Translation* 1). Washington, D.C. 1996 (2006), 13–64, hier 51, § 36. – Zu Matrona s. S. INSLEY, Dressing up the past: fictional narrative in the Life of Matrona of Perge, in: Medieval Greek storytelling: Fictionality and Narrative in Byzantium (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 12), ed. P. Roilos. Wiesbaden 2014, 55–85. – Zum Bassianos- und Matrona-Kloster s. P. HATLIE, The Monks and Monasteries of Constantinople, ca. 350–850. Cambridge – New York 2007, 90, 96–102, 108–109; G. SIDÉRIS, Bassianos, les monastères de Bassianou et de Matrônès (V^e–VI^e siècle), in: Le Saint, le moine et le paysan. Mélanges d'histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan, éd. O. Delouis – S. Métivier – P. Pagès (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 29). Paris 2016, 631–656.

³⁷ Synaxar zum 10. Oktober; DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 127, 11–12.

³⁸ Synaxar zum 10. Oktober; DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 128, 5, vgl. 126, 37–38; MATEOS, Typicon 64, 25–26 (nur πλησίον τῆς ἀγίας Ἀννης).

³⁹ Synaxar zum 11. Dezember; DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 300, 21–22 (nur Sigle Sa). – Zu den zahlreichen Kirchen und Klöstern beim Deuteron s. JANIN, Constantinople byzantin (wie Anm. 15) 336–337.

θάλατταν ἔχοντα, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἐκ γειτόνων παρέχοντα τὸ τοῦ Βασιανοῦ φροντιστήριον⁴⁰. Damit sollte vielleicht angedeutet werden, dass das Matrona-Kloster eine hohe Position einnahm und man von dort aus das Goldene Horn überblicken konnte.

Der ausdrückliche Hinweis, wonach das Matrona-Kloster τοῦ τείχους ἔσωθεν gelegen habe, ist auffällig, denn wenn damit die weit entfernte theodosianische Landmauer gemeint sein sollte, wäre deren Erwähnung als Referenzangabe für den Ort des Klosters eigentlich unsinnig⁴¹. Die Örtlichkeit Σευεριανά / Σευήρον⁴², in deren unmittelbarer Nähe sowohl das Matrona- als auch das Bassianos-Kloster lagen, müsste sich zwischen Aspar-Zisterne und Deuteron (Abb. 2) sowie nahe der Konstantinsmauer befunden haben. Deren nur hypothetisch erschließbarer Verlauf wird auf den üblichen schematischen Plänen von Konstantinopel im Abschnitt nördlich der Apostel-Kirche unterschiedlich eingetragen, je nachdem, welche konkreten Erwägungen dahinter standen: 1) Direkt an der Südseite der Aspar-Zisterne vorbei- und auf dem steilen Sporn des fünften Hügels nördlich von Ayakapı zum Ufer hinabführend⁴³ oder schon vorher mit einem Knick in Richtung Unkapanı abbiegend⁴⁴. – 2) In einem Bogen etwa 250–300 m nördlich der Apostel-Kirche vorbeilaufend, wobei der Endpunkt am Goldenen Horn meist offen gelassen wird⁴⁵. Dadurch wanderten in allen genannten Fällen das vor der Konstantinsmauer gelegene Deuteron und die dort anrainenden Kirchen einschließlich der hier behandelten weiter nach Norden bis auf den fünften Hügel. Demgegenüber wurde versucht, aufgrund topographischer Überlegungen und mit Rücksicht auf die Geländeformation des zum Goldenen Horn abfallenden nördlichen Ausläufers des vierten Hügels eine Streckenführung über das Gebiet wenig nördlich der Apostel-Kirche bis Cibalikapı als Endpunkt zu begründen⁴⁶. Doch auch diese Annahme bedarf hinsichtlich des Mauerverlaufs und der Lage des Deuteron der Korrektur, da es sich bei der Ortsangabe für das Matrona-Kloster τοῦ τείχους ἔσωθεν nur um die Konstantinsmauer gehandelt haben kann. Davon waren zur Gründungszeit der Klöster von Bassianos und Matrona (5. Jh.) bzw. zur Abfassungszeit der *Vita prima* (späteres 6. Jh.)⁴⁷ noch längere Abschnitte vorhanden. So berichtet Johannes Malalas, dass durch das Erdbeben vom 14. Dezember 557 sowohl die Konstantinsmauer als auch die theodosianische Landmauer in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden seien⁴⁸.

⁴⁰ AASS Nov. III, 820 E, § 30 (= BHG 1222). – Zur metaphrastischen Vita s. INSLEY (wie Anm. 36) 78–82.

⁴¹ MANGO, Introduction (wie Anm. 36) 52, A. 93 dachte an die theodosianische Landmauer.

⁴² Zum Ort Σευεριανά / Σευήρον s. JANIN, Constantinople byzantin 423; BERGER, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 16) 526–527.

⁴³ Z. B. A. BERGER, Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel. *IstMitt* 47 (1997) 349–414, hier Abb. 9 und 10; C. MANGO, Constantinople's Mount of Olives and Pseudo-Dorotheus of Tyre. *Νέα Πώμη* 6 (2009) 157–170, Abb. 1.

⁴⁴ Z. B. A. VAN MILLINGEN, Byzantine Constantinople. The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites. London 1899, 15–33, Plan vor 19; JANIN, Églises (wie Anm. 16) Plan.

⁴⁵ Z. B. C. MANGO, Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e – VII^e siècles). Réimpression conforme à l'édition de 1990 augmentée d'un nouvel addenda de l'auteur (*TM Monographies* 2). Paris 2004, Plan II.

⁴⁶ N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – A. EFFENBERGER, Eski İmaret Camii, Bonoszisterne und Konstantinsmauer. *JÖB* 58 (2008) 13–44, hier 32–36, Abb. 7; N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – A. EFFENBERGER, Zum Verlauf der Konstantinsmauer zwischen Marmarameer und Bonoszisterne und zu den Toren und Straßen. *JÖB* 59 (2009) 1–35, hier 13–17 und Taf. I. – Bereits BERGER, Regionen (wie Anm. 43) 371, hatte festgestellt, dass die Pulcherianai als Ort der Doppelkirche des Laurentios und Jesaja außerhalb der Konstantinsmauer in der Küstenebene lagen. Insofern halten wir an unserer Ansicht (ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – EFFENBERGER, Eski İmaret Camii [wie Anm. 46] 38) fest, dass die Grenze zwischen der X. und XI. Region durch den letzten Abschnitt der Konstantinsmauer zwischen Apostel-Kirche und Cibalikapı verlief, da sich nur dadurch die Mitteilung der Notitia (Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et laterculi provinciarum, ed. O. SEECK. Berlin 1876 [Nachdruck Frankfurt am Main 1962] 238, 9) erklären lässt, wonach die XI. Region an keiner Seite das Meer (*nulla parte mari sociatur*) und also auch nicht das Goldene Horn berührt habe. Damit entfällt die Notwendigkeit, die X. Region mit einem „Korridor“ bis zum vermeintlichen Endpunkt der Konstantinsmauer bei der Aspar-Zisterne zu erweitern.

⁴⁷ MANGO, Introduction (wie Anm. 36) 15–16.

⁴⁸ Ioannis Malalae Chronographia 18, 124 (Hrsg. von I. THURN [CFHB 35]. Berlin – New York 2000, 419, 55–58). Deutsche Übersetzung: Johannes Malalas, Weltchronik. Übersetzt von J. Thurn (†) und M. Meier (*Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur* 69, Abteilung Byzantinistik). Stuttgart 2009, 518; s. auch Theophanis Chronographia ad ann. 557/58 (rec. C. DE BOOR. Leipzig 1883, I 231, 13–15). Englische Übersetzung: C. MANGO – R. SCOTT – R. GREATREX, The Chronicle of Theophanes

Das Deuteron genannte Gebiet ist durch den einstigen Standort der *columna virginea* (Säule „Justinians II.“ / Justins II. am Deuteron bzw. Michaels VIII. Palaiologos) etwa 400 m nordwestlich der Apostel-Kirche zwischen der ehemaligen Hafiz Ahmet Paşa Camii und der Nisancı Mehmet Paşa Camii noch ungefähr bestimmbar⁴⁹. Anna Komnene beschrieb das Deuteron als „ebenen Platz (πέδιον) des Großmartyrers Georgios, der den Beinamen Sykeotes trägt“⁵⁰. Gemeint ist das Kloster der beiden Erzmartyrer Demetrios und Georgios am Deuteron, in dem auch Theodoros Sykeotes verehrt wurde, was die Übertragung des Beinamens Sykeotes auf den hl. Georgios erklärt⁵¹. Das einzige relativ flache Gelände, das zur Anlage eines Platzes geeignet war, ist der von der Isohypse 60 definierte Bereich zwischen Nisancı Mehmet Paşa Camii und Fatih Camii (dem ungefähren Ort der Apostel-Kirche), wo der Platz Deuteron lokalisiert werden sollte (Abb. 2)⁵².

Die topographischen Auskünfte über den Ort des Matrona-Klosters (Σεβερνανά / *iuxta illud monasterium* [der Eustolia und Sopatra] / πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μανουήλ / τοῦ τεύχους ἔσωθεν) sowie die Nähe zum Bassianos-Klosters am Σενήρον / πλησίον τοῦ Δευτέρου sprechen also einerseits für eine Lokalisierung unweit des Manuel-Klosters *prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* / σύνεγγυς τῇ κιστέρνῃ τοῦ Ἀσπαρος und andererseits für eine gewisse Nähe zum Kloster von Eustolia und Sopatra *iuxta autem monasterium Latinorum* (Tabelle § 47), aber zugleich für eine engere Nachbarschaft zum Deuteron (Abb. 1)⁵³.

DAS KLOSTER τοῦ Παναγίου / *MONASTERIUM PANAGIOTUM*

Die obenerwähnte Synaxarnotiz zum 9. November verortet die Synaxis der hl. Eustolia ἐν τῇ μονῇ αὐτῆς τῇ οὐσῃ πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παναγίου⁵⁴. Demzufolge muss auch das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου in der Umgebung des Klosters von Eustolia und Sopatra und der diesem benachbarten Klöster gesucht

Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813. Translated with Introduction and Commentary. Oxford 1997, 339. – Zum Erdbeben s. E. GUIDOBONI et alii, Catalogue of ancient earthquakes in the Mediterranean area up to the 10th century. Roma 1994, 341–345 (mit weiteren Quellen).

⁴⁹ N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – A. EFFENBERGER, Die „columna virginea“ und ihre Wiederverwendung in der Süleymaniye Camii. *Mill* 1 (2004) 369–407, hier 374–376, Abb. 2. – Die Valens-Leitung unterquerte das Gebiet nordwestlich der Apostel-Kirche entlang der nördlichen Höhenlinien 60 m, s. CROW – BARDILL – BAYLISS, Water Supply (wie Anm. 11) Map 14. Das entspräche genau dem Gebiet, wo das Deuteron zu lokalisieren ist. Die Quellen (ebenda 235 mit Kommentar) berichten, dass Justinian II. 705 durch die Wasserleitung in die Stadt eingedrungen sei. Nur die Patria Konstantinupoleos III, 79 (Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanum, ed. Th. Preger. Leipzig 1907, II 244, 1–17) behaupten, dass Justinian die Wasserleitung beim Fundament der Säule bei der Anna-Kirche am Deuteron verlassen habe. Ist diese Nachricht glaubhaft, dann kann die Säulen niemals über der Wasserleitung gestanden haben.

⁵⁰ Annae Comnenae Alexias II, 12, § 1 (Hrsg. von D. R. REINSCH – A. KAMBYLIS [CFHB 40]. Berlin – New York 2001, 84, 89–91). Deutsche Übersetzung: Anna Komnene, Alexias. Übers. von D. R. REINSCH. Köln 1996, 101.

⁵¹ Die liturgischen Quellen verorten die Feste der Erzmartyrer Demetrios am 26. Oktober (DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 166, 29–39; MATEOS, Typicon 78, 5–6) und Georgios am 23. April (DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 626, 13–15; MATEOS, Typicon 270, 7–9) beide Male ἐν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρίῳ τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ. Die Mneme für Theodoros Thaumaturgos (Sykeotes), Bischof von Anastasiupolis, fand am 22. April ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου, τῷ ὄντι ἐν τῷ Δευτέρῳ statt (DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 621, 18–20; vgl. Synaxaria selecta 623, 29). Am 27. Mai gab es eine Synaxis für den Konstantinopeler Patriarchen Stephanos (ein Bruder Leons VI.) ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ λεγομένῃ Συκεοῦς statt (MATEOS, Typicon 300, 2–4). S. auch M. KAPLAN, Les sanctuaires de Théodore de Sykéon, in: Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance. Textes, images et monuments, éd. C. Jolivet-Lévy – M. Kaplan – J.-P. Sordini. Paris 1993, 75–78.

⁵² Der Plan in ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER – EFFENBERGER, Zum Verlauf der Konstantinsmauer (wie Anm. 46) Taf. I, ist entsprechend zu korrigieren. Auf die Frage zur Lagebestimmung des Deuteron und der davon abhängigen Lokalisierung des Doppelklosters der Theotokos Kecharitomenē / Christos Philanthropos werde ich noch einmal gesondert eingehen.

⁵³ Von Interesse ist auch die Beschreibung des Matrona-Klosters, das dem des Bassianos glich. Es war von einer Mauer umgeben, die Kirche hatte drei Stockwerke. Im Kellergeschoß befand sich das Beinhaus, das erste Stockwerk diente als Winterkapelle, das obere als Sommerkirche, s. AASS Nov. III, 810F–811A, § 46; Life of St. Matrona of Perge (wie Anm. 36) 59–60.

⁵⁴ DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 203, 54–55 (Sigle Sa).

werden (**Abb. 1**)⁵⁵. Das im lateinischen Itinerar nicht erwähnte Männerkloster τοῦ Παναγίου, das anscheinend keine nennenswerten Reliquien besaß, war eine Gründung vom Anfang des 11. Jhs⁵⁶. Das verlorene Typikon diente bekanntlich Georgios Pakourianos 1083 als Vorbild für das Typikon seines Klosters der Theotokos Petritziotissa (Bačkovo)⁵⁷. Darin wird das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου zwar häufig erwähnt, über seinen Ort erfahren wir jedoch nur, dass es „in der großen Stadt des mächtigsten und heiligen Konstantin, auch Neues Rom genannt“, gelegen habe⁵⁸. Es stand in enger Verbindung mit der Großen Lavra, die der hl. Athanasios auf dem Athos gegründet hatte⁵⁹. Dessen Schüler Antonios gilt als erster Hegumenos des Klosters τοῦ Παναγίου⁶⁰. D. Krausmüller zufolge war Antonios nicht nur der Verfasser des verlorenen Typikons⁶¹, sondern auch der Autor einer verlorenen *Vita prima* des hl. Athanasios, von der sowohl Vita A – verfasst vor 1028 durch den Mönch und nachmaligen Abt des Klosters τοῦ Παναγίου, Athanasios⁶² – als auch Vita B – niedergeschrieben spätestens im frühen 12. Jh. von einem anonymen Athosmönch – abhängig sind⁶³.

Aus beiden Viten geht u. a. hervor, dass der Maler Pantoleon⁶⁴, der einen Teil der Miniaturen im „Menologion“ Basileios’ II. (Cod. Vat. gr. 1613) schuf⁶⁵, gute Beziehungen zum Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου und seinem Abt Antonios unterhielt⁶⁶. Der Ekklesiarch der Großen Lavra, Kosmas⁶⁷, der bei seinen Aufenthalten in Konstantinopel im Kloster zu wohnen pflegte⁶⁸, erbat sich von Antonios die Ikone des hl. Athanasios, die Pantoleon schon früher für den Abt gefertigt hatte. Noch bevor Antonios den Maler mit der Herstellung einer Kopie selbst beauftragen konnte, hatte Pantoleon – angeblich durch einen Schüler des Abts informiert – bereits seine Malutensilien vorbereitet, was als postumes Wunder des Heiligen interpretiert wurde⁶⁹. Das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου als Ort des Gesche-

⁵⁵ Das hatte bereits MAGDALINO, *Medieval Constantinople* (wie Anm. 16) 109–110, Appendix II herausgestellt.

⁵⁶ JANIN, *Églises* (wie Anm. 16) 385–386; P. LEMERLE et alii, *Actes de Lavra. Première partie des origines à 1204, Texte (Archives de l’Athos V)*. Paris 1970, 28–30.

⁵⁷ P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*. *REB* 43 (1984) 18–145. Englische Übersetzung: R. JORDAN, Pakourianos: Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzotissa in Bačkovo, in: *Byzantine Monastics Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder’s Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas – A. Constantinides Hero (*DOS* 35). Washington D.C. 2000, II 507–563; s. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *On contents and structure of the Panagios Typikon: a contribution to the early history of ‘extended’ monastic rules*. *BZ* 106 (2013) 39–64.

⁵⁸ GAUTIER, *Le typikon* 21, 25–28; JORDAN, Pakourianos 519.

⁵⁹ J. NORET, *Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae* (CCSG 9). Turnhout – Leuven 1982; *PmbZ* I #2067.

⁶⁰ *PmbZ* II #20498.

⁶¹ KRAUSMÜLLER, *On contents* 48. – Gregorios Pakourianos erwähnt im Prolog seines Typikons zweimal den verstorbenen Gründer und Abt von τῶν Παναγίου als Urheber von dessen Typikon, meint also wohl Antonios: GAUTIER, *Le typikon* 21, 40–41 und 23, 56–58; JORDAN, Pakourianos 519, 520, vgl. 510.

⁶² *PmbZ* II #20694.

⁶³ D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *An ascetic founder: the lost first Life of Athanasius the Athonite*, in: *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries. Papers of the fifth Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium*. Portaferry, Co. Down 17–20 September 1998, ed. M. Mullett (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations*, 6.3). Belfast 2007, 63–84, hier 81–83; IDEM, *On contents* 43–45; IDEM, *Athanasius, the Autor of Vita A of Athanasius the Athonite, on Secular Education, Legal Theory, Mysticism and Asceticism*. *JÖB* 67 (2017) 65–79.

⁶⁴ *PmbZ* II #26258.

⁶⁵ I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II*. *DOP* 16 (1962) 245–276; IDEM, *On Pantoleon the Painter*. *JÖB* 21 (1972) 241–249; A. ZAKHAROVA, *Gli otto artisti del „Menologio di Basilio II“*. *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Vaticanae* 9 (2003) 379–432; EADEM, *Los ocho artistas del „Menologio“ de Basilio II*, in: *El „Menologio de Basilio II“*. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 1613. Libro de studios con ocasión de la edición facsimil, hrsg. von F. D’Aiuto. Madrid u. a. 2008, 131–195 (mir nicht zugänglich).

⁶⁶ *Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae*: Vita A, § 254 (123, 23 und 29 NORET); Vita B, § 78 (211, 7; 212, 24, 28 und 35 NORET).

⁶⁷ *PmbZ* II #24172.

⁶⁸ *Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae*: Vita B, § 78 (211, 5–7 NORET).

⁶⁹ *Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae*: Vita A, § 254 (122, 1–123, 48 NORET); Vita B, § 78 (211, 1–212, 45 NORET); ŠEVČENKO, *On Pantoleon* 243–246 (Vita A). Deutsche Übersetzung der Geschichte von der Anfertigung der Ikone bei H. BELTING, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*. Leipzig 1990, 570–571, Text Nr. 17

hens wird nur in der Vita B namentlich erwähnt⁷⁰. Die Episode setzt ungeachtet ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit den Tod des hl. Athanasios († zwischen 1001 und 1016) voraus und wird in diese Zeitspanne datiert⁷¹. Antonios hielt sich zum Zeitpunkt von Athanasios' Tod in Konstantinopel auf⁷² und war mit der Einrichtung des Klosters τοῦ Παναγίου befasst⁷³, zumal er die ihm von Athanasios zugedachte Nachfolge als Hegumenos der Großen Lavra nicht oder nur vorübergehend angetreten hatte⁷⁴. Weitere Nachrichten über das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου sind eher spärlich⁷⁵. Die letzte Notiz, die sich darauf bezieht, stammt von 1192 (s. unten, S. 128).

Ungeklärt blieb bislang der Name τοῦ Παναγίου⁷⁶. Die aus τὰ, τοῦ oder τῶν mit dem Genitivus Singularis eines männlichen (seltener weiblichen) Personennamens gebildeten Toponyme wie z. B. τὰ Ἀνθεμίου, τὰ Δανιήλ, τὰ Ἐλεβίχου, τὰ Κύρου oder τὰ Ὀλυμπίου, die überwiegend dem 5. und 6. Jh. angehören⁷⁷, beziehen sich entweder auf das Besitztum oder auf die Kirchen- bzw. die Klosterstiftung einer der genannten Personen an einem dadurch definierten Ort innerhalb von Konstantinopel, wobei eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen Besitzer und Stifter nicht immer möglich ist⁷⁸. Im Falle von τοῦ Παναγίου handelt es sich wohl eher um das vormalige Eigentum eines ansonsten unbekannten Panagios, der sein Grundstück für die Einrichtung des Klosters zur Verfügung gestellt haben könnte. Es gibt jedoch keinerlei Hinweise, die belegen, dass ein Kloster dieses Namens bereits vor 1000 existierte und ein Panagios dessen Gründer war. Auf das Toponym τὰ Παναγίου ist später noch einmal zurückzukommen (s. unten, S. 127–128).

Im Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου weilte eine Zeitlang als Gast der amalfitanische Mönch Johannes (*in hoc sancto monasterio Panagiotum, in quo hospitor*)⁷⁹. Die lateinische Bezeichnung *monasterium Panagiotum* dürfte zweifellos auf das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου zu beziehen sein. Johannes monachus fertigte hier auf Anregung von Mitgliedern der in Konstantinopel aktiven amalfitanischen Kaufmannsfamilie de Comitibus Mauronis⁸⁰ lateinische Übersetzungen der *Vita sanctae Herinis*⁸¹ und des

(nach Vita A). Englische Übersetzung: Holy Men of Athos. Ed. and transl. by R. P. H. Greenfield – A.-M. Talbot. Cambridge MA – London 2016, 360–365 (nach Vita B).

⁷⁰ Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae: Vita B, § 78 (211, 7 NORET). – ŠEVČENKO, On Pantoleon 247, bemerkte dazu: Der Autor der Vita B erwähnte Antonios und das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου „for the sake of his Athonite audience, unfamiliar with Constantinople“.

⁷¹ ŠEVČENKO, On Pantoleon 248.

⁷² Vitae duae antiquae Athanasii Athonitae: Vita A, § 247 (118, 35–119, 39 NORET).

⁷³ KRAUSMÜLLER, On contents (wie Anm. 57) 44–45.

⁷⁴ Siehe dazu *PmbZ* II #20498.

⁷⁵ Briefwechsel zwischen dem Studitenmönch Niketas Stethatos und Athanasios, Hegumenos τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παναγίου: Nicétas Stéthatos, Opusculs et lettres. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par J. DARROUZÈS (*Sources Chrétiennes* 81). Paris 1961, 464–484. – In einer Urkunde des Kloster Iberon von 1100 unterzeichnete ein Konstantinos, Presbyter der Großen Kirche und der Blachernen, ὁ τοῦ Παναγίου, s. Actes d'Iviron II du milieu du XI^e siècle à 1204, éd. par J. LEFORT et alii (*Archives de l'Athos* XVI). Paris 1990, Nr. 49, 192, 23. – MAGDALINO, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 16) 111, Anm. 11 sah in Παναγίου einen Personennamen.

⁷⁶ *PLRE* und *PmbZ* I und II enthalten keinen Eintrag für Panagios. Nach P. LEMERLE, Cinqu'études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin. Paris 1977, 132, Anm. 44, vielleicht ein Mönch namens Panagios. Ob der Abt Antonios mit Panagios identisch sein könnte, muss aber reine Spekulation bleiben, s. JORDAN, Pakourianos (wie Anm. 57) 558, Anm. 3.

⁷⁷ Siehe die Lemmata bei JANIN, Constantinople byzantin (wie Anm. 15) 309, 334, 379–380, 399; zur Lage der Proasteia s. A. EFFENBERGER, Die Kirche des hl. Romanos in Konstantinopel und ihr Umfeld. *Mill* 14 (2017) 196–198.

⁷⁸ BERGER, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 16) 166–175. – Solche Bildungen begegnen noch in späteren Jahrhunderten. Ein Beispiel ist τὰ Λιβός bzw. τὰ Λίβα, s. JANIN, Constantinople byzantin 381–382, der den Namen auf Konstantinos Lips, den Stifter des 907/08 eingeweihten Theotokos-Klosters (Fenari İsa Camii) zurückführte. Für dieses Kloster ist allerdings nur das Toponym ἐν τῷ Μερδοσαγάρη belegt, s. JANIN, ebd. 390 (mit den Quellen). Eine Kirche des Ioulianos befand sich εἰς τὰ Λίβα ἐν τῇ Δαγούτῃ: Synaxar zum 12. Juni: DELEHAYE, Synaxarium 748, 5–6; MATEOS, Typicon 312, 18–19. Zu Δάγouta s. JANIN, ebd. 333.

⁷⁹ Siehe unten, Anm. 83.

⁸⁰ Zur Familie s. P. SKINNER, Medieval Amalfi and its Diaspora, 800–1250. Oxford 2013, 154–157 passim.

⁸¹ HOFMEISTER, Übersetzungsliteratur (wie Anm. 28) 138–141, Nr. 14; IDEM, Der Übersetzer Johannes (wie Anm. 22) 227–231.

Liber de miraculis an⁸². Im Kloster *Panagiotum* fand er auch eine Handschrift mit dem griechischen Text der Lebensbeschreibung der hl. Eirene⁸³, aber, wie er in der Vorrede zum *Liber de miraculis* beklagte, niemanden, der Latein schreiben oder lesen konnte⁸⁴. Immerhin kann angenommen werden, dass das Kloster eine Bibliothek besaß. Die Übersetzung der *Vita sanctae Herinis* entstand nach anregenden Gesprächen über die Heilige, die am Krankenbett des Lupinus, Sohn des Sergius de Comitibus Mauronis, stattfanden⁸⁵. Die Übersetzung des *Liber de miraculis* erfolgte im Auftrag des *bis consul* (δισυπατός) Pantaleo, Sohn des Mauro de Comitibus Mauronis, wie aus dem Prolog hervorgeht, worin Johannes seinen Mäzen als *nobilissime vir atque clarissime bis consul* anredete⁸⁶. Pantaleo führte diesen Ehrentitel erst in den 70er Jahren des 11. Jahrhunderts⁸⁷, weshalb die Übersetzung des *Liber de miraculis* in diese Zeit fallen dürfte. Später und wohl nicht mehr in Konstantinopel übersetzte Johannes monachus auch einen *Sermo de obitu beati Nicolay*⁸⁸. Über sein Leben erfahren wir kaum etwas, doch könnte er ein Mönch aus dem amalfitanischen Kloster Santa Maria auf dem Athos gewesen sein, was seine Zweisprachigkeit erklären würde⁸⁹. Das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου / *Panagiotum* diente anscheinend den in Konstantinopel weilenden Athos-Mönchen als Anlaufstelle und Unterkunft, wie schon das Beispiel des Ekklesiarchen Kosmas zeigte (s. oben S. 119)⁹⁰.

DAS „ZEUGNIS“ DER BLEISIEGEL

Das Männerkloster τοῦ Παναγίου war der Theotokos geweiht, was durch die als Τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῶν oder τοῦ Παναγίου zu lesende Inschrift auf dem Revers von Bleisiegeln nahegelegt

⁸² M. HOFERER, Ioannis monachi liber de miraculis. Ein spätlateinisches Übersetzungswerk (*Programm der Königlichen Studien-Anstalt Aschaffenburg für das Studienjahr 1883/84*). Würzburg 1884, 7–41; M. HUBER, Johannes monachus, Liber de miraculis. Ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Mönchsliteratur (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* 7). Heidelberg 1913; HOFMEISTER, Der Übersetzer Johannes 237–239; s. auch VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani (wie Anm. 21) 31, 34–40.

⁸³ HOFMEISTER, Übersetzungsliteratur (wie Anm. 28) 139–140: *que leguntur in hoc sancto monasterio Panagiotum, in quo hospitor*.

⁸⁴ HUBER, Johannes monachus 2, 9–12.

⁸⁵ HOFMEISTER, Übersetzungsliteratur 138; IDEM, Der Übersetzer Johannes 230 (wie Anm. 22). – S. oben, Anm. 28.

⁸⁶ HUBER, Johannes monachus 1, 4–5. – Zu Pantaleo de Comitibus Mauronis s. VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani 34–40; SKINNER, Medieval Amalfi (wie Anm. 80) 218–219.

⁸⁷ L. PERRIA, Una nota testimonianza su Pantaleone de Comitibus Maurone in una nota del codice *Scorial. Ψ.II.7. RSBN* n. s. 30 (1993) 116–121.

⁸⁸ HOFMEISTER, Übersetzungsliteratur 135–138, Nr. 13 (dort 136 die Mitteilung im Prolog: *Unde ego infimus Johannes presbiter et monachus, cum in urbe Constantinopolitana manerem, sancti patris ductus amore quesevi et inveni, et non in qualibuscunque scidulis, sed in archivis et emendatis codicibus*); IDEM, Der Übersetzer Johannes 229–230.

⁸⁹ A. PERTUSI, Monasteri e monaci italiani all’Athos nell’alto Medioevo, in: *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963. Études et Mélanges*. Chevetogne 1963, I 217–251, hier 236–237. – Zum Kloster s. VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani 25–29.

⁹⁰ Umstritten blieb bislang, ob Johannes monachus auch der Übersetzer des lateinischen Itinerars gewesen sein könnte. CIGGAAR, Une description de Constantinople (wie Anm. 2) 220, war der Ansicht, dass die mehrfache Erwähnung des *monasterium Latinorum* (Tabelle §§ 44, 45, 47, 60, 61) bereits auf das griechische Original zurückgehe und schloss eine Interpolation seitens des Übersetzers aus. In diesem Falle müsste man unterstellen, dass schon die griechische Vorlage durch einen Auftraggeber aus dem amalfitanischen Milieu von Konstantinopel veranlasst worden sei und dieser Wert darauf gelegt habe, das amalfitanische Kloster gebührend hervorzuheben. BERSCHIN, I traduttori d’Amalfi (wie Anm. 28) 253–254, charakterisierte das lateinische Itinerar als „un esempio ulteriore della scuola di traduzione amalfitana“ und brachte es mit Johannes monachus in Verbindung, jedoch ohne diesen *expressis verbis* als dessen Urheber zu bezeichnen. Der Autor oder der Übersetzer hatte zweifellos die Aufgabe, die im *monasterium Latinorum* aufbewahrten Reliquien herauszustellen (Tabelle § 44 und 61). Neben Makarios dem Eremiten, Antonios dem Jüngeren und einem Arm des Petros von Alexandria erwähnte er die Mailänder Heiligen Nazarius, Protasius, Gervasius und Celsus sowie (§ 61) den Arm des Pantaleon (Panteleimon), der Wunder bewirkte. Dies könnte ein Indiz dafür sein, dass er damit Pantaleo de Comitibus Mauronis eine besondere Referenz erweisen wollte, was wiederum für diesen als Auftraggeber und für Johannes monachus als Übersetzer spräche. Freilich enthält der Prolog keinerlei Hinweise darauf, die häufige Anrede der imaginierten Leser als *fratres karissimi* lässt eher vermuten, dass die Übersetzung für ein mönchisches Publikum bestimmt war.

wird. Auf dem Avers des einen Siegeltypus (um 1030/50) hält die Halbfigur der Theotokos mit beiden Händen vor ihrer Brust einen Clipeus mit eingeschlossener Christusbüste (**Abb. 3a** und **3b**)⁹¹. Für dieses auf Münzen und besonders auf Siegeln weit verbreitete Marienbild wurde die Typenbezeichnung „Nikopoios“ vorgeschlagen, obwohl das Epitheton hierfür nur selten begegnet⁹². Ein weiteres Siegel mit derselben Legende (um 1040/80) zeigt Maria hingegen im „Minimalorantengestus“, d. h. mit vor der Brust parallel angeordneten Armen und nach außen gekehrten Handflächen⁹³. Zu diesen Siegeln äußerte sich V. Laurent wie folgt⁹⁴: „Les sceaux ici édités permettent de supposer que sur le même emplacement [scil. am Ort der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης bzw. der Mouchliotissa im Phanarion] l’ont avait construit à une époque beaucoup plus haute un sanctuaire, puis un couvent restaurés à plusieurs reprises au cours des âges et dont l’église est parvenue jusqu’à nous. La mention certaine la plus ancienne se trouve dans le Typicon de Pacourianos pour son monastère de Petritzos“. Die Überschrift des § 25 „L’église (couvent?) de la Theotocos Panaghiotissa“ und die Ausführungen Laurents suggerieren also die Identität und Kontinuität einer vermeintlichen alten Kirche bzw. eines Klosters τῶν Παναγίου und eines mehrmals restaurierten Klosters der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης, und zwar an ein und derselben Stelle im Phanarion⁹⁵. In der historisch-topographischen und in der architekturgeschichtlichen Forschung gilt diese Annahme seither fast ausnahmslos als unbestrittene Tatsache⁹⁶, auch die Sigillographie scheint dieser Auffassung zu folgen⁹⁷.

Den ersten Stein aus diesem Konstrukt hatte P. Schreiner schon vor geraumer Zeit herausgebroschen⁹⁸. Er wies nach, dass in einem Eintrag auf dem Titelblatt der Pariser Suda-Handschrift Cod. gr.

⁹¹ Beispiele: 1) V. LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantine* V, 2: L’église. Paris 1965, 94–96, Nr. 1170, Taf. 149 rechts („1171“ beschriftet). – 2) *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Vol. 5: The East (continued), Constantinople and Environs. Unknown Locations. Addenda. Uncertain Readings, ed. E. McGeer – J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C. 2005, 111–112, Nr. 52. Das Siegel ist hier betitelt: „(The monastery? of) the Theotokos Panagiotissa (XI c.)“. <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.223> (zuletzt aufgerufen am 19.06.2018) wird die Inschrift entgegen dem Wortlaut mit („Seal of the monastery of) the most holy Theotokos Panagiotissa“ übersetzt.

⁹² W. SEIBT, Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios. Zur Ikonographie der Gottesmutter-Ikone, die 1030/31 in der Blachernenkirche wiederaufgefunden wurde. *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 549–564, hier 554–555, Abb. 9; IDEM, Die Darstellung der Theotokos besonders auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln des 11. Jahrhunderts, in: *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, ed. N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C. 1987, 42–44, Abb. 7; H. HUNGER, Zur Terminologie der Theotokosdarstellungen auf byzantinischen Siegeln. *Aachener Kunstblätter* 60 (1994) 131–142, hier 136. – Hinsichtlich der Verbindung des „Nikopoios-Typus“ mit einer der beiden 1030/31 in der Blachernen-Kirche entdeckten Ikonen der Theotokos skeptisch A. EFFENBERGER, Marienbilder im Blachernenheiligtum. *Mill* 13 (2016) 294–297, Nr. 10.

⁹³ Beispiele: 1) LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux* V, 2, 94–96, Nr. 1170, Taf. 149 links („1171“ beschriftet). – 2) G. ZACOS – J. W. NESBITT, *Byzantine Lead Seals II/1: Nos. 1–1089*. Bern 1984–1985, 357, Nr. 766, Taf. 74.

⁹⁴ LAURENT, *Le corpus des sceaux* V, 2, 94–95.

⁹⁵ Laurent berief sich dabei u. a. auf die unten Anm. 99 zitierte Arbeit von S. Kougeas.

⁹⁶ JANIN, *Églises* (wie Anm. 16) 213–214, Nr. 86 (214 Verweis auf Laurent wie Anm. 91), 385–386 (Παναγίου), s. auch 195–196, Nr. 68; Th. F. MATHEWS, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographical Survey*, University Park, PA – London 1976, 366–375; MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon* (wie Anm. 11), 204 (dort auch die ältere Literatur zur Mouchliotissa-Kirche); V. KIDONOPOULOS, Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328. Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 1). Wiesbaden 1994, 88–90; Th. STEPAN, Die Athos-Lavra und der trikonchale Kuppelnaos in der byzantinischen Architektur (*Münchener Arbeiten zur Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie* 3). München 1995, 82–83; Ch. BOURAS, Η αρχιτεκτονική της Παναγίας του Μουχλίου στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. *DChAE* 26 (2005) 35–50, hier 37–38 (englische Zusammenfassung 50); E. RYDER, The Despoina of the Mongols and Her Patronage at the Church of the Theotokos ton Mougoulion. *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 27 (2009–2010) 71–102, hier 74; V. MARINIS, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Century*. New York 2014, 27, 40, 50, 190.

⁹⁷ Siehe oben, Anm. 91.

⁹⁸ P. SCHREINER, Die topographische Notiz über Konstantinopel in der Pariser Suda-Handschrift. Eine Neuinterpretation, in: AETOS. *Studies in honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998*, ed. I. Ševčenko – I. Hutter. Stuttgart 1998,

2625, mit dem F. Dölger und S. Kugeas zunächst nur die vermeintliche Vorgeschichte des Klosters der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης zwischen 1261 und 1281 postuliert hatten⁹⁹, nicht von einer Παναγία Μαγουλίων, sondern von der Erneuerung einer bescheidenen Kirche der hl. Marina die Rede ist, die in Konstantinopel bislang unbekannt war¹⁰⁰. Es gab also keine bauliche Wiederherstellung der Kirche der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης zwischen 1261 und 1281. Mit dieser Korrektur wurde auch die Ansicht hinfällig, wonach der Maler Modestos die Mouchliotissa ausgeschmückt habe, denn tatsächlich war er in der Marina-Kirche tätig¹⁰¹.

Auf dem Avers von Bleisiegeln der Zeit um 1070/90 ist Maria als frontale Vollfigur im Orantengestus mit einem vor ihrer Brust frei schwebenden Medaillon und eingeschriebener Büste des Christuskindes sowie der Beischrift ἡ Παναγιώτισσα dargestellt (**Abb. 4**)¹⁰². Dieses aus der Kombination der Typen „Blachernitissa“ (Maria Orans) und „Nikopoios“ entwickelte Marienbild ist auf dem Avers von Bleisiegeln der komnenischen Zeit überaus häufig anzutreffen. In der Forschung hat sich hierfür die Typenbezeichnung „Episkepsis“ eingebürgert¹⁰³, obgleich das Epitheton ἡ Ἐπίσκεψις nicht vor dem 13. Jh. nachweisbar ist¹⁰⁴. Der Titel konnte zudem mit unterschiedlichen Marienbildern beischriftlich verbunden werden, so z. B. auf einer Mosaik-Ikone in Athen mit einer Darstellung der Theotokos im „Eleousa-Typus“¹⁰⁵ oder auf einem Siegel mit der Vollfigur Marias, die mit beiden

273–283, bes. 281. – Soweit ich sehe, hat nur BOURAS, *Η αρχιτεκτονική της Παναγίας του Μουχλίου* 37, diesen Aufsatz beachtet.

⁹⁹ F. DÖLGER, Der Titel des sog. Suidaslexikons (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung* 1936, 6). München 1936, 28–37 (mit Abb. des Titelblatts); S. KOUGEAS, Ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀκροπόλιτης κτήτωρ τοῦ Παρισίνου κώδικος τοῦ Σουΐδα (Cod. Parisin. graec. 2625). *Byzantina Metabyzantina* I/2 (1949) 61–74, hier 62–63 (Text).

¹⁰⁰ Ihr Kult wird sonst nur durch das aus Konstantinopel stammende Handreliquiar der hl. Marina im Museo Correr in Venedig erwiesen: A. GUILLOU, Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie. Roma 1996, 82–84, Nr. 79, Taf. 75–77; H. A. KLEIN, Die Heiltümer von Venedig – Die ‚byzantinischen‘ Reliquien der Stadt, in: Quarta Crociata. Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero latino, ed. G. Ortalli – G. Ravagnani – P. Schreiner. Venezia 2006, 808, Abb. 13; A. RHOBY, Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst nebst Addenda zu Band 1 „Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken“ (*Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung* II). Wien 2010, 252–256, Me 81, Abb. 47–51.

¹⁰¹ SCHREINER, Die topographische Notiz 276–277, 278. – Auch diese Erkenntnis blieb bislang unbeachtet, s. z. B. C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, La peinture à Constantinople au XIII^e siècle. Contacts et échanges avec l'Occident, in: Orient et Occident méditerranéens au III^e siècle. Les programmes picturaux, éd. F. Joubert – J.-P. Caillet. Paris 2012, 29.

¹⁰² Drei Siegel des Nikephoros Myron: 1) J.-C. CHEYNET – C. MORRISON – W. SEIBT, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Les sceaux byzantins de la Collection Seyrig. Paris 1991, 207–208, Nr. 313, Taf. 21 (hinsichtlich der Rückführung auf das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου äußern sich die Autoren jedoch vorsichtig: „L'épithète de la Vierge fait probablement allusion au monastère τῶν Παναγίου“). – 2) A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden, Teil 2: Siegellegenden von Ny bis Sphragis (*WBS* 28, 2). Wien 2016, 21, 35, Nr. 1483 = <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.1066> (zuletzt aufgerufen 19.06.2018). Die Autorin bemerkte hierzu: „Eine Verbindung des obigen Siegeltypus mit der obigen Kirche [scil. der Theotokos Panagiotissa im Phanarion] wäre denkbar, wenn letztere bereits im 11. Jh. vorhanden war, was wir aber nicht wissen“. – 3) Ehem. Sammlung Zacos, Foto in der Wiener Fotothek, s. WASSILIOU-SEIBT 35.

¹⁰³ SEIBT, Die Darstellung der Theotokos (wie Anm. 92) 53–55; HUNGER, Terminologie (wie Anm. 92) 136; IDEM, Heimsuchung und Schirmherrschaft über Welt und Menschheit: Μητηρ Θεοῦ ἡ Ἐπίσκεψις. *SBS* 4 (1994) 33–42, hier 35–42.

¹⁰⁴ Beispiele: 1) ZACOS – NESBITT, Byzantine Lead Seals (wie Anm. 93) 365, Nr. 788, Taf. 77. – 2) Siegel der Exisotai von Achyraus und des Karantes: HUNGER, Heimsuchung 39–40, Abb. 9); W. SEIBT – M. L. ZARNITZ, Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Wien 1997 [Ausstellungskatalog Berlin, Bode-Museum]. Wien 1997, 118–119, Kat.-Nr. 3.1.12 (13. Jh.). – 3) Anonym: Ch. STAVRAKOS, Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel der Sammlung Konstantinos Kalantzis in Agrinion (Griechenland). *SBS* 10 (2010) 81, Nr. 6, hier ohne Medaillon (13. Jh.). Die genannten Siegel und weitere Exemplare mit dem Epitheton ἡ Ἐπίσκεψις verzeichnet bei A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden, Teil 1: Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My (*WBS* 28, 1). Wien 2011, 104–105, unter Nr. 123 = <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1951.31.5.457> (zuletzt aufgerufen 19.06.2018).

¹⁰⁵ O. DEMUS, Die byzantinischen Mosaikikonen I. Die großformatigen Ikonen. Wien 1991, 15–18, Taf. 1 (13. Jh.).

Händen das Kind vor ihrer Brust hält¹⁰⁶, wohingegen für den „Episkepsis-Typus“ u. a. auch das Epitheton ἡ Βλαχερνίτισσα vorkommt¹⁰⁷.

Instruktiv ist in diesem Zusammenhang ein Blick auf die Bilder der Theotokos Kyriotissa, besonders diejenigen, die in der Kalenderhane Camii bezeugt bzw. erhalten sind. C. Mango hat nachgewiesen, dass derselbe Kyros von Panopolis, Stadtpräfekt von Konstantinopel und Prätoriumspräfekt des Ostens 439–441, der Stifter der ersten innerstädtischen Marien-Kirche τοῦ Κύρου, des Gründungsbaus der Kalenderhane Camii war¹⁰⁸. Dieser Kyros hatte ebenso das Kloster der Theotokos τῶν Κύρου πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλεβίχου (nahe der Mokios-Zisterne) eingerichtet¹⁰⁹. Beide Stiftungen müssten demnach einige Zeit nach dem Konzil von Ephesos (431) und vor 441 erfolgt sein, denn in diesem Jahr musste Kyros gezwungenermaßen sein Amt als Bischof von Kotyiaion antreten¹¹⁰. Kloster und Kirche wären demnach noch vor den beiden in den Chalkopraten und in den Blachernen von der Kaiserin Verina gegründeten Marienheiligtümern entstanden¹¹¹.

Eine Ikone der Theotokos in der innerstädtischen Kirche τοῦ Κύρου wird frühestens für das 11. Jh. durch Anna Komnene bezeugt: Theodote, die Mutter des Michael Psellos, habe vor ihr häufig für ihren Sohn gebetet¹¹². Es handelt sich dabei wohl um dasselbe Bild, das Niketas Choniates für die Zeit Manuels I. Komnenos in der Kirche τὰ Κύρου erwähnt¹¹³. Dem Dichter Manganeios Prodromos zufolge soll die Sebastokratorissa Eirene dieser Ikone ein Encheirion gestiftet haben¹¹⁴. Allem Anschein nach hat das Bild den verheerenden Stadtbrand von 1197, der auch die Kyriotissa-Kirche („bema church“) zerstörte¹¹⁵, nicht überstanden¹¹⁶. Zu dieser Ikone, über deren Ikonographie wir

¹⁰⁶ Siegel des Petros, Metropolit von Theben: V. LAURENT, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V, 3: Supplément. Paris 1972, 131–132, Nr. 1785, Taf. 24 (2. Hälfte 11. Jh.); *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Vol. 2: South of the Balkans, the Islands, South of Asia Minor, ed. J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides. Washington, D.C. 1994, 61, Nr. 21.2 (11./12. Jh.) = <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1955.1.5000> (zuletzt aufgerufen 19.06.2018); V. PENNA, *The Mother of God on Coins and Lead Seals*, in: *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. Vassilaki. [Ausstellungskatalog]. Benaki Museum, 20 October 2000 – 20 January 2001. Milano 2000, 214, Taf. 157; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Siegel mit metrischen Legenden*, Teil 1 (wie Anm. 104) 602, Nr. 1427.

¹⁰⁷ ZACOS – NESBITT, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (wie Anm. 93) 252, Nr. 522, Taf. 53; SEIBT, *Die Darstellung der Theotokos* (wie Anm. 92) 54. – Der „Episkepsis-Typus“ darf jedoch nicht länger mit der Ikone des „gewohnten Wunders“ in der Soros-Kapelle des Blachernenheiligtums verbunden werden, s. EFFENBERGER, *Marienbilder* (wie Anm. 92) 297–302, Nr. 11.

¹⁰⁸ C. MANGO, Rezension von C. L. STRIKER – Y. D. KUBAN (eds.), *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration. Final Reports on the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966–1978*, I. Mainz 1997. *BZ* 91 (1998) 586–590, hier 587–589.

¹⁰⁹ Zu diesem Kloster s. JANIN, *Églises* (wie Anm. 16) 193–195, Nr. 62; EFFENBERGER, *Kirche des hl. Romanos* (wie Anm. 77) 197–200; zum möglichen Nachleben im Frauenkloster der Theotokos τὰ Μικρὰ Ῥωμανίου 218–222.

¹¹⁰ *PLRE* II, 336–338, Fl. Taurus Seleucus Cyrus 7; AL. CAMERON, *The Empress and the Poet. Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II*. *Yale Classical Studies* 27 (1982) 217–289, hier 254–270.

¹¹¹ In der Auffassung, dass nicht bereits Pulcheria, sondern erst Verina diese Heiligtümer gegründet hat, folge ich C. MANGO, *The Origins of the Blachernae Shrine at Constantinople*, in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae*, Split-Porec 25.9. – 1.10.1994 (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 54), ed. N. Cambi – N. Marin. Città del Vaticano – Split 1998, II 61–76; IDEM, *Constantinople as Theotokoupolis*, in: VASSILAKI, *Mother of God* (wie Anm. 107) 17–25.

¹¹² *Annae Comnenae Alexias* V, 8, § 3 (162, 64–65 REINSCH – KAMBYLIS); REINSCH, *Alexias* (wie Anm. 50) 186–187.

¹¹³ Nicetae Choniatae *Historia* (rec. I. A. VAN DIETEN [CFHB 11]. Berlin 1975, 190, 1–2). S. dazu P. MAGDALINO, *Historiography of Dreaming in Medieval Byzantium*, in: *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Ch. Angelidi – G. T. Calofonos. Farnham 2014, 135–136.

¹¹⁴ V. NUNN, *The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period*. *BMGS* 10 (1986) 96–97; E. JEFFREYS, *The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Patron*, in: *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond* (*Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 60/61 [2011/2012]), ed. L. Theis et al. Wien 2014, 188.

¹¹⁵ Erwähnt in dem Gedicht des Konstantinos Stilbes: *Constantinus Stilbes, Poemata* (rec. J. DIETHART – W. HÖRANDNER. München – Leipzig 2005, Verse 483ff. und 503–508); s. P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinopolitana*, in: *AETOS* (wie Anm. 98) 227–230 (wieder abgedruckt: P. MAGDALINO, *Studies* [wie Anm. 16] VIII).

¹¹⁶ P. MAGDALINO, *The Liturgical Poetics of an Elite Religious Confraternity*, in: *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and beyond*, ed. T. Shawcross – I. Toth. Cambridge 2018, 116–132, hier 125.

nichts erfahren, stellte A. Berger fest: „The term Kyriotissa is to be understood here as an epithet of the Mother of God in the sense of, „as she is venerated in ta Kyrou““¹¹⁷.

Doch die bekannten Darstellungen mit dem beigeschriebenen Epitheton ἡ Κυριώτισσα folgen keiner einheitlichen Ikonographie: Auf Bleisiegeln begegnet seit dem 11. Jh. neben dem Typus der stehenden Vollfigur Marias, die vor der Brust mit beiden Händen das in Sitzstellung wiedergegebene Kind hält¹¹⁸, auch die Variante mit Marienbüste und einem Medaillon, in das der sitzende Christus als Ganzfigur eingeschlossen ist – also eine Version der „Nikopoios“¹¹⁹. Ein komnenischer Psalter der Zeit um 1130¹²⁰ und das Fresko im Diakonikon der Kalenderhane Camii – beide mit Beischrift ἡ Κυριώτισσα – zeigen wiederum die stehende Vollfigur Marias mit dem in Sitzhaltung vor ihrer Brust dargestellten Kind, das mit der Linken segnet und in der Rechten eine Schriftrolle hält¹²¹. Hingegen bietet das nur im oberen Teil und zudem schlecht erhaltene Fresko ehemals im nachträglich eingezogenen Tympanon über dem Durchgang vom Exo- zum Esonarthex (heute in den Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen) ein Brustbild Marias, flankiert von den Erzengeln Michael und Gabriel, doch ist das Christuskind hier zerstört, weshalb über seine Ikonographie – freie Sitzhaltung oder im Clipeus – keine Aussage mehr getroffen werden kann¹²². Beide Darstellungen erbrachten aber aufgrund der Beischriften den definitiven Beweis, dass die Kalenderhane Camii die Kirche der Theotokos τοῦ Κύρου war¹²³.

Im Falle der Kyriotissa besitzen wir also eines der wenigen Beispiele, die zeigen, wie der Name eines Stifters auf eine der Gottesmutter geweihte Kirche und zugleich auf ein darin verehrtes Marienbild übertragen werden konnte¹²⁴. Insofern erschien es naheliegend, dass in gleicher Weise aus τῶν Παναγίου „Panagiotissa“ abgeleitet worden sein könnte, obwohl ein Panagios als Gründer des

¹¹⁷ A. BERGER, Roman, Byzantine and Latin Periods, in: Striker – Kuban (eds.), Kalenderhane (wie Anm. 108) 11.

¹¹⁸ Beispiele: 1) LAURENT, Le corpus des sceaux V, 2 (wie Anm. 91) 82–83, Nr. 1156, Taf. 147, auf dem Revers Erzengel (11. Jh.), s. dazu die Richtigstellung von W. SEIBT, Rezension zu Laurent: BSI 35 (1974) 81. – 2) Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks, Vol. 5 (wie Anm. 91) 104–105, Nr. 45.2. = <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1947.2.17> (zuletzt aufgerufen 19.06.2018). Die Autoren bemerken hierzu: „There is no way of knowing for sure if we are dealing here with a seal of the church of the Kyriotissa or a seal that reflects an owner’s devotion to a particular icon. In any event, Laurent is correct that the pairing of the Mother of God with an archangel seems to reflect a specific cult“. – 3) Siegel des Eparchen Epiphantos Kamateros: V. LAURENT, Le corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantine II: L’administration centrale. Paris 1981, 563–564, Nr. 1028, Taf. 40.

¹¹⁹ Beispiele: 1) Siegel des Romanos Argyropoulos: Ch. STAVRAKOS, Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 4). Wiesbaden 2000, 82–83, Nr. 26 (2. Hälfte 11. Jh.). – 2) Siegel des Notars Mousele: LAURENT, Le corpus des sceaux II 96, Nr. 209, Taf. 8; SEIBT, Die Darstellung der Theotokos (wie Anm. 92) 46–47, Anm. 31.

¹²⁰ Venedig, Bibl. Mar., Ms gr. II. 113 (coll. 565), fol. 50v: A. CUTLER, The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium. Paris 1984, 88, Abb. 307; vgl. G. R. PARPULOV, Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium, in: The Old Testament in Byzantium, ed. P. Magdalino – R. Nelson. Washington, D.C. 2010, 97–98 (mit weiterer Lit.).

¹²¹ C. STRIKER – E. J. W. HAWKINS, in: Striker – Kuban (eds.), Kalenderhane (wie Anm. 108) 124–126, Taf. 150–153 (spätes 12. Jh.).

¹²² STRIKER – HAWKINS 142–143, Taf. 174 (nach 1261).

¹²³ Unverständlich ist angesichts der Quellenlage die Behauptung von L. JAMES, Reputation and Imperial Founding and Re-founding in Constantinople, in: Female Founders (wie Anm. 114), 72: „Perhaps most frustrating is the numbers of churches that still survive within the city, such as the Kalenderhane Camii, where we have no certain knowledge of the founders or refounders.“

¹²⁴ Eine Parallele bietet die Ikone der Theotokos „Bassiotissa“ im Theotokos-Kloster des Bassos, die im Typus der „Dexiokratousa“ dargestellt wurde. Beispiele mit dem Epitheton ἡ Βασ(σ)ιώτισσα: 1) Siegel des Michael Bouches, Erzbischof von Methymnos: V. LAURENT, Le corpus des sceaux de l’Empire byzantine V, 1. Paris 1963, 623, Nr. 806, Taf. 110 (12. Jh. – 2) Siegel des Stephanos Lachanas: WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Siegel mit metrischen Legenden Teil 1 (wie Anm. 104) 239, Nr. 494 = <http://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/BZS.1958.106.4812> (zuletzt aufgerufen 19.06.2018). Weitere Exemplare bei I. KOLSIDA-MAKRE, The Iconography of the Virgin through Inscriptions on Byzantine Lead Seals of the Athens Numismatic Museum Collections. *SBS* 8 (2003) 29. – Zur Kirche bzw. zum Kloster s. JANIN, Églises (wie Anm. 16) 61–62; BERGER, Untersuchungen (wie Anm. 16) 456–458.

Klosters ausgeschlossen werden musste (s. oben, S. 120). Die herangezogenen Siegel mit den Epitheta τῶν Παναγίου / ἡ Παναγιώτισσα bieten jedoch drei unterschiedliche Typen der Theotokos. Weder der „Nikopoios-Typus“ (**Abb. 3a**)¹²⁵ noch die Darstellung der fürbittenden Maria im „Minimalorantengestus“¹²⁶ lassen sich eindeutig auf ein oder zwei unterschiedliche, im Kloster τῶν Παναγίου verehrte Marienbilder zurückführen. Dagegen dürfte das bislang auf einem einzigen Siegeltypus belegte Epitheton ἡ Παναγιώτισσα (**Abb. 4**) kaum mehr als ein geläufiger marianischer Ehrentitel gewesen sein und kann nicht mit dem Kloster τῶν Παναγίου verbunden werden, zumal dieses niemals als das der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιώτισσης bezeichnet wurde¹²⁷. Die angeführten Beispiele bestätigen also die bekannte Tatsache, dass so gut wie alle von der Forschung klassifizierte Marientypen je nach konkretem Anlass mit unterschiedlichen – toponymen oder ehrenden – Epitheta versehen werden konnten¹²⁸. Nur die mit genuin-toponymen Beinamen bezeichneten Typen wie „Bassiotissa“, „Blachernitissa“ (Orans), „Hagiosoritissa“ und „Hodegetria“ – bedingt auch „Kyriotissa“ – gehen auf eindeutig bestimmbare Kultorte zurück. „Bassiotissa“ und „Kyriotissa“ überliefern die Namen von Kirchenstiftern, wobei für die Mariendarstellungen übliche („Dexiokratousa“) oder unterschiedliche Typen verwendet wurden, die auch mit anderen Epitheta versehen werden konnten. Hingegen liegen in den Typen „Eleousa“, „Episkepsis“ und „Nikopoios“ lediglich auf Übereinkunft basierende Benennungen vor.

DAS FRAUENKLOSTER DER THEOTOKOS ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΙΣΣΗΣ

Nach den bisherigen Feststellungen muss das Männerkloster der Theotokos τοῦ / τῶν Παναγίου in dem Gebiet zwischen Aspar-Zisterne, Deuteron und *monasterium Latinorum* – jedenfalls auf dem vierten Hügel – lokalisiert werden (**Abb. 1**). Die Gleichsetzung mit dem etwa 350 m nördlich der Aspar-Zisterne am Abhang des fünften Hügels im Quartier Phanarion gelegenen Frauenkloster der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιώτισσης (Mouchliotissa) ist also schon aus topographischen Gründen völlig ausgeschlossen (**Abb. 2**). Insofern ist es auch unwahrscheinlich, dass die späte Synaxarnotiz¹²⁹ die Lage des Eustolia-Sopatra-Klosters von dem am weitesten entfernten Ort des angeblich im Phanarion gelegenen Panagios-Klosters her bestimmt haben sollte – zu einer Zeit, in der zumindest noch das Manuel-Kloster σύνεγγυς der Aspar-Zisterne¹³⁰ und das (in den griechischen Quellen freilich nicht erwähnte) *monasterium Latinorum* existiert haben.

Da sich auch die angebliche Vorgeschichte der Mouchliotissa zwischen 1261 und 1281 und das vermeintliche Zeugnis der behandelten Siegelbilder in Luft aufgelöst haben, bleibt als einzige Quelle, die über das Frauenkloster der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιώτισσης verlässliche Auskunft gibt, ein Urteil des Patriarchen Kallistos I. vom Oktober 1351¹³¹. Darin wird mitgeteilt, dass die δέσποινα

¹²⁵ Siehe oben, Anm. 91.

¹²⁶ Siehe oben, Anm. 93.

¹²⁷ WASSILIOU-SEIBT, Siegel mit metrischen Legenden Teil 2 (wie Anm. 102), behandelt 586–587, Nr. 2621 und 592–593, Nr. 2630 zwei Siegel eines Michael ταῦτ<η> Παναγ<ι>ώτου bzw. τοῦ Παναγιώτη (beide mit dem Erzengel Michael auf dem Avers) sowie 736–737, Nr. 2922 ein Siegel mit der Legende Σφραγίς ταύτ(η) Μεθοδίου Παναγιώτου (auf dem Avers eine „Dexiokratousa“ mit dem Beinamen Βασσιώτισσα). Den Beinamen Panagiotes bezieht sie Nr. 2621 sicher zutreffend auf das Theotokos-Kloster τῶν Παναγίου, aber Nr. 2922 auf das Theotokos-Kloster τῆς Παναγιώτισσης, was nun nicht mehr haltbar ist.

¹²⁸ H. HALLENSLEBEN, Maria, Marienbild, in: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie 3 (1974) 161–178; HUNGER, Terminologie (wie Anm. 92) 139–140; KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, Iconography of the Virgin 27–38 und Tabelle; EFFENBERGER, Marienbilder (wie Anm. 92) 305–321.

¹²⁹ Siehe oben, Anm. 54.

¹³⁰ Siehe oben, Anm. 32.

¹³¹ PRK III 62–77, Nr. 184 (danach Zitate und Übersetzungen); E. MITSIOU, Historisch-geographisches aus dem Patriarchatsregister. Angaben zu den konstantinopolitanischen Klöstern, in: Junge Römer – Neue Griechen. Eine byzantinische Melange

τῶν Μουγουλλίων Maria Palaiologina¹³², die Halbschwester des Kaisers Andronikos II., von einer Maria Dukaina Akropolitissa¹³³, ihrem Schwiegersohn Demetrios Kontostephanos (Komnenos)¹³⁴ und ihrer Tochter (Theodora Dukaina Akropolitissa)¹³⁵ „an dem Ort Phanarion, der damals Ta Panagiu hieß“ (περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν τοῦ Φαναρίου διακείμενα, τὴν οὕτω πῶς τηνικαῦτα ἐπιλεγομένην τὰ Παναγίου¹³⁶), für 4000 Hyperpyra mehrere Häuser, eine Kirche, ein Bad sowie Gärten und Weinberge erworben hatte, um dort ein Frauenkloster für bedürftige Nonnen einzurichten. Zudem hatte Maria Palaiologina ihrem Kloster zahlreiche Liegenschaften in Konstantinopel gestiftet, so eine Bäckerei und zwei Weinberge beim „Alten Forum“¹³⁷ sowie eine Kirche, 60 Pachthäuser und eine weitere Bäckerei in derselben Gegend¹³⁸. Das Patrozinium der bereits vorhandenen Kirche wird nicht mitgeteilt, auch erfahren wir nicht, ob diese schon Teil eines älteren Klosters war. Aus dem rückschauenden Bericht geht zwar hervor, dass Maria Palaiologina Sicherungsmaßnahmen an „der dort befindlichen göttlichen Kirche der überaus reinen Herrin und Gottesmutter Panagiotissa“ vorgenommen habe¹³⁹, doch belegt das nur, dass die Kirche erst seit ihrer Instandsetzung den Namen der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης trug. Die Rückkehr Marias nach dem Tod ihres Gatten, des Ilkhans Abaqa (gest. 1282), gilt als *terminus post quem* für die Errichtung des Klosters¹⁴⁰. Ob Maria mit der κύρα τῶν Μουγουλλίων Μελάνη ἡ μοναχή auf dem Deesis-Mosaik im Innennarthex der Chora-Kirche identisch ist und somit selbst in den Nonnenstand eingetreten war, blieb bislang umstritten¹⁴¹. Denn immerhin fällt auf, dass der Nonnenname Melane in der Urkunde von 1351 nicht erwähnt wird. Da Maria vermutlich 1307 letztmals als Spielball kaiserlicher Politik diente¹⁴² und das Mosaik zwischen 1316 und 1322 geschaffen wurde, kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass sie erst in ihren letzten Lebensjahren († nach 1307) in den Nonnenstand eingetreten war. Ob sie selbst in ihrem Kloster gelebt hatte, ist unbekannt.

Die an den Kaiser (Johannes V. Palaiologos) herangetragene und von diesem an den Patriarchen verwiesene Klage der Nonnen des Klosters der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης richtete sich gegen Maßnahmen des Panhypersebastos Isaakios Palaiologos Asanes¹⁴³, der in erster Ehe mit Marias Tochter Theodora Arachantloun¹⁴⁴, der Erbin des Klosters, verheiratet war. Der Panhypersebastos

aus Wien, ed. M. Popović – J. Preiser-Kapeller. Wien 2008, 154–155, Nr. 37.

¹³² PLP #21395.

¹³³ PLP #525.

¹³⁴ PLP #13118.

¹³⁵ PLP #524.

¹³⁶ PRK III 66, 11–12.

¹³⁷ Mit Παλαιὸς Φόρος ist wohl das Konstantinsforum gemeint, s. N. NECİPOĞLU, The Social Topography of Late Byzantine Constantinople: Evidence from the Patriarchal Register. *Journal of Turkish Studies* 36 (2011 = In Memoriam Angeliki E. Laiou) 133–143, hier 138.

¹³⁸ PRK III 68, 42–44.

¹³⁹ PRK III 68, 32–33.

¹⁴⁰ Zu ihrer Heirat mit Abaqa s. A. WELLER, Marrying the Mongol Khans: Byzantine Imperial Women and the Diplomacy of Religious Conversion in the 13th and 14th Centuries. *Scandinavian Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (2016) 186–190.

¹⁴¹ Siehe dazu N. TETERIATNIKOV, The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople. *CahArch* 43 (1995) 163–180; Annex I: L. F. SHERRY, The poem of Maria Komnene Palaiologina to the Virgin and Mother of God, the Chorine, 181–182; C. ASDRACHA, A Brief Commentary to the Verses of Supplication to the Virgin, dedicated to her by the Despoina of Mongoulion, 181–184; A.-M. TALBOT, Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Woman Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries, in: *Byzantine Constantinople. Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu. Leiden – Boston – Köln 2001, 335–336. Skeptisch: C. L. CONNOR, Women of Byzantium. New Haven – London 2004, 314–316.

¹⁴² P. MELICHAR, Imperial Women as Emissaries, Intermediaries, and Conciliators in the Palaiologan Era. *JÖB* 67 (2017) 111–112.

¹⁴³ PLP #1494.

¹⁴⁴ PLP #1229.

war nach dem Tod seiner Gemahlin (vor 1328), die kein Testament hinterlassen hatte, vom Kaiser (Andronikos II. Palaiologos) zum Kurator des Klosters eingesetzt worden. Er hatte jedoch beträchtliche Zerstörungen an den Gebäuden angerichtet und dem Kloster zustehende Geldmittel veruntreut. Zudem übereignete er das Kloster widerrechtlich seiner Tochter und etliche Gebäude seinem Sohn. Bei der Verhandlung vor dem Patriarchen hatten die Nonnen den alten, von Maria Palaiologina geschlossenen Kaufvertrag¹⁴⁵ vorgelegt, um die Berechtigung ihrer Klage und ihrer Ansprüche zu beweisen. Insofern ist es mehr als wahrscheinlich, dass bereits darin das Toponym τὰ Παναγίου enthalten war. Dies wiederum scheint unweigerlich dafür zu sprechen (und wurde meist auch so verstanden), dass der Ortsname noch 1282 bzw. 1351 auf das einst hier gelegene Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου zurückgeführt werden müsse, zumal an diesem Platz eine alte Kirche existierte¹⁴⁶.

Doch auch dieses Argument lässt sich entkräften. Aus einer für die Genuesen ausgestellten Urkunde des Kaisers Isaakios II. Angelos von 1192 geht hervor, dass sich in der Nähe des Nerodromos der Amalfitaner und des Metochion des Trichinareia-Klosters vormals ein οἰκοστάσιον τῶν Παναγίου befand¹⁴⁷. Hier bezieht sich τῶν Παναγίου eindeutig auf ein externes Besitztum des Panagios-Klosters. Hingegen dürfte das in der Patriarchatsurkunde von 1351 überlieferte Toponym τὰ Παναγίου auf ein vormals im Phanarion gelegenes Proasteion desselben Panagios zurückgehen, nach dem oder besser, nach dessen vormaligem Besitztum das Kloster auf dem vierten Hügel seinen Namen erhalten hatte (s. oben, S. 120), ohne dass damit eine weitere Kirchen- oder Klosterstiftung im Phanarion verbunden gewesen wäre. Das allein würde erklären, weshalb die Örtlichkeit „damals“ (τηνικαῦτα) noch immer τὰ Παναγίου hieß und das Toponym sich über die Jahrhunderte erhalten hatte. Allerdings sind mir außer τοῦ Κύρου (s. oben, S. 124) und τοῦ Παναγίου nur zwei weitere gleichlautende Toponyme an unterschiedlichen Orten inner- und außerhalb von Konstantinopel bekannt, die auf die Namen ein und derselben Person zurückgehen. Das betrifft zum einen Anthemios, der im Südwesten der Stadt nahe der Mokios-Zisterne und am Bosphorus Proasteia besaß¹⁴⁸, und zum anderen Antiochos, dem ein Palast beim Hippodrom gehörte und nach dem ein Quartier am Goldenen Horn benannt war¹⁴⁹. Wir können also nur feststellen, dass der Name τὰ / τοῦ Παναγίου mit zwei weit auseinander liegenden Lokalitäten innerhalb von Konstantinopel verbunden war und in einem Fall (οἰκοστάσιον τῶν Παναγίου) ein ehemaliger, stadtinterner Außenbesitz des Panagios-Klosters vorliegt.

Die Kirche der Theotokos Panagiotissa (Mouchliotissa) hatte ursprünglich einen vierpassförmigen Grundriss von etwa 12 × 12 m, der vorgelagerte, dreijochige Narthex wurde erst in palaiologischer Zeit im Zusammenhang mit den Wiederherstellungsarbeiten unter Maria Palaiologina angefügt (Abb. 5 und 6)¹⁵⁰. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, stand in der jüngeren baugeschichtlichen Forschung die Beurteilung der Mouchliotissa ganz unter der Prämisse, dass sie die Nachfolgerin der Klosterkirche τοῦ Παναγίου am selben Ort gewesen sei und ihr Kernbau demzufolge in das frühe 11. Jh. datiert werden müsse¹⁵¹. Th. F. Mathews und andere verwiesen in diesem Zusammenhang stets auf die Kirche der Theotokos Kamariotissa auf Heybeliada (Chalke), die – bei allen und zum Teil gravierenden Unterschieden – ursprünglich ebenfalls einen Vierpassgrundriss aufwies und durch

¹⁴⁵ PRK III 66, 16–18.

¹⁴⁶ JANIN, Constantinople byzantin (wie Anm. 15), hat „Panagiu“ zwar als eigenes Lemma nicht verzeichnet, aus JANIN, Églises (wie Anm. 16) 213–214, Nr. 86 und 385–386, geht aber eindeutig hervor, dass er die Klöster τὰ Παναγίου / τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης auf Grund des Toponyms für identisch hielt und im Phanarion lokalisierte.

¹⁴⁷ MM III 18; MAGDALINO, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 16) 91, Anm. 204.

¹⁴⁸ JANIN, Constantinople byzantin (wie Anm. 15) 309, 483.

¹⁴⁹ JANIN, Constantinople byzantin 310–311. – Antiochos-Palast: MÜLLER-WIENER, Bildlexikon (wie Anm. 11) 122–125 (Euphemia-Kirche). – Goldenes Horn (Kirche des Propheten Elias): EFFENBERGER, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii (wie Anm. 1) 7.

¹⁵⁰ Rekonstruktion bei BOURAS, Η αρχιτεκτονική της Παναγίας του Μουχλίου (wie Anm. 96) Abb. 8 (danach meine Abb. 5).

¹⁵¹ Siehe oben, Anm. 96.

den Einsatz „verdeckter Schichttechnik“ in das spätere 11. Jh. datiert wird¹⁵². E. Ryder beobachtete zwar an den palaiologischen Erweiterungen der Mouchliotissa „verdeckte Schichttechnik“¹⁵³, doch bestätigt das nur die bekannte Tatsache, dass diese Mauerwerkstechnik auch in der Spätzeit noch in Gebrauch war¹⁵⁴. An den originalen Teilen der Kirche sind derzeit Untersuchungen an den verputzten Außen- und Innenwänden nicht möglich, weshalb Aussagen über die Struktur des Mauerwerks und das mögliche Alter des Gebäudes nicht getroffen werden können (**Abb. 6**). Die gewissen typologischen Gemeinsamkeiten mit der Kamariotissa und anderen Vierkonchenbauten¹⁵⁵ sprechen also bestenfalls für eine Datierung des Kernbaus der Mouchliotissa in die mittelbyzantinische Zeit, das ursprüngliche Patrozinium der Kirche bleibt aber weiterhin unbekannt und wäre aus der Bestimmung ihrer Entstehungszeit ohnehin nicht zu gewinnen.

ERGEBNISSE

Aufgrund der dargelegten topographischen Argumente halte ich es für naheliegend, dass die in den herangezogenen Quellen erwähnten Klöster – 1) *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genitricis*, 2) Manuel *prope monasterium sancte Marie Latinorum* / σύνεγγυς τῇ κιστέρνῃ τοῦ Ἀσπαρος, 3) Eustolia und Sopatra *iuxta autem monasterium Latinorum* / πλησίον τοῦ Παναγίου, 4) Matrona *iuxta illud monasterium* (der Eustolia und Sopatra) / πλησίον τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μανουήλ / τοῦ τείχους ἔσωθεν (scil. der Konstantinsmauer) / am Ort Σευεριανά bzw. nahe dem Bassianos-Kloster am Σευήρον sowie 5) das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου – zwischen Aspar-Zisterne und Deuteron auf dem vierten Hügel zu lokalisieren sind (**Abb. 1 und 2**)¹⁵⁶. Die in den Quellen erwähnten Entfernungsangaben wie *iuxta*, *prope*, *πλησίον*, *ἐγγύς* oder *σύνεγγυς* sagen allerdings nichts über die wirklichen Distanzen aus¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵² Th. F. MATHEWS, Observations on the Church of Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul; with A Note on Panagia Kamariotissa and Some Imperial Foundations of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries at Constantinople, by C. Mango. *DOP* 27 (1973) 115–132; zur Datierung MATHEWS 122–123 (der Beitrag von Mango wieder abgedruckt: C. MANGO, Studies on Constantinople [*Variorum Collected Studies Series* CS394], Aldershot 1993, XX); MATHEWS, The Byzantine Churches (wie Anm. 96) 367; STEPPAN, Die Athos-Lavra (wie Anm. 96) 80–83; BOURAS, Η αρχιτεκτονική της Παναγίας του Μουχλίου 44; RYDER, The Despoina of the Mongols (wie Anm. 96) 86–87.

¹⁵³ RYDER, The Despoina of the Mongols 80–81, Abb. 1–2. – Der Autor ignorierte wie noch MARINIS, Architecture and Ritual (wie Anm. 96) den Aufsatz von SCHREINER, Die topographische Notiz (wie Anm. 98).

¹⁵⁴ Zur „verdeckten Schichttechnik“, die in Konstantinopel erstmals in den Substruktionen der von Romanos III. Argyros (1028–1034) errichteten Peribleptos-Kirche auftritt, s. C. MANGO, The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea. *DOP* 13 (1959) 249–250; H. HALLENSLEBEN, Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der ehemaligen Pamakaristoskirche, der heutigen Fethiye camii in Istanbul. *IstMitt* 13/14 (1963/64) 154–156, 159, 161, 163, 166, Anm. 102; Y. S. ÖTÜKEN, Isa kapi Mescidi und Medresesi in Istanbul (Phil. Diss. Bonn). Bonn 1974, 105–117; P. L. VOKOTOPOULOS, The Concealed Course Technique: Further examples and a few remarks. *JÖB* 28 (1979) 247–260; R. OUSTERHOUT, Observations on the „recessed brick“ technique during the Palaeologan period. *AD* 79 (1985) [1991] 163–170. – M. RESTLE, s. v. Konstantinopel. *RBK* 4 (1992) 601, lehnte die Datierung der Kamariotissa in die komnenische Zeit allein aufgrund der „verdeckten Schichttechnik“ ebenso ab wie die auf diese Kirche gegründete Datierung der Mouchliotissa; beide hält er für palaiologisch.

¹⁵⁵ Z. B. mit der Andreas-Kirche in Peristerai / Makedonien, die in das dritte Viertel des 10. Jhs. datiert wird, s. STEPPAN, Die Athos Lavra 83, Abb. 97.

¹⁵⁶ Die von MAGDALINO, Medieval Constantinople (wie Anm. 16), Appendix II, 109–111, vorgeschlagene Gleichsetzung des Klosters τοῦ Παναγίου / *Panagiotum* mit dem *monasterium Latinorum* ist m. E. aufzugeben, s. VON FALKENHAUSEN, Gli Amalfitani (wie Anm. 21) 31–33. Es ist zwar auffällig, dass der Ort des Eustolia-Sopatra-Klosters nur durch das *monasterium Latinorum sancte Dei genitricis* (im lateinische Itinerar) und nur durch das Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου (in der späten Synaxarotiz) definiert wird, was zumindest auf eine enge Nachbarschaft von *monasterium Latinorum*, Panagios- und Eustolia-Sopatra-Kloster schließen lässt (Abb. 1). Auch die Möglichkeit, dass das Panagios-Kloster im späteren 11. Jh. im amalfitanischen *monasterium Latinorum* aufgegangen sein könnte, halte ich für wenig wahrscheinlich, da sich dann wohl kaum erklären ließe, weshalb Johannes monachus im Kloster *Panagiotum* = *monasterium Latinorum* niemanden gefunden haben sollte, der Latein konnte (s. oben, S. 121).

¹⁵⁷ Besonders *πλησίον* ist äußerst unscharf, vgl. oben Anm. 16 (Jesaja-Reliquien ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου πλησίον Βλαχερνῶν). Die Entfernung von der Laurentios-Kirche zu den Blachernen betrug immerhin ca. 1,5 km!

Lediglich σύνεγγυς scheint auf eine engere Nachbarschaft – in unserem Fall zwischen Manuel-Kloster und Aspar-Zisterne – hinzudeuten. Die genannten Klöster lassen sich zwar nicht exakt verorten, doch kann ihre topographische Vernetzung untereinander und mit sicher lokalisierten Anlagen (Aspar-Zisterne) bzw. mit hinlänglich lokalisierbaren Kirchen (Euphemia und Laurentios-Jesaja im Petrion) klar nachvollzogen werden (**Abb. 1**). Die meisten Klöster scheinen nach der lateinischen Eroberung untergegangen zu sein. Allerdings wurde das hier betrachtete Areal auf dem vierten Hügel von den Bränden 1203/04 nicht betroffen¹⁵⁸. Das erst nach 1282 bezeugte Kloster der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης der δέσποινα τῶν Μουγουλλίων Maria Palaiologina befindet sich ca. 350 m nördlich der Aspar-Zisterne am Abhang des fünften Hügels – weit außerhalb des hier eingekreisten Gebiets – und ist vom Kloster τοῦ Παναγίου strikt zu trennen. Auch die angeführten Bleisiegel beweisen weder die Identität noch die Kontinuität der Klöster τοῦ Παναγίου und τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης.

Korrekturnachtrag zu Abb. 1:

Das im 6. Jh. nachweisbare Kloster des Eutychios τῶν Λυκαόνων lag einerseits πλησίον τῶν Ματρώνης (ACO III, 144 Nr. 44), andererseits πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου (ACO III, 47 Nr. 62; 70 Nr. 40). Zum Kloster s. JANIN, Églises (wie Anm. 16) 119.

¹⁵⁸ Th. F. MADDEN, The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment. *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92) 72–93, Plan.

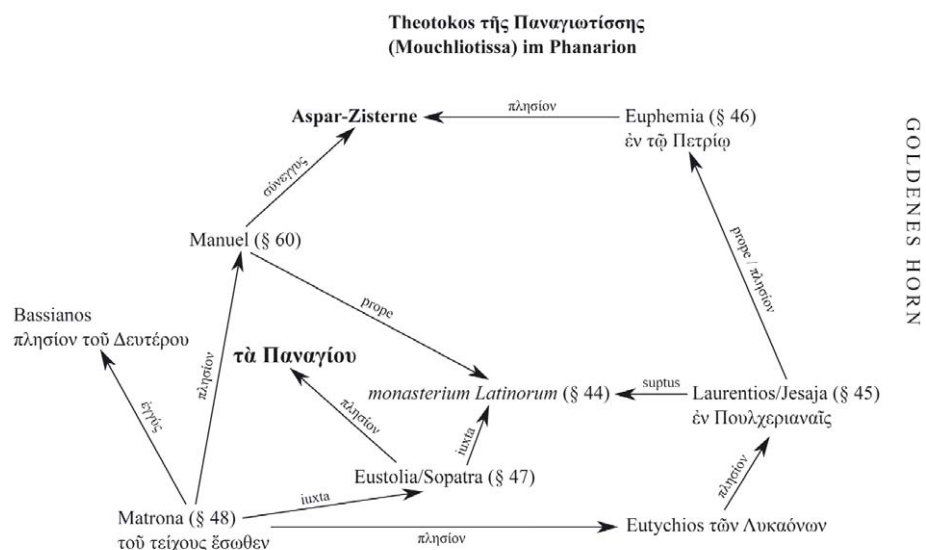


Abb. 1

Diagramm der Lagebeziehungen der Klöster südlich der Aspar-Zisterne.

Die Pfeilrichtung zeigt immer auf das Kloster, auf das sich die jeweilige Entfernungsangabe bezieht

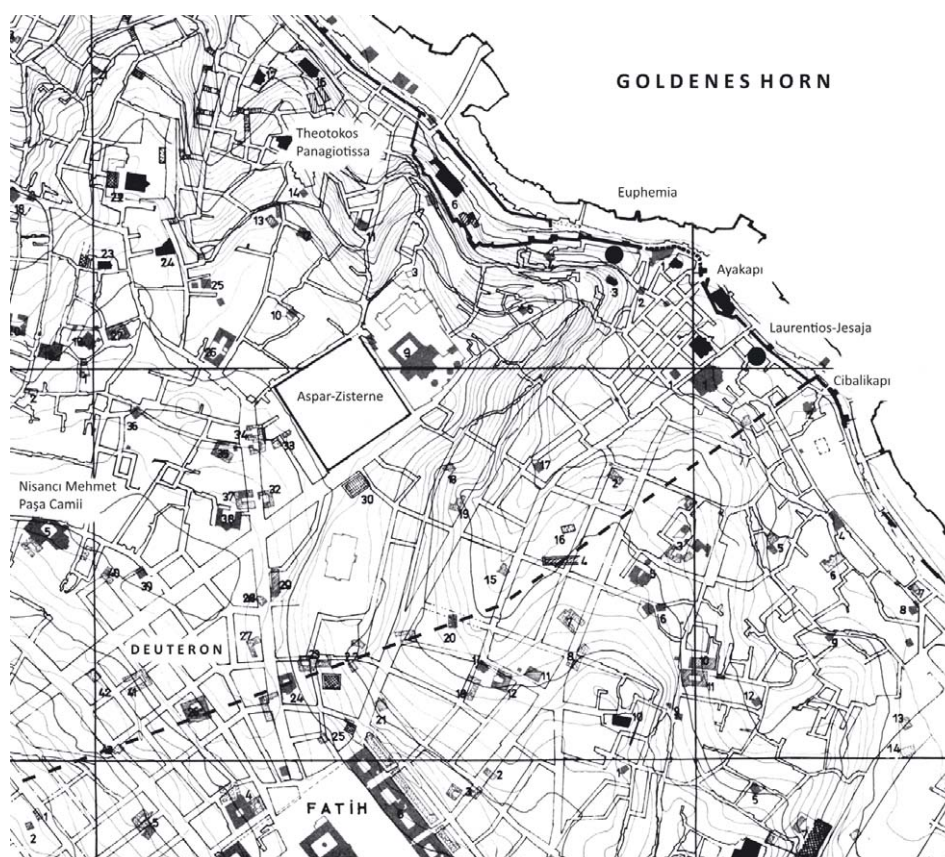


Abb. 2:

Ausschnitt aus dem Plan von W. MÜLLER-WIENER, Bildlexikon, mit zusätzlichen Eintragungen des Autors.

Die gestrichelte Linie gibt den vermuteten Verlauf der Konstantinsmauer an



Abb. 3a und b

Siegel des Klosters der Theotokos τῶν Παναγίου. Avers: Halbfigur der Theotokos, die mit beiden Händen vor ihrer Brust einen Clipeus mit eingeschlossener Christusbüste hält. Revers: Inschrift Τ[ῆς Ὑ]περαγ[ί]ας Θε(οτό)κου τ(ῶν) Παναγ[ί]ου. Dm. 22 mm. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, DO 58.106.223 (200% vergrößert)

Abb. 4

Siegel des Nikephoros Myron. Avers: Vollfigur der Theotokos im Orantengestus mit einem vor ihrer Brust frei schwebenden Medailon und eingeschriebener Büste des Christuskindes, Beischrift ἡ Παναγ<ι>ώτ<ι>σ(σα). Dm. 23 mm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Seyrig, Inv. 288 (200% vergrößert)

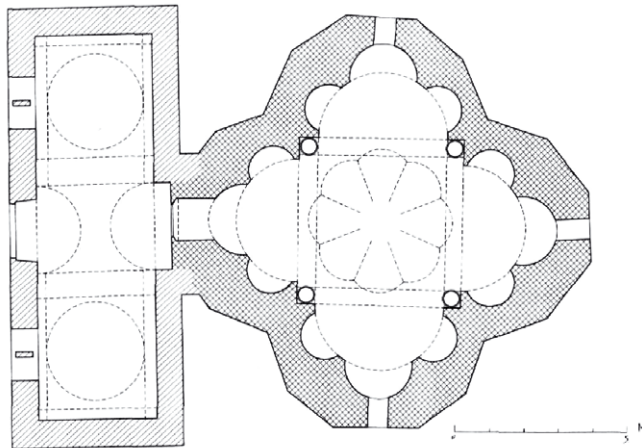


Abb. 5

Grundriss der Kirche der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης (Mouchliotissa)



Abb. 6

Kirche der Theotokos τῆς Παναγιωτίσσης (Mouchliotissa). Ansicht von Südwesten

KARIN KRAUSE

Celebrating Orthodoxy: Miniatures for Gregory the Theologian's "Unread" Orations (Ms. Basiliensis AN I 8)

With 1 figure and 6 plates

Abstract: Ms. AN I 8 in the University Library of Basel contains the second part of the *Commentary* on the so-called "unread" orations of Saint Gregory of Nazianzus composed by Elias the metropolitan of Crete presumably around 1120, a text that was rarely copied in Byzantium. This essay examines the hitherto little-studied miniatures that were added to the codex, two author portraits and fourteen illustrative frontispieces. Stylistic and especially iconographic evidence suggests that the book's miniatures were commissioned during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143–1180), most likely in or after 1166 when Manuel assembled a Church Council in the Great Palace of Constantinople which dealt with the interpretation of Christ's phrase "My Father is greater than I" (John 14:28). The essay presents the first detailed analysis of the iconography of the miniatures in light of the theological writings contained in the volume. Painted at a time of intense doctrinal debates, I argue that these images first and foremost serve to celebrate Gregory as a religious leader and teacher of lasting authority in matters of Byzantine Orthodox theology. Codicological analysis reveals a complex production scenario and suggests that at least the frontispieces were added to the book as an afterthought; furthermore, it can be demonstrated that these paintings were not originally intended for the present volume but likely for another copy of the same text. Yet it seems that all sixteen miniatures were created within a short period of time by one and the same workshop comprising a large number of painters, who collaborated on what appears to have been a commission of highly unusual character.

1. INTRODUCTION

The following study is dedicated to the miniatures contained in ms. AN I 8 of the University Library of Basel (*Diktyon* 8896)¹. As I will argue in this article, these images were in all likelihood commissioned during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, more precisely in or after the year 1166, at a time of intensified doctrinal debates in which the ruler played a leading role. The manuscript contains the *Commentary* (ἐξήγησις) by Elias, Metropolitan of Crete, on 19 orations of Gregory of Nazianzus (ca. 329–390), which are included with the *Commentary*². Apart from an iconographic investigation of the sixteen full-page miniatures found in this book, two author portraits and fourteen illustrative frontispieces, I will also discuss the practicalities of their manufacture and insertion into

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Ueli Dill (Head of the Department of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books at the University Library of Basel) for facilitating my consultation of the original manuscript and generously providing me with digital images on multiple occasions. Francesco Carmenati, M.A. (Head of the Department of Conservation) and Friederike Koschate-Hennig (Conservator, Basel) shared with me their observations from the recent restoration project, for which I am grateful as well. While work on this article was in progress, I gave presentations at the Medieval Studies Workshop of the University of Chicago and at the Byzantine Studies Conference in Minneapolis. I would like to thank the attendees of both events for their helpful comments. I also wish to express my gratitude for the advice I received from the two anonymous readers who peer-reviewed this essay for *JÖB*.

² I have rendered the manuscript's inventory number according to the usage for the description of manuscripts in the Basel University Library in "e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland." In the present article, I use "orations," "homilies," "discourses," or "sermons" interchangeably to refer to Gregory's oratory works contained in ms. Basil. AN I 8; on terminology, see V. SOMERS, *Histoire des collections complètes des Orationes de Grégoire de Nazianze* (*Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 48). Louvain-la-Neuve 1997, V; on the different literary genres represented in Gregory's work (orations, letters, and poems), see B. WYSS, Gregor II (Gregor von Nazianz), in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* XII, ed. T. Klauser. Stuttgart 1983, 793–863, 798–814.

the manuscript. Careful codicological analysis reveals a complex production scenario and suggests that the miniatures were added to the codex at different points in time. Just like Elias' expositions, these images reflect the appreciation accorded to Gregory Nazianzen and his theological writings in medieval Byzantium. As I will argue in this essay, the iconography of the frontispieces was clearly derived from the text of the homilies, rather than their exegesis. In a sense, they supply the book with yet another—visual—commentary. First and foremost, I argue, the set of images contained in this codex serves to celebrate Gregory's lasting authority in matters of Byzantine Orthodox theology.

The hitherto little-known codex has recently been subjected to restoration carried out by the Department of Conservation of the Basel University Library, which occasioned a thorough autopsy of its contents as well. Ms. AN I 8 is a heavy codex of large dimensions, now measuring ca. 380 × 270 millimeters. Its text was written on paper folia, whereas all sixteen miniatures that were added to the book are on parchment sheets³. A detailed description and digital facsimile of the codex is available in *e-codices – Virtual Manuscript Library of Switzerland*, and I invite the reader to use the high-resolution photographs that are available online⁴. My investigation of the miniatures was originally begun as part of collaborative work with Caroline Macé and Patrick Andrist, who have recently published a fine article that focuses chiefly on the philological, codicological, and palaeographical analysis of the manuscript⁵.

The Basel codex is a highly unusual manuscript with regard to its textual content, its illuminations, and the complex procedures of its creation. Hardly anything is known about Elias of Crete, whose episcopate has tentatively been dated to around 1120⁶, and it is not clear where he composed his *Commentary* on Gregory's orations. The title provided in the Basel codex (f. 1r) mentions that Elias wrote his expositions "when he was in exile," the location of which is not named⁷. Byzantine witnesses of Elias' expositions are scarce, and the text remains unedited⁸. Only one codex, ms. Vat. gr. 1219 (*Diktyon* 67850), which has been dated to around 1200, preserves the text in its entirety⁹.

³ Paper became more common for the production of books from the mid-11th century on; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Writing Materials, Documents, and Books*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. Laiou. Washington, D. C. 2002, III 589–592, 590; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Le support matériel des documents byzantins*, in: *La paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris 21–25 octobre 1974 (*Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 559), ed. J. Glénisson – J. Bompaigne – J. Irigoien. Paris 1977, 385–416, 390; J. IRIGOIN, *Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance*. *BZ* 46 (1953) 314–316, 314.

⁴ <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ubb/AN-I-0008> (accessed 23.07.2018).

⁵ C. MACÉ – P. ANDRIST, *Elias of Crete's Commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies in codex Basel AN I 8: a Philological and Codicological Approach*. *Nea Rhome* 13 (2016 [2018]) 171–239. I wish to thank the authors for fruitful discussions of the original manuscript during several meetings at Basel University Library and while work on my own article was in progress.

⁶ V. LAURENT, *Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Élie*. *REB* 16 (1958) 116–142, esp. 118–121; for critical discussions of the scarce textual evidence and its complications with regard to matters of dating, see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 201–205; E. DE RIDDER, *Elias Ekdikos as the Author of the Anthologium Gnomicum (CPG 7716): a Research Update*. *REB* 73 (2015) 203–227, 223–226. In terms of chronology, the only secure evidence (providing a *terminus post quem*) is Elias' reference, in the commentary's prologue, to an earlier commentator on Gregory's orations, Basil the Lesser, whose activity may be dated to around 950; LAURENT, *Rituel* 118; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 201.

⁷ ὑπεροπῶ τυγχάνοντι; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 185. No exile is mentioned in the roughly contemporaneous ms. Vat. gr. 1219, the only complete copy of Elias' commentary; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 190.

⁸ Partial translations of the commentary into Latin were published in the later 16th century by Johannes Löwenklau and Jacques de Billy; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 188–189 (with the older bibliography). Löwenklau's translation, published in 1571, is based on the Basel codex; I. LEUNCLAVIUS [Löwenklau], *Operum Gregorii Nazianzeni Tomi tres, aucti nunc primum Caesarii, qui frater Nazianzeni fuit, Eliae Cretensis Episcopi, Pselli, & ipsius Gregorii librorum aliquot accessione*. Basel 1571, 2–393.

⁹ J. SAJDAK, *Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, I. Cracow 1914, 98–99; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* esp. 189–190; see also their detailed remarks on ms. Vat. gr. 1219 throughout the text and in Appendices II, IV–VI. The Vatican codex has recently been digitized (https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.1, and https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.1).

Like the Basel codex, it was written on paper, but textual variants suggest that the two manuscripts are not directly related¹⁰. Yet it is significant that the order of the orations and their commentaries in the ms. Basiliensis AN I 8 conforms exactly to that of the second part of ms. Vat. gr. 1219¹¹. This observation suggests that only the second part of the complete *Commentary* was available—or of interest—to whomever commissioned the copy, because the first homily in the Basel codex is numbered λόγος πρῶτος (f. 1r), thus presenting the book as a complete entity to the reader. Aside from the Basel codex, only three other Byzantine manuscripts survive that contain parts of the *Commentary*, all of them dating from the 14th century¹².

Elias' expositions are limited to Gregory's "unread" (μὴ ἀναγινωσκόμενοι) orations, called thus in Byzantium to indicate that they were not read during the liturgy on feast days of the Church calendar¹³. In contrast, the so-called liturgical edition comprises sixteen of Gregory's sermons that were not commented upon by Elias. They were read annually on the occasion of special festivals¹⁴, were thus copied especially frequently (ca. 440 witnesses survive)¹⁵, and were often illustrated lavishly, as testified by at least three dozen preserved manuscripts¹⁶.

As stated in the prologue to his *Commentary*, it was a declared aim of Elias to offer expositions of the "unread" homilies because, unlike the "liturgical" ones, they had been largely neglected by previous exegetes¹⁷. Elias did not comment upon these discourses in their chronological sequence. Although his exegesis reveals that he was entirely familiar with their respective historical context, he appears to have been more interested in tracing their sources in the realms of Holy Scripture and especially ancient rhetoric and philosophy¹⁸. The characterization "unread" does not mean that all of these discourses were generally little known or copied rarely in Byzantium, though, as the manuscript tradition of Gregory's orations is very rich¹⁹. Over a hundred codices contain the so-called

vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1219.pt.2 (consulted 07/31/18; I would like to thank C. Macé for alerting me to its online availability). Seven partial copies of ms. Vat. gr. 1219 were produced after the manuscript's arrival in Italy; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 194–195 (nos. 2–7), 196 (no. 14).

¹⁰ Cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 189–193, 205.

¹¹ Ms. Basil. AN I 8 contains the lemmata and commentaries on Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 20, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 26, Or. 36, Or. 3, Or. 9, Or. 13, Or. 12, Or. 17, and Or. 10; the contents of ms. Vat. gr. 1219 are Or. 2, Or. 4, Or. 5, Or. 7, Or. 8, Or. 18, Ep. 101, Ep. 102, Or. 25, Or. 34, Or. 27, Or. 28, Or. 20, Or. 29, Or. 30, Or. 31, Or. 32, Or. 6, Or. 23, Or. 22, Or. 33, Or. 26, Or. 36, Or. 3, Or. 9, Or. 13, Or. 12, Or. 17, and Or. 10; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendices I, II, IV.

¹² MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 195 (nos. 8, 9, 13). One of these manuscripts contains the first part of the commentary (ibid., no. 13, Appendix IV: V42), whereas the other two are miscellaneous collections, each containing a small selection of Gregory's "unread" orations accompanied by Elias' commentary.

¹³ The classification may be traced back to John Mauropous (11th century); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 190; J. MOSSAY, La collection des Discours "non-lus-à-date-fixe" dans le ms. de New York Gordan Goodhart Gr. 44, in: II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981, ed. J. Mossay. Paderborn et al. 1983, 15–21. In addition to Gregory's "unread" homilies, Elias also commented on two of his letters (Ep. 101, 102); see MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix II.

¹⁴ V. SOMERS-AUVERS, Les collections byzantines de XVI discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. *BZ* 95 (2002) 102–135.

¹⁵ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix III.

¹⁶ G. GALAVARIS, Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 6). Princeton 1969. The denomination "liturgical edition" is of modern origin. On the difference between Gregory's "unread" orations and the sixteen belonging to the so-called liturgical edition, see SOMERS, Histoire VI.

¹⁷ In the Basel codex, the text of the prologue was added at a later date on the reverse of the first frontispiece miniature (f. Br); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 184–185; ed./trans., ibid., 197–199. In his prologue, Elias refers to previous expositions of Gregory's "unread" discourses by Basil the Lesser (10th century) and a certain Gregory; see ibid., 198, 200.

¹⁸ See the text of the commentary throughout (LEUNCLAVIUS, *Operum* 2–393) and its prologue (ed./trans. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, esp. 198). On the relevance of ancient philosophy and rhetoric in 12th-century intellectual culture, see P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 332–356.

¹⁹ According to Somers, writings by Gregory are found in over a thousand Greek manuscripts copied before ca. 1550; SOMERS, Histoire V.

complete collection, i.e., the full set of his forty-four orations (plus select further writings)²⁰, and over seventy additional manuscripts contain the collection of the “unread” orations²¹. Importantly, the latter works include Gregory’s esteemed Theological Orations, delivered at Constantinople in 380, which by the Early Byzantine period had earned him the honorary title “the Theologian.”²² They are found in the Basel codex as well, at the very beginning.

Commentaries on Gregory’s “unread” orations earlier than that of Elias do exist, and many manuscripts are equipped with abundant marginal scholia²³. In addition, details about Gregory’s life and the historical circumstances in which his writings originated were known from other writings, especially his lengthy autobiographical poem and the *Vita* drawn up by Gregory the Presbyter in the seventh century²⁴. In Elias’ *Commentary*, the text of Gregory’s discourses is split up into sections (*lemmata*), so that citations from the homilies alternate with sections of the commentary, which are significantly longer. In ms. Basil. AN I 8, the lemmata are written in vermillion red ink, while the commentary sections are rendered in black ink.

Given the paucity of surviving manuscripts containing Elias’ expositions, it is very unlikely that the text circulated widely in Byzantium. What is now the Basel codex thus presupposes an outstanding commission, launched by or at least aimed at an intellectually accomplished individual or group. The codex was among the roughly sixty manuscripts purchased between 1435 and 1437 in Constantinople by the Dominican theologian John of Ragusa (Ivan Stojković, †1443) for use during the Council of Basel, and numerous marginal notes testify to the intense consultation of the book throughout the early modern period²⁵. The current binding of the codex was commissioned by Stojković in Constantinople at the Monastery of St. John Prodromos in Petra, which was located in the vicinity of the imperial palace of Blachernae²⁶. A note added on the verso of the first flyleaf records the total price he paid for the manuscript with its new binding²⁷. This might suggest that the scholar also purchased the book itself at the monastery, which had an important library and was at the time one of the capital’s leading institutions of learning²⁸.

²⁰ SOMERS, *Histoire*, esp. 314–697, 707–708; V. SOMERS, *Description des collections complètes des Orationes de Grégoire de Nazianze: quelques compléments*. *Byz 71* (2001) 462–504.

²¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix III.

²² The first secure evidence for the epithet is Gregory Nazianzen’s *bios*, composed by Gregory the Presbyter (seventh century), who points out that the only other individual to be honored with this title was St. John the Evangelist; *PG 35*, 244A, esp. 288C; cf. *ibid.*, 147A; Wyss, *Gregor* 796.

²³ J. NIMMO SMITH, *The Early Scholia on the Sermons of Gregory of Nazianzus*, in: *Studia Nazianzenica I (Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca 41; Corpus Nazianzenum 8)*, ed. B. Coulie. Turnhout 2000, 69–146.

²⁴ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*. Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar, herausgegeben, eingeleitet und erklärt von C. JUNGCK. Heidelberg 1974; *PG 35*, 243–304.

²⁵ A. KRCHŇÁK, *Ragusio, Johannes Stoyci*, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, begründet und herausgegeben von F. W. Bautz, fortgeführt von T. Bautz. Herzberg 1994, VII 1256–1263; A. CATALDI PALAU, *Legature constantinopolitane del monastero di Prodromo Petra tra i manoscritti di Giovanni di Ragusa (†1443)*. *Codices Manuscripti* 37/38 (2001) 11–50, esp. 11–13; also see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 186–189.

²⁶ CATALDI PALAU, *Legature* 15, 21, 32–35, esp. 32, 34; on the history and location of the monastery, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, III: Les églises et les monastères*. Paris 1969, 421–429.

²⁷ *Constat cu(m) ligatura et o(mni)b(us) circha 12 ip(er)p(er)a*; cf. C. WALTER, *Un commentaire enluminé des homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze*. *CahArch* 22 (1972) 115–129, 115; CATALDI PALAU, *Legature* 32; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 186.

²⁸ E. MALAMUT, *Le monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome de Pétra de Constantinople*, in: *Le sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident: Études comparées*, ed. M. Kaplan. Paris 2001, 219–233, esp. 221–225; A. CATALDI PALAU, *The Library of the Monastery of Prodromos Petra in the Fifteenth Century (to 1453)*, in: A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*. Spoleto 2008, 209–218; B. MONDRAIN, *La réutilisation de parchemin ancien dans les livres à Constantinople au XIV^e et au XV^e siècle: quelques exemples de la “collection philosophique” aux folios palimpsestes du Parisinus gr. 1220*, in: *Libri palinsesti greci: conservazione, restauro digitale, studio*. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Villa Mondragone – Monte Porzio Catone – Università di Roma “Tor Vergata” – Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale di Grottaferrata, 21–24 aprile

The appreciation accorded to this book in Byzantium is particularly evident in the set of elaborate full-page miniatures painted on parchment folia that were added to the paper quires of the codex. These paintings comprise two author portraits at the very beginning of the book and a set of illustrative frontispieces inserted at the beginning of the individual text units (λόγοι), fourteen of which survive²⁹.

Christopher Walter deserves credit for first introducing the miniatures of the Basel codex to art historical scholarship in an article published in 1972, which offers cursory descriptions of the individual scenes along with a first edition and translation (into French) of their inscriptions³⁰. However, the author's conclusions regarding the date of the codex are obviously not based on an autopsy of the original manuscript, which he assigns to the late thirteenth or first half of the fourteenth century, however, mostly on the grounds of mistaken assumptions regarding the materials employed in the manufacture of the codex³¹.

A thorough analysis by a specialist in palaeography of the various handwritings present in this codex still remains a desideratum. Based on cursory palaeographical comparisons, the Basel codex has been dated to the decades around 1200, but it has thus far not been possible to identify its main scribe or any of the scribes who added the captions to the miniatures, nor could the region of the manuscript's production be determined³². As will be discussed below, the stylistic evidence of the miniatures contained in the codex seems to point to a date of manufacture in the later 12th century. Iconographical details in fact strongly indicate a connection of the Basel codex with the doctrinal debates held during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenos (r. 1143–1180), more concretely with the council assembled by Manuel in the Great Palace of Constantinople in 1166 which dealt with the interpretation of Christ's phrase "My Father is greater than I" (John 14:28). I suggest, therefore, that the Basel codex was created some time during the last fifteen years of Manuel's rule.

Hardly any of the illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium in the decades around 1200 can be dated and localized with certainty. Significantly, however, ms. Basil. AN I 8 appears to have no direct relation to the manuscripts associated with the so-called decorative style group, comprising

2004, ed. S. Lucà. Rome 2008, 111–129, 113–114; G. CAVALLO, Stralci di storia di un gruppo di manoscritti greci del secolo IX, in: *Ingenio facilis*. Per Giovanni Orlandi (1938–2007), ed. P. Chiesa – A. M. Fagnoni – R. E. Guglielmetti. Florence 2017, 3–64, 41, 46–47; A. CATALDI PALAU, The Manuscript Production in the Monastery of Prodromos Petra (Twelfth-Fifteenth Centuries), in: A. CATALDI PALAU, *Studies in Greek Manuscripts*. Spoleto 2008, 197–207.

²⁹ The frontispieces to Or. 20, 29, 32, 17, and 10 are now lost. Between ff. 352/3 and 361/2, respectively, one can see the stubs of former parchment leaves, the one inserted between ff. 361/2 preserving on its recto remnants of the outer black and inner red frames of the frontispiece miniature that once appeared on this page. It is possible that the painting once faced the incipit of Or. 20; because of the orations that have lost their frontispieces, only Or. 20 starts on a verso page (ff. 62v–78r). It cannot be ruled out, however, that the stub with the remnants of a frontispiece was bound into the manuscript upside down, possibly when it was rebound for John of Ragusa.

³⁰ WALTER, *Commentaire*; see also the author's summary of this article, published in the same year, C. WALTER, Un manuscrit byzantin conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Bâle, in: *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*. Paris 1972, 73–75. Some observations are repeated in later writings by the same author (esp. C. WALTER, *Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs*. *REB* 36 [1978] 233–260, 238–240; C. WALTER, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* [*Birmingham Byzantine Series* 1]. London 1982, 29, 71, 75, 101, 131, 133, 135). The transcriptions of the labels in the present article correspond to those edited by Walter, except in the few cases where corrections were necessary. Abbreviations have been fully transcribed, and translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

³¹ It is likely that Walter worked with a microfilm and/or photographs of the codex, because he describes the material support of the miniatures as "bombycin" (oriental paper; WALTER, *Commentaire* 116, and *passim*) or "papier" (e.g., *ibid.*, 118, esp. 129). The measurements of the manuscript the author provides are also incorrect (*ibid.*, 116; WALTER, *Manuscrit* 73). Walter's misidentification of the materials employed as support for the text and images has far-reaching consequences for his argument regarding the—assumed—Palaeologan date of manufacture of the codex (WALTER, *Commentaire* 116, esp. 128–129; WALTER, *Manuscrit* 74). In later publications, Walter seems to have tentatively settled on a 13th-century date (WALTER, *Scenes* 218; WALTER, *Art* 71: "13th century [?]"). without, however, substantiating this revision of his earlier dating.

³² Most recently MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 175. The authors have consulted with several scholars who specialize in the study of Byzantine palaeography; *ibid.*, 171* (acknowledgements).

over a hundred codices, which make up the bulk of the illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium between ca. 1150 and 1250³³. Most of these illustrated volumes contain biblical writings, with the great majority being tetraevangelia, and some are manuscripts made for liturgical use³⁴. None of them are paper codices.

In spite of the important evidence provided by the miniatures of ms. Basil. AN I 8 with regard to the illustration of Gregory's homilies, these pictures have not invited much scholarly interest, aside from Walter's work. Whereas Walter conceived of the codex and its entire set of miniatures as the result of a single phase of production³⁵, it was Robert Nelson who suggested in passing that the illuminations, which he assigned to the 12th century, might represent later additions to the manuscript, possibly on the occasion of its rebinding for John of Ragusa in the 15th century³⁶. It may indeed be demonstrated that the miniatures, or rather the fourteen frontispieces, were added to the book at a later stage, but yet still within a short period after the manuscript was completed.

The later addition of miniatures is far from unusual in Byzantine manuscripts³⁷. However, in this case the fact that the parchment folia interrupt the text flow of the codex was apparently considered a problem by an early user: beneath the last line of text on the verso of a paper page preceding an inserted parchment folio was added in calligraphic writing the following recommendation to readers: "seek after the parchment [sheet]" (ζητει μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον)³⁸. The notes, somewhat odd and actually quite superfluous, are difficult to explain. They might indicate that where the codex was then kept, the presence of an illustrated manuscript was rather exceptional.

Whereas the two author portraits are likely to have been created specifically for the present volume, or, put more cautiously, to have been part of the book before the fourteen illustrative frontispieces were added, it seems that the latter were originally intended for a different codex. This conclusion

³³ See A. WEYL CARR, A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century. *DOP* 36 (1982) 39–81 (repr. in A. WEYL CARR, Cyprus and the Devotional Arts of Byzantium in the Era of the Crusades. Aldershot – Burlington 2005, I) and especially her meticulous study, before the arrival of digitization, of the associated manuscripts; A. WEYL CARR, Byzantine Illumination 1150–1250. The Study of a Provincial Tradition, Chicago – London 1987; more recently, K. MAXWELL, The Afterlife of Texts: Decorative Style Manuscripts and New Testament Textual Criticism, in: Byzantine Images and Their Afterlives. Essays in Honor of Annemarie Weyl Carr, ed. L. Jones. Farnham – Burlington 2014, 11–38, based on textual data, challenges Carr's identification of a single "group" and its classifications into subgroups, according to palaeographic, artistic, and codicological observations.

³⁴ On the textual contents of the manuscripts associated with the "decorative style" group, see WEYL CARR, Illumination 1–2.

³⁵ WALTER, Commentaire 128 and 129.

³⁶ R. S. NELSON, The Italian Appreciation and Appropriation of Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts, ca. 1200–1450. *DOP* 49 (1995) 209–235, 223, esp. n. 90. However, Nelson was mistaken in assuming that Walter also believed that the miniatures were later additions. In fact, Walter argues that only the parchment was reused in order to accommodate the paintings (WALTER, Commentaire 116 and 129; it is odd that here the author describes the material employed as "parchemin," whereas throughout his article he claims that the miniatures were painted on "bombycin," or "papier;" see above n. 31).

³⁷ Most recently, D. BIANCONI, Cura e studio. Il restauro del libro a Bisanzio (*Hellenica* 66). Alessandria 2018, 75–80; Hans Belting has argued that the later insertion into manuscripts of miniatures on single folia is encountered most frequently in codices of the Late Byzantine era; H. BELTING, Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft. Heidelberg 1970, 3–8, esp. 4. However, earlier examples do exist. Particularly prominent are the Paris Psalter (ms. Paris. gr. 139; *Diktyon* 49706) and the Leo Bible (ms. Vat. Reg. gr. 1; *Diktyon* 66171), both dating from the tenth century; J. LOWDEN, Observations on Byzantine Psalters. *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988) 242–260, 250–255 (Paris Psalter); I. HUTTER, The Decoration, in: La Bible du Patrice Léon, Codex Reginensis Graecus 1. Commentaire codicologique, paléographique, philologique et artistique (*StT* 463), ed. P. Canart. Vatican City 2011, 195–272, n. 20 (Leo Bible; in this case, the insertion of the frontispieces for some of the biblical books was an afterthought). Based on codicological evidence, Leslie Brubaker has suggested that the famous Gregory manuscript (ms. Paris. gr. 510) might not originally have been intended to accommodate miniatures, but that this decision was only taken while its text was being copied; L. BRUBAKER, Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus. Cambridge 1999, 8–11, esp. 10.

³⁸ The first note of this kind, which appears just before the now-missing frontispiece to Or. 20 (f. 62v), is more explicit than the following ones: "seek the continuation of the present discourse after the parchment sheet" (τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῷ παρόντι λόγῳ ζητει μετὰ τὸ μέμβρανον φύλλον). All surviving notes were written in magenta ink; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 182.

is based on codicological observations, chiefly regarding matters of page layout and measurements. However, given the overall stylistic conformity of the entire set of miniatures, the author portraits and frontispieces appear to have been created roughly at the same time, perhaps within only a few years. On stylistic and codicological grounds, it might very well be that all sixteen images originated from one workshop. Visible differences in painterly technique and quality permit the conclusion that this workshop comprised a large number of painters who collaborated on the realisation of what must have been a commission of a highly unusual character.

Aside from adding splendor to the manuscript, the miniatures contained in the Basel codex serve to celebrate Gregory Nazianzen as a theologian and religious leader of outstanding rank. Not only do these images present the Church Father as an individual imbued with divine inspiration and authority, but they also refer to key moments in his life, thus highlighting his merits as a leader in doctrinal, as well as in spiritual and moral, matters. It must be said, though, that few of these "biographical" scenes offer narrative details to actually illustrate the events; most of them instead show the Theologian preaching to a group³⁹. The images that illustrate confrontations between representatives of the "orthodox" faith and their adversaries were clearly intentioned to single out Gregory's leading role in defining Nicene Orthodoxy and its defense against heretical opponents. The iconography of the frontispieces is often restricted to represent simple teaching or preaching scenes. Some scenes that feature heretics and other enemies stand out due to the graphic depiction of their expulsion or physical punishment. Much of the interaction between the figures seen in the relatively reduced compositions that characterize this manuscript is rendered by means of gestures and sometimes exaggerated facial expressions. This tendency to depict strong human emotions is in fact typical of trends current in Byzantine painting of the later 12th century⁴⁰.

An unusual feature of the frontispieces is the abundance of inscriptions, which were added at different stages in order to connect the respective image with the oration it accompanies and explain who and what is depicted. Not only do these texts serve to summarize the contents of the images, but they also offer occasional clues to the historical circumstances in which the orations were delivered by Gregory. The incipit of the respective oration was added to each frontispiece in the Basel codex, which is a relatively uncommon feature of Byzantine illuminations⁴¹. Quite appropriately, the initia were usually added close to the head of Gregory, who thus appears to be uttering these words, so that the paintings share the authority accorded to the orations whose texts they introduce. Since the text flow was interrupted by the later insertion of the frontispieces into the quires, the quotations of the initia serve to link the respective image to the beginning of the oration so that the reader could perhaps locate the latter more easily within the dense text block on the facing page.

Only two illustrated codices containing the complete collection of Gregory's orations survive, the splendid ms. Paris. gr. 510 (*Diktyon* 50085), created in Constantinople between 879 and 882 for Emperor Basil I, and ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. in Milan (*Diktyon* 42694), likewise dated to the ninth century, to which most scholars have assigned an Italian origin⁴². Whereas ms. Paris. gr. 510

³⁹ On the biographical themes found in other illustrated manuscripts containing Gregory's orations, see WALTER, *Scenes* 235–243; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 119–146.

⁴⁰ E.g., K. M. SKAWRAN, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece*. Pretoria 1982, 82–83; S. PELEKANIDES – M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Kastoria*. Athens 1985, 57.

⁴¹ Many figures in the miniatures of ms. Ambros. E 49–50, including, oftentimes, Gregory the Theologian himself, hold inscribed scrolls in order to render the idea of oral speech. It deserves systematic investigation whether (all of) these texts represent quotations from the texts contained in the volume. In several instances, the incipit of a homily is cited on a scroll held by Gregory; e.g., *Codex. I tesori della Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Milan 2000, 35; A. DZUROVA, *Byzantinische Miniaturen. Schätze der Buchmalerei vom 4. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*. Regensburg 2002, fig. 26.

⁴² Ms. Paris. gr. 510: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84522082> (last accessed 25.03.2017); BRUBAKER, *Vision*; on the date and place of production, *ibid.*, 5–7; SOMERS, *Histoire* 392–396. Milan, ms. Ambros. E 49–50 inf.: GRABAR, *Grégoire*;

has attracted significant attention in art historical scholarship, the miniatures of the Milan codex remain understudied⁴³. None of the surviving manuscripts containing exclusively Gregory's "unread" orations are accompanied by figural illustrations, though this of course does not permit the conclusion that they were never illustrated in Byzantium.

The miniatures of the ninth-century manuscripts in Paris and Milan appear to be unrelated as far as layout and iconography are concerned⁴⁴. Although the Basel codex does share with ms. Paris. gr. 510 the feature of frontispiece miniatures, all three volumes in fact represent largely different approaches to illustration. Most of the images in the Paris codex represent figures or narratives derived from the text of Gregory's orations, many of them illustrations of biblical events⁴⁵. The miniatures of the Milan manuscript are for the most part unframed scenes or representations of individual figures that are painted in the margins, with pictures of larger dimensions being the exception⁴⁶. It should be emphasized, though, that in terms of textual content, the Basel manuscript differs fundamentally from the illustrated volumes in Paris and Milan. The former is in fact a very different type of manuscript, since it primarily presents a commentary on a selection of Gregory's discourses, which are complete, but split up in sections interrupted by Elias' lengthy explanations of each cited passage. Remarkably, though, nothing in the iconography of the frontispieces betrays the presence of the expositions; as I will demonstrate in the next section, most details find an explanation in the orations themselves or their historical context as it was known around the time when the images were painted. Yet the pictures occasionally display iconographic features that do not find an explanation in the orations nor in Elias' expositions, being either derived from other sources or added *ad hoc* by the painters.

The preserved miniatures contained in this codex will be discussed in the following section one by one in order to explain their iconography with regard to the book's textual content, including the inscriptions that accompany the paintings. This second section presents the first detailed iconographical analysis of each illumination in light of the historical context of the respective oration and its theological or historical subject matter. Given the paucity of surviving illuminated codices containing writings of Gregory the Theologian, especially his "unread" orations, the miniatures of the codex Basiliensis significantly enrich our understanding of approaches to the illustration of his discourses in Byzantium. Careful analysis of text-image relations also helps to shed light on the question of when these miniatures were most likely painted. Following upon the iconographical analysis, in the third section I will attempt to reconstruct the complex production stages of the manuscript in order to discuss questions of date and provenance further.

E. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. Milan 1906, II 1084–1086; Codex, no. 10, 35; SOMERS, *Histoire* 565–571; recently M. D'AGOSTINO, *Il Gregorio Nazianzeno Ambr. E 49 inf. + E 50 inf. (gr. 1014). Un'indagine codicologica con qualche riflessione paleografica*, in: *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus: Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, ed. P. Cherubini – G. Nicolaj. Vatican City 2012, 91–102, focusing on aspects of codicology and palaeography.

⁴³ It would be worthwhile to subject the Milan manuscript to a systematic iconographical analysis. The album published by Grabar in 1943 (GRABAR, *Grégoire*) presents photos of most, though apparently not all, of the miniatures. Regrettably, the images are generally isolated from their context on the respective page, and thus from the text to which they belong. Grabar (*ibid.*, 2) did plan to make an accompanying study based on this collection of photographs, but it was never published. A complete inventory of the miniatures is found in J. MOSSAY, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*, vol. 1: *Codices Galliae (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums N.F., 2. Reihe, Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz 1)*. Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich 1981, 178–181. D'AGOSTINO, *Gregorio n. 93*, lists previous studies that discuss some of the miniatures.

⁴⁴ With regard to their textual content, the two manuscripts represent different types within the manuscript tradition of the complete collection; SOMERS, *Histoire* 708.

⁴⁵ For a detailed analysis of the iconography, see BRUBAKER, *Vision*; see *ibid.*, x–xi, for a summary of the topics.

⁴⁶ For depictions of select full pages in color, see Codex 35; DŽUROVA, *Miniaturen*, fig. 26.

2. THE MINIATURES: ICONOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

The reader is kindly asked to consult the high resolution digital images of the miniatures that are available in *e-codices*⁴⁷.

The Two Author Portraits (ff. Av and Cr):

The codex Basiliensis features two portraits that were painted on a parchment bifolium, depicting the (anachronistic) interaction of the individuals whose texts are contained in this volume. They are the only miniatures in the entire codex that have a golden background. The original arrangement of the two author portraits on facing pages [Pl. 1] has in a later binding been disturbed by the insertion between them of the folio that presents the first frontispiece miniature on its verso (f. B; see below).

The chief aim of the author portraits appears to have been the celebration of Gregory Nazianzen as a divinely inspired writer and lasting authority on matters related to Byzantine Orthodox thought. In both images the theologian receives his inspiration directly from heaven, in order to then, in turn, bestow authority upon Metropolitan Elias of Crete. It is a peculiar feature of this manuscript that these two author portraits, despite their differing iconography, convey a basically identical message to the beholder. In all likelihood, the image on f. Av was added as an afterthought to complement the one on the opposite page (f. Cr), although this must have happened around the same time because the paintings are similar in style and the inscriptions of both miniatures were added by the same hand. For the picture on f. Cr, which is of significantly higher quality and iconographic sophistication than the one on the facing page, the painter carefully prepared the page by ruling lines to set the outlines of the miniature. In contrast, the author portrait on f. Av though its elaborate frame is identical to the one on f. Cr, was placed on the opposite page of the bifolium with no prior ruling⁴⁸. It thus seems that the author portrait on f. Cr was painted first, which is further supported by iconographic details. As a result, I will discuss it before turning to the portrait that now precedes it on f. Av.

The ingenious composition on f. Cr serves to underscore the theological and doctrinal significance of the texts contained in the very volume it adorns. It makes a statement as to the origin, transmission, and continuity of religious authority that defines Byzantine Orthodoxy. In the upper part of the miniature, Gregory of Nazianzus is seen in the act of writing in red ink on a scroll the beginning of his *First Theological Oration, Against the Eunomians*, which is the first piece cited and commented on in the Basel codex (Or. 27)⁴⁹. The evidence seems to suggest that this portrait was originally intended to serve as an introduction to the entire codex before the later decision was made to provide the volume with illustrative frontispieces as well⁵⁰. The caption added next to the figure of the Church Father explains what is depicted: "Saint Gregory the Theologian beginning the writing of his own orations."⁵¹

That Gregory's sermons were, however, divinely inspired is visualized by means of the dove of the Holy Spirit, which has approached Gregory's right ear in order to dictate the text to the Church

⁴⁷ <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/ubb/AN-I-0008>.

⁴⁸ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 179, comment that the preparatory ruling for the portrait on f. Cr was likely sufficient for both folia. However, no impressions of such ruling are to be seen on f. A, nor are there any pricking marks, which seems to suggest that the first author portrait (f. Av) was added *ad hoc*; on the ruling patterns in this codex, or, in some cases, their absence, see the third section of the present article.

⁴⁹ Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοὺς ὁ λόγος (ed. P. GALLAY, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27–31 [SC 250]. Paris 1978 [reprint 2006], 70).

⁵⁰ The incipit of Or. 27 is actually quoted twice in miniatures of the codex Basiliensis, as it can also be read in the frontispiece on what is now f. Bv originally facing the beginning of Or. 27 (f. 1r); see below.

⁵¹ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀρχόμενος τῆς τῶν οἰκείων λόγων γράφης.

Father⁵². The scroll is elegantly rolled out down to the lower part of the miniature where Bishop Elias of Crete, depicted smaller in size than Gregory, is seen composing his expositions. He has copied the Theologian's text as it appears above in red, thus highlighting the sermon's primacy, whereas the incipit of the commentary is being added below in black ink⁵³. Elias' writing on the scroll reflects the arrangement and color distinction of the texts contained in the codex Basiliensis. The figure of Elias is accompanied by the caption "the Metropolitan of Crete beginning the exegesis of the orations of the Theologian".⁵⁴

The iconography underscores that it is St. Gregory the Theologian whose religious authority is of prime importance. Unlike the Church Father, the exegete does not receive his inspiration directly from heaven, but through Gregory as an intermediary. Yet, regardless of notions of hierarchy, the scroll that is shared by both scribes signifies that both the orations and their commentaries are composed by means of the same divine spirit⁵⁵.

While Gregory the Theologian is depicted in monastic garb, as in many of the portraits of him⁵⁶, the dress of Elias, labeled "the Metropolitan of Crete,"⁵⁷ is unusual because it appears to be of secular nature. The bishop wears a dark brown cloak with long, wide sleeves and white wristbands, which is covered by a short black poncho decorated with narrow white bands. On his head is a dome-shaped hat, headgear that was typical of certain court dignitaries and civil servants in Byzantium, including official scribes⁵⁸. While Byzantine officials appear in a great variety of costumes⁵⁹, domical caps identical to that of Elias are frequently worn, for example, by the numerous scribes who are depicted in the scenes that illustrate the activities of Julian the Tax Collector in the illustrated manuscripts of

⁵² Spatharakis has pointed out that the motif of the inspiring dove is rare, even in the case of the Evangelists; I. SPATHARAKIS, A Dove Whispers in the Ear of the Evangelist. *JÖB* 49 (1999) 267–288, 267.

⁵³ Inc. of the commentary: Πρὸς εὐνομιάνους ὁ λόγος τοὺς τῆς...; cf. f. 1r.

⁵⁴ Ἡλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης τῆς ἐξηγήσεως ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεολόγου.

⁵⁵ A similar distinction in terms of spiritual authority between the writings of saintly church fathers and those composed by worldly authors active at a much later date may also be observed in ms. Paris. gr. 1208 (*Diktyon* 50813), which was produced in the early 12th century and contains the Marian homilies recently composed by the monk James of Kokkinobaphos. The miniature on f. 1v represents Saints John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa seated prominently in front of lecterns with open books that display quotations from their writings. On the left, as the image appears to argue, Chrysostom refers the monk James, depicted as significantly smaller, to Gregory of Nyssa, perhaps after providing him with instructions as to the proper composition of homilies. To the right, Gregory of Nyssa addresses with a teaching gesture the monk who is seen in prostration in order to humbly receive the instructions of this second saintly master; J. C. ANDERSON, The Illustrated Sermons of James the Monk: Their Dates, Order, and Place in the History of Byzantine Art. *Viator* 22 (1991) 69–120, fig. 1, 70–76, esp. 72: "Above all, the composition expresses the debt James owes to two authoritative Fathers of the Early Byzantine period."

⁵⁶ Bishops and patriarchs depicted in monastic garb are frequently encountered in Byzantine manuscripts; see, for some examples, GALAVARIS, Homilies, ch. III.A; K. KRAUSE, Die illustrierten Homilien des Johannes Chrysostomos in Byzanz (*Spätantike – Frühes Christentum – Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven* 14). Wiesbaden 2004, ch. 5 and 6.

⁵⁷ Ἡλίας μητροπολίτης Κρήτης.

⁵⁸ See the remarks on this type of hat in M. PARANI, Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 41). Leiden – Boston 2003, 56, 68. Similar white caps are worn by two of the high court dignitaries flanking the enthroned emperor in ms. Paris. Coislin. 79 (*Diktyon* 49223), on f. 2r. They are the *Protoproedros* and the *Protoproedros*, standing to the right of the ruler; C.-L. DUMITRESCU, Remarques en marge de Coislin 79. Les trois eunuques et le problème du donateur. *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 32–45, 38–39, fig. 3, with brief comments on the headgear in note 12. In the manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Climacus, ms. Sinait. gr. 418 (*Diktyon* 26365) (f. 15v), three officials wearing white domical hats are watching monks ascending the ladder. The figures are interpreted as those seeking to abandon secular life in order to become monks; K. WEITZMANN – G. GALAVARIS, The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, I: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century. Princeton 1990, 154, fig. 594; J. R. MARTIN, The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 5). Princeton 1954, 88–89. The same type of hat is also seen in the portrait of an anonymous donor clad in an elaborate chlamys in ms. Athos, Laura A103 (*Diktyon* 26913), f. 3v; PARANI, Reality, pl. 61.

⁵⁹ PARANI, Reality 32–72, 80, 88.

the liturgical homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus⁶⁰. Among the most elaborate compositions illustrating this oration are the three miniatures seen on f. 73v of the ms. Sinait. gr. 339 (*Diktyon* 58714)⁶¹. All of the figures, including Julian himself, wear white caps that have the shape of a semi-dome as well as two white bands⁶² similar to those that in the portrait of Elias are tied under his chin to hold the hat in place. Hence, Elias, who is in the red inscription explicitly identified as a metropolitan⁶³, is in this frontispiece represented as a secretary, a scribe, who humbly acts on the order of others—ultimately the Holy Spirit.

There might, however, be yet another explanation for the garb Elias wears. In Byzantine manuscripts one occasionally encounters the view that Elias the metropolitan of Crete was identical to the theologian and ecclesiastical judge Elias Ekdikos; the latter's activity as a writer has been dated to the decades around 1100⁶⁴. The evidence for the identification of the authors as being one and the same is scarce, not encountered before the fourteenth century, and has not convinced most modern scholars⁶⁵. It would seem relevant, though, that aside from his patristic commentaries, Metropolitan Elias of Crete also authored a series of canonical *responsa*, i.e., responses to inquiries regarding issues of ecclesiastical law⁶⁶. The painter of the miniature on f. Cr, whether justified or not from a modern perspective, might have taken the conflation of the two writers as given, in which case the secular dress of Elias might find an explanation in his function as an *ekdikos*, a judge at an ecclesiastical court (*ekdikeion*)⁶⁷.

If the painter did indeed intend to represent Metropolitan Elias as an *ekdikos*, the iconography would underscore the authoritative nature of Gregory's writings yet more strongly. Through his expositions, Elias would appear to be confirming their status as "legally" binding, in which case the scroll format would seem especially fitting as an allusion to a charter⁶⁸. In accordance with the texts in the book, many of which seek to define Orthodoxy and refute its adversaries, Metropolitan Elias would be presented in this image as a divinely supported "avenger," taking action to defend Orthodox belief by means of inspired writing⁶⁹. However, as appealing as such an interpretation may be, due to the scarcity of factual evidence and lack of comparative visual material for the depiction of

⁶⁰ Or. 19 (Or. 7 of the liturgical edition); *PG* 35, 1044–1064; on Julian the Tax Collector, GALAVARIS, Homilies 11, 42–44; see *ibid.*, 43, on the white cap as a distinctive feature of Julian, his scribes, and other officials.

⁶¹ GALAVARIS, Homilies, fig. 383; G. GALAVARIS, *Zographike vyzantinon cheirographon*. Athens 1995, color fig. 145.

⁶² The bands are best seen in the framed title miniature on f. 73v of the ms. Sinait. gr. 339 (see previous footnote); for similar examples of domed caps worn by Julian or his officials in other manuscripts of the liturgical orations, see GALAVARIS, Homilies, figs. 9, 46, 112, 128, 147, 454 (etc.).

⁶³ This conforms to his rank mentioned in the title of his commentary as provided in Byzantine manuscripts; MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 185.

⁶⁴ Most recently, DE RIDDER, Elias 216–217, 220; the dates roughly coincide with the assumed (!) date of the episcopate of Elias of Crete (see above, n. 6).

⁶⁵ Vitalien Laurent does not exclude the possibility that both authors are identical; LAURENT, Rituel 121–123; for a rejection of this theory, see most recently, MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 203, esp. DE RIDDER, Elias 223–226.

⁶⁶ S. TROIANOS, Byzantine Canon Law to 1100, in: *The History of Byzantine and Eastern Canon Law to 1500 (History of Medieval Canon Law)*, ed. W. Hartmann – K. Pennington. Washington, D.C. 2012, 115–169, 198, 200; *PG* 119, 986B–997A.

⁶⁷ Scholars have usually linked Elias Ekdikos to the *ekdikeion* at the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; on the history and nature of this office, see J. DARROUZÈS, *Recherches sur les offikia de l'église byzantine (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 11)*. Paris 1970, 323–332, esp. 327; J. A. MCGUCKIN, *St Gregory of Nazianzus. An Intellectual Biography*. Crestwood, N.Y. 2001, 344–345; Darrouzès has highlighted the almost sacramental character of the *ekdikeion* at Hagia Sophia; DARROUZÈS, *Recherches* 327. However, it has been pointed out that the office of *ekdikos* existed at other sees as well, and that *ekdikoi* were normally presbyters; DE RIDDER, Elias 218. This latter point is another indication of the unlikelihood, from today's perspective at least, that the metropolitan Elias of Crete and Elias Ekdikos were one and the same individual.

⁶⁸ A. VON BRANDT, *Werkzeug des Historikers. Eine Einführung in die historischen Hilfswissenschaften*. Stuttgart 1992, 68, 69; H. HUNGER, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz. Die byzantinische Buchkultur*. Munich 1989, 116–120.

⁶⁹ To some degree this constitutes a parallel to the figures in some of the frontispiece illustrations who violently take revenge on heretics (Or. 13, 26, 30, 31; see further below).

ecclesiastical judges in Byzantium, the question of the precise identification and meaning of Elias' secular garb must at present remain open. After all, the exegete's unusual attire might just have been chosen to distinguish him in rank from Gregory. Since the painter chose to depict the latter in monastic garb, it would have been inappropriate to honor the commentator with episcopal dress. In any case, it seems that the painter of the author portrait on the facing page (f. Av) tried his best to depict the figures of both authors as conforming to the proper dress code.

The miniature on f. Av depicts the two authors, here appropriately dressed in episcopal garb, hovering awkwardly in front of the golden ground above a dark green meadow seen at some distance below their feet. Elias wears a monochromatic *phelonion* of dark brown color with the *omophorion*, the episcopal stole decorated with crosses. Gregory's pink cape originally was a monochrome *phelonion* as well, but the painter modified it by the addition of a cross pattern in black color to resemble a *polystaurion*, a liturgical garment that came into fashion in the course of the 12th century. It is first documented in Byzantine art around 1100, and as a garment appropriate for the depiction of patriarchs and certain holy bishops, the *polystaurion phelonion* gradually became more widespread in iconography, especially from the second quarter of the 12th century on⁷⁰. However, in the image on f. Av the painter has simply, and somewhat clumsily, added the cross pattern to the traditional *phelonion* of pink color⁷¹. The black crosses decorating *polystauria* are most commonly seen on a white or light-colored fabric⁷². The awkward "update" of the episcopal garb on f. Av according to the fashion that became more widespread in the course of the 12th century seems to indicate that the painter was either unfamiliar with the appearance of the *polystaurion* or it occurred to him late in the process of composition that he might honor Gregory with this modern and more prestigious garb. In fact, Byzantine painters continued to depict bishops of outstanding merit wearing the monochrome *phelonion* even long after the *polystaurion phelonion* had become widespread, and the latter is in fact entirely absent in the frontispieces of the Basel codex as well. It is possible that the painter thought it necessary to add the cross pattern to the simple *phelonion* in order to emphasize the patriarchal dignity of St. Gregory the Theologian and thus visually distinguish him in rank from the bishop Elias. This might have seemed all the more necessary, given that in the portrait on the facing page Gregory appears in monastic garb, and also because, in comparison, the costume of Elias experienced an even more significant upgrade.

Gregory the Theologian, depicted larger in size than Elias in this image as well, is in the act of receiving a scroll from the hand of Christ, who reaches down to the bishop from heaven visualized by a segment of a circle colored with shades of blue. The iconography of a rotulus or codex being handed down from heaven to a human recipient is common in Byzantine art to symbolize the transmission of a divinely inspired text⁷³. It is difficult to decide whether the scroll signifies the orations

⁷⁰ On the *polystaurion*, see most recently W. WOODFIN, *The Embodied Icon. Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium*. Oxford – New York 2012, esp. 15 and 20–25; see also S. GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*. Seattle 1999, 25–28.

⁷¹ The cross pattern is by no means a later addition to the miniature (as shown through investigation aided by digital microscope imaging that was carried out at the Basel University Library); it was added to the *phelonion* before the grey contour lines of the *omophorion* were painted, which are a regular feature in the frontispiece images as well.

⁷² While no example of a *polystaurion* is extant, its existence and appearance is well documented in Byzantine art; see the figures in WOODFIN, *Icons*, Part I, and GERSTEL, *Mysteries*.

⁷³ For example, in a frontispiece miniature in the Psalter ms. Vat. Barb. gr. 320 (*Diktyon* 64863) (f. 1^{bisr}) David, with his hands outstretched, is about to receive the scroll containing the Psalms from the divine hand issuing from heaven; K. KRAUSE, *Göttliches Wort aus goldenem Mund. Die Inspiration des Johannes Chrysostomos in Bildern und Texten*, in: *Chrysostomosbilder in 1600 Jahren. Facetten der Wirkungsgeschichte eines Kirchenvaters*, ed. R. Brändle – M. Wallraff. Berlin – New York 2008, 139–167, 160, fig. 22. In ms. Athos, Dionysiou 61 (*Diktyon* 20029) (12th century), f. 1v, Gregory the Theologian delivers a

of Gregory, Elias' expositions, or both. With his left hand outstretched, Gregory points toward the exegete, who lifts his hands in a gesture of veneration or prayer to humbly receive the divine gift. Elias too, then, is the addressee of divine inspiration conveyed to him, not directly from heaven, but through the Church Father, who functions as an intermediary and is privileged to interact with Christ in person. In more general terms, the continuity of divinely authorized writing is expressed visually in this image as well, just as in the miniature on f. Cr. The latter part of the lengthy inscription that likely explained the exact meaning of the scene is now lost, due to the severe damage caused by humidity to parts of this page ("Saint Gregory the Theologian, giving to Elias the Metropolitan of Crete ..."⁷⁴). Just like in the image on f. Cr, the names of both authors are highlighted in hieratic majuscule as is, in the miniature on f. Av, the abbreviation of Christ's name⁷⁵.

*Frontispiece to Or. 27 (f. Bv): The First Theological Oration (Against the Eunomians)*⁷⁶

The argument of the continuing religious authority of Gregory and his writings, visualized in the author portraits, is similarly put forward in the frontispiece miniature on f. Bv, which originally faced the first text page of the first oration (Or. 27; f. 1r). The parchment folio has erroneously been inserted between the two author portraits, perhaps during the manuscript's last binding in the 15th century.

Prominently framed by an arch or canopy, Gregory is presented as if he were standing elevated behind a lavishly decorated curtain embellished with a golden cross. The Theologian, once again larger than the other figures, is preaching to gatherings of bishops labeled "the Orthodox"⁷⁷ to his right and "the heretical Eunomians"⁷⁸ on the opposite side⁷⁹. The two groups are engaged in dispute, as indicated by their gazes and agitated gestures.

Gregory points with his right hand toward the heretics, which is a direct illustration of the oration's incipit, "I shall address my words to those whose cleverness is in words."⁸⁰ The Eunomians are not explicitly named in the oration as Gregory's opponents, but a tradition going back to Rufinus identifies the later Arians as the primary adversaries addressed in Gregory's Theological Orations; accordingly, in the Byzantine manuscripts the Eunomians are named in the title of Or. 27⁸¹.

codex (presumably representing the one in which the image is contained) to a prince, possibly the patron of the manuscript; the saint simultaneously points upward to Christ, seen in a segment of heaven, thus underscoring the notion of the divine origin of the sermons contained in the volume that is being handed over; GALAVARIS, Homilies 205–207, fig. 355. Another example is a frontispiece miniature in ms. Sinait. gr. 418 (*Diktyon* 58793) (f. 4v), where the book of the *Heavenly Ladder* is handed over by Christ to John Climacus; WEITZMANN – GALAVARIS, Manuscripts, fig. 588.

⁷⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος διδοὺς τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Κρήτης Ἡλία ...

⁷⁵ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς.

⁷⁶ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70–98.

⁷⁷ ὀρθόδοξοι.

⁷⁸ αἵρετικοὶ εὐνομιανοὶ (sic).

⁷⁹ At the time when the five *Theological Orations* were delivered at Constantinople, the Arians far outnumbered the so-called Orthodox, Nicene Christians, who were confined to the chapel of the Anastasis for their meetings; Faith Gives Fullness to Reasoning. The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzen. Introduction and commentary by F. W. NORRIS, translation by L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 13). Leiden – New York 1991, 57. The situation of the Nicene Christians at Constantinople changed with the arrival of Emperor Theodosius on 24 November 380, who supported the Nicene Creed and installed Gregory at the Church of the Holy Apostles, then the most important church of the capital; C. FREEMAN, AD 381. Heretics, Pagans and the Christian State. London 2008, esp. 91–104.

⁸⁰ NORRIS, Faith (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS) 217; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70.

⁸¹ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70 (see also the title of this oration in ms. Basil. AN I 8, f. 1r); Gregor von Nazianz, *Orationes Theologicae* – Theologische Reden, übersetzt und eingeleitet von H. J. SIEBEN (*Fontes Christiani* 22). Freiburg – New York 1996, 66 and n. 3 on p. 67; NORRIS, Faith 53–54; on Gregory's attack of the Eunomians, also see A. E. SIECIENSKI, *The Filioque. History of a Doctrinal Controversy*. Oxford 2010, 40–43.

The composition is remarkable in that it unrealistically combines features of a teaching or preaching scene with an enlarged bust portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus⁸², which, given his strictly frontal alignment within the framing arch, renders the bust in a way strongly reminiscent of an icon. By referencing icons, the painter seems to have aimed at advancing the claim of the Theologian's perpetual presence and, thus, timeless authority regarding orthodox dogma and belief⁸³.

Around the figure of Gregory is a long inscription: "Saint Gregory the Theologian reasoning against the Eunomians in this way: (Inc.) 'I shall address my words to those whose cleverness is in words. Let me begin from Scripture: "Lo, I am against you and your pride, education, and thought ...";' the incipit cited in the caption differs from that in the text of the Basel codex and must thus have been quoted from a different source⁸⁴.

*Frontispiece to Or. 28 (f. Dv / f. 12'v): The Second Theological Oration*⁸⁵

Here Gregory the Theologian is addressing with a gesture of speaking a group of orthodox clerics and laypersons⁸⁶ who are gathered on a flight of steps, vividly engaged in conversation. The architecture in this miniature—two arches topped by a domed structure—primarily serves to underscore notions of hierarchy, since the figure of Gregory and the group of listeners appear in separate realms. Not only is Gregory once again depicted larger in size than all the other figures, but he is also being visited by the dove of the Holy Spirit, which descends from a segment of heaven onto his head⁸⁷. The iconography relates to a passage shortly after the beginning of Or. 28: "Well now let us go forward to discuss the doctrine of God, dedicating our sermon to our sermon's subjects, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, that the Father may approve, the Son aid, and *the Holy Spirit inspire it*."⁸⁸ Hierarchical order is further enhanced in this miniature by the fact that the bishop who leads the Orthodox crowd stands prominently in the foreground and is portrayed as slightly larger than his followers—including a deacon⁸⁹—but still significantly smaller than Gregory. The scene is labeled "Saint Gregory the Theologian speaking on theology in this manner: (Inc.) 'Last time we used our discourse to cleanse the Theologian'."⁹⁰

Between this frontispiece and the next, which introduces Or. 30, the manuscript once possessed two now-lost frontispieces that introduced Or. 20, *On Theology and the Office of Bishops*, and Or. 29, *The Third Theological Oration (The First Oration on the Son)*, respectively⁹¹.

⁸² Not only does Gregory's portrait appear enlarged compared to the bishops representing his audience, but the head is also out of proportion in relation to the figure's bust.

⁸³ According to Byzantine image theory, through the resemblance between an icon and its prototype and through their shared name, the icon is united with the person depicted and participates in the grace of the prototype; see, for instance, K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries (The Medieval Mediterranean 12)*. Leiden – New York 1996, 22–33.

⁸⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος πρὸς εὐνομιάνους προδιαλεγόμενος οὕτως· (Inc.) Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ κομψοὺς ὁ λόγος. Καὶ ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἄρξωμαι. ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν ὑβρίστριαν καὶ παιδευσιν καὶ διάνοιαν; cf. SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 70; the oration's incipit cited on f. 1r conforms to the version rendered in the critical edition of the text, whereas the version cited in the frontispiece represents a variant; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 208, Appendix VII. I will discuss this evidence below.

⁸⁵ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 100–174.

⁸⁶ Labeled στίφος ὀρθοδόξων.

⁸⁷ This area displays signs of erasure and repainting, which appear to be contemporaneous with the painting of the image.

⁸⁸ NORRIS, *Faith* 224 (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS; my emphasis).

⁸⁹ On the garb of deacons, see WOODFIN, *Icon* 5–9.

⁹⁰ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος περὶ θεολογίας οὕτω διαλεγόμενος· (Inc.) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεκαθήραμεν τῷ λόγῳ τὸν θεολόγον; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 100 (critical apparatus).

⁹¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix I; on the transmission of Or. 20 along with the five *Theological Orations* in the Byzantine manuscript tradition, see J. MOSSAY – G. LAFONTAINE, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 20–23 (SC 270)*. Paris 1980, 28; St.

*Frontispiece to Or. 30 (f. Er / f. 119r):
The Fourth Theological Oration (The Second Oration on the Son)⁹² [Pl. 2]*

In the upper register of this frontispiece, Gregory of Nazianzus and a group of laymen labeled "the Orthodox" witness "Jesus Christ Emmanuel"⁹³ reaching out of a segment of heaven and handing down a saw while looking at Gregory. The figure's label, added in black ink, complies with the figure's facial features, which are typical of Christ Emmanuel⁹⁴. Gregory points to the lower register of the miniature, where two angels are depicted in the act of sawing in half a bishop, identified as "Arius who divides ('cuts') the Son from the Father."⁹⁵ Curiously, in the process of being severed, both halves of Arius' body are left with a complete head. The identifying labels of St. Gregory the Theologian and the Orthodox in the upper scene as well as the brief summary of the scene in the lower tier are faded. Hence, they were written in a different, and obviously less durable, ink either before or after the reference to the oration's title and its incipit were added ("[Saint Gregory the Theologian] reciting the second [oration] *On the Son*, the beginning of which is ..."⁹⁶).

In terms of the theological arguments it visualizes, the frontispiece of Or. 30 is the most complex image in the entire codex. However, the details of the iconography appear to be only loosely related to the content of Or. 30, since neither Arius nor Christ Emmanuel is explicitly referred to in the homily itself (nor in Elias' expositions⁹⁷). The painter's decision to depict the Emmanuel is surprising, at least on first sight, given that at the end of Or. 30 Gregory expounds on different epithets of Christ over two lengthy paragraphs (§20–21)—remarkably, without any reference to Christ Emmanuel and the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14, "Look, the virgin shall conceive in the womb and bear a son, and you shall name him Emmanuel" (LXX⁹⁸)⁹⁹. Intriguingly, however, in Byzantium Isaiah was believed to have experienced a violent death by being cut in half with a saw¹⁰⁰, and it seems thus likely that the miniature's iconography was inspired by this tradition. The visual punishment of Arius in the frontispiece to Or. 30 makes sense in light of the anti-Arian Christology documented in the Nicene Creed and the fact that Constantinople was dominated by Arians at the time when Gregory delivered his Theological Orations¹⁰¹. Aside from the teachings of the Neo-Arians, these discourses are especially

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Select Orations*, translated by M. VINSON (*The Fathers of the Church* 107). Washington, D.C. 2003, 107, n. 1.

⁹² SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 226–274.

⁹³ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ (*sic*).

⁹⁴ On the appearance of the "paidariogeron", see K. ONASCH – A. SCHNIEPER, *Ikonen. Faszination und Wirklichkeit*. Freiburg 1995, 134.

⁹⁵ Ἀρειὸς ὁ τεμὼν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς; MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 211, mention that in Or. 2 (§36–37) Gregory uses the same verb (τέμνω) to refer to Arius' "division" of the Father and the Son; J. BERNARDI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 1–3* (SC 247). Paris 1978 (reprint 2006), 138, ll. 12–13. I fail to see, however, the connection the authors draw between this passage, the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 in the Basel codex, and the infamous death of Arius by intestinal hemorrhage (cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 210–211). In his autobiographical poem, Gregory broadly condemns all those who divide the indivisible nature of Christ (the verb he uses here is διαίρέω); Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, 110, v. 177.

⁹⁶ τὸν περὶ υἱὸς δεῦτερον ἀποστοματίζων· οὗ ἡ ἀρχή, (Inc.) Ἐπειδὴ σοι τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν λογισμῶν στροφάς; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 226.

⁹⁷ This has already been pointed out by WALTER, *Commentaire* 119–120.

⁹⁸ ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ; <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/online-bibeln/septuaginta-lxx> (consulted 25.03.2017).

On the problems of the translation of this passage in the Septuagint see M. KARRER – W. KRAUS, *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*. Stuttgart 2011, II 2521–2522; P. JAY, *Jesaja. RAC* 17 (1996) 764–821, 814; R. STAHL, "Immanuel" – Gott mit uns? *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum Theologische Fakultät Leipzig* 8 (1994) 19–36, 33–35.

⁹⁹ Is 7:14 is not cited in any of the *Theological Orations*, nor is Mt 1:23; *Orationes Theologicae*, trans. SIEBEN, 376, 377.

¹⁰⁰ See MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 211; on the textual sources and surviving images, see BRUBAKER, *Vision* 260–261.

¹⁰¹ F. DÜNZL, *A Brief History of the Doctrine of the Trinity in the Early Church*. London – New York 2007, 41–59, esp. 55–57.

directed against the Pneumatomachians¹⁰², and, accordingly, the other heretic visually defeated in the Basel codex, in the frontispiece of the next homily, is Macedonius “the Pneumatomachian” (cf. Or. 31, f. Fv).

It appears that in the first place the frontispiece to Or. 30 serves to visually underscore the Orthodox position that Christ is consubstantial with the Father, hence truly divine, as well as the doctrine of the hypostatic union of Christ, which affirmed that his human and divine nature were inseparable. These convictions formed the core of Gregory’s teaching in his *Theological Orations* and other writings.

The passage on the Emmanuel in the Book of Isaiah was understood in Mt 1:18-23 and early Christian exegetical writings as a prefiguration of the virgin birth of Christ (esp. Mt 1:23 “‘Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel,’ which means, ‘God is with us.’”¹⁰³)¹⁰⁴. The widespread iconographical type of Christ Emmanuel, of Byzantine origin and almost exclusively restricted to the Byzantine sphere, drew from this tradition and is charged with the doctrinal implications of the virgin birth¹⁰⁵. The type alludes to the Incarnation and thus Christ’s humanity, but also to his conception by a virgin, which emphasized his divine nature, characterizing him as the pre-existing and eternal divine Logos¹⁰⁶. Although Gregory does not use the term “Emmanuel” in this homily, the defense of Christ’s human existence as inseparable from his divinity was essential to his teaching; not only is it a recurring argument in his writings, but it is also central to the Christological reasoning put forth in his two orations titled *On the Son*¹⁰⁷. Strictly speaking, the depiction of Christ Emmanuel might seem a better fit as an illustration to the previous homily, Or. 29, the *First Oration on the Son* (the frontispiece of which, unfortunately, does not survive), where Gregory explains that Christ was begotten of a woman, which makes him human, and of a virgin, which makes him divine¹⁰⁸. However, the Greek numeral ε’ (5), added in the upper left corner of the frame, suggests that this frontispiece was intentioned for Or. 30 and not the previous homily¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰² NORRIS, Faith 53.

¹⁰³ New Revised Standard Version (NRSV); see D. D. KUPP, Matthew’s Emmanuel. Divine Presence and God’s People in the First Gospel (*Monograph Series. Society for New Testament Studies* 90). Cambridge 1996, 163–175, for an interpretation of this verse.

¹⁰⁴ JAY, Jesaja 814–815; see also the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (451); Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, I: Nicaea I to Lateran V, ed./trans. N. P. TANNER. London – Washington, D.C. 1990, 78.

¹⁰⁵ K. LINARDOU, Depicting Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in the Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts, in: The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Text and Images (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*), ed. L. Brubaker – M. Cunningham. London – New York 2011, 133–149, 139–141; E. LUCCHESI PALLI, II. Das Christusbild der byzantinisch-christlichen Kunst, in: Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, ed. E. Kirschbaum. Freiburg et al. 1968, I 371–399, 390; C. H. W. WENDT, Das Christus-Immanuel-Bild der Ostkirche. *Zeitschrift für Kunst* 4 (1950) 284–287; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134. The origins of this type of Christ in the visual arts, along with the theological nuances it highlights in different programmatic contexts, remain understudied phenomena; for general remarks on this type, see LINARDOU, Salvation 139–141, esp. 141; LUCCHESI PALLI, Christusbild 390–392; K. WESSEL, Christusbild, in: Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst I, ed. K. Wessel. Stuttgart 1963, 966–1047, 975–976, 1008–1010; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134, 158–159. There exist case studies for the 12th century when the image of Christ Emmanuel is encountered more frequently; see below.

¹⁰⁶ WESSEL, Christusbild 1010; LUCCHESI PALLI, Christusbild 391, 392; WENDT, Christus-Immanuel-Bild 284; ONASCH – SCHNIEPER, Ikonen 134, 158. The basis for this understanding of the image seems to be the parallel account to Mt 1:23 (“‘Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel,’ which means, ‘God is with us.’”) in Luke 1:35 (“The angel said to her, ‘The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be holy; he will be called Son of God;’” NRSV). The theological argument is summarized in the Decrees of the Council of Chalcedon (451); Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 77–80 (citation of Isaiah’s Emmanuel passage on p. 78).

¹⁰⁷ On Gregory’s Christology, see C. A. BEELEY, Gregory of Nazianzus on the Trinity and the Knowledge of God (*Oxford Studies in Historical Theology*). Oxford – New York 2008, 115–151, esp. 128–143.

¹⁰⁸ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 218, § 19, ll. 10–12. Similarly, in § 4, where he refers to the Virgin, he highlights that she is the Theotokos; *ibid.*, 184, ll. 15–16. This oration, to a greater extent than Or. 30, explains why Christ is both God and man.

¹⁰⁹ In all likelihood, the numerals are an original feature of the frontispieces. I will discuss this question in the third section of this article.

The explicit link between the undivided union of Christ's divine and human natures and the Emmanuel was made at Church councils of later date, especially that of Ephesus (431). This council, condemning the heresy of Nestorius¹¹⁰, anathematized anyone who did not confess "that Emmanuel is God in truth, and therefore that the holy virgin is the mother of God"¹¹¹ (the *Theotokos*, or "God-bearer") along with those who denied the union of Christ, dividing his divine from his human nature¹¹². In the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (the Seventh Ecumenical Council) held in 787, the curse of Nestorius is reiterated multiple times and contrasted with the Orthodox position that Christ is both God and man, united and undivided in one *hypostasis*, or individual existence¹¹³. It is significant that the refutation of the heresy of Nestorius is in the Acts of Nicaea II supported by a repeated quote from Gregory's Or. 30¹¹⁴. Although the citations of the passage do not appear to have any direct bearing on the iconography of the homily's frontispiece in the Basel codex, the main function of the image, too, is to condemn any severing of the divine from the human nature of Christ as heretical. In this particular case, Arius, who had denied the true divinity of Christ and been anathematized at the Council of Nicaea in 325¹¹⁵, was apparently chosen by the painter to embody sectarian views that were incompatible with Gregory's teaching¹¹⁶. The iconographic type of the Emmanuel was cleverly chosen to epitomize the fundamental Orthodox doctrines of the divinity of Christ and his unity as both God and man, which Gregory the Theologian sought to defend; accordingly, it is him at whom Christ directs his gaze in approval or encouragement.

Whereas the presence of Christ Emmanuel in this miniature may be explained by the theological argument of this oration, the type does not appear to have been inspired by the text itself. Scholars have pointed out that the iconography of Christ Emmanuel became especially popular in monumental decoration of Byzantine churches of the Comnenian period, particularly during the 12th century as a reflection of contemporary doctrinal debates¹¹⁷. In section four of the present article I will argue that the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 reflects the common parallels drawn between Christ Emmanuel and Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, as evidenced by texts as well as the imagery on coins and seals that were issued during Manuel's reign. As I will discuss below, the iconography seems to

¹¹⁰ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 37–39; 61–62.

¹¹¹ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 59 (1.); also see *ibid.*, 71.

¹¹² Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 59 (esp. 2–3.); on the judgment against Nestorius, see *ibid.*, 61–62.

¹¹³ Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Concilii Actiones VI–VII (*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum sub auspiciis Academiae Scientiarum Bavaricae edita* II 3, 3), ed. E. LAMBERZ, adiuvante U. DUBIELZIG, indices confecit G. DUURSMA. Berlin – New York 2016, III 654, ll. 8–11.

¹¹⁴ Or. 30, § 8: "... when the natures are distinguished, the titles are differentiated along with the ideas;" NORRIS, Faith (trans. L. WICKHAM – F. WILLIAMS) 267. Gregory's point is that, despite the doctrine of the unity of Christ, the titles of "God" and "Father" may be distinguished; Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, ed. LAMBERZ, III 652: l. 31–654: l. 2; for the same citation, again in refutation of Nestorius, see *ibid.*, 764, ll. 29–30; the same argument is referenced in yet a third passage on Nestorius; *ibid.*, 664, ll. 22–25.

¹¹⁵ On Arius and Arianism in the fourth century, see J. F. KELLY, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church. A History*. Collegeville, Mich. 2009, 20–27; F. M. YOUNG, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon. A Guide to the Literature and Its Background*. Philadelphia 1983, 58–64.

¹¹⁶ WALTER, *Commentaire* 119–120, points out that Elias in his Commentary on Or. 20 refers to the division by Arius of the Trinity into three entities (cf. Or. 20, § 6). It seems unlikely that, as one might be inclined to think, this frontispiece could possibly have been intended as the frontispiece to Or. 20, an image that is now lost. Aside from the fact that in Or. 20 the division refers to the Trinity, and not to that of God the Father from the Son, there is no reference to Christ Emmanuel. In addition, the painting on f. Er [Pl. 2] is numbered as the fifth (ε'), conforming with the arrangement of the texts in the Basiliensis, and it was thus intended to introduce Or. 30 (on these numbers, see below, section three).

¹¹⁷ N. GIOLES, *Christologische Streitigkeiten im 12. Jahrhundert und ihr Einfluß auf das ikonographische Programm dieser Zeit*, in: *Λαμπηδών: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη*, ed. M. Aspra-Bardabake. Athens 2003, I 265–276, esp. 272–273; R. B. SCHROEDER, *Images of Christ Emmanuel in Karanlık Kilise*. *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008) 23–54.

relate directly to the Christological debates of the Council of Constantinople assembled by Manuel in 1166.

In Byzantine iconography images depicting the violent revenge of martyrs on their persecutors serve to emphasize the notion of the persecuted ultimately being triumphant over their adversaries¹¹⁸. Rather fittingly, then, in the frontispiece to Or. 30 it is Christ himself who not only orders the punishment of one of his opponents, but also provides the instrument of torture to his angels. It is possible that the frontispiece's violent iconography was also influenced by Gregory's reference to the Last Judgment in §4 of Or. 30¹¹⁹. Significantly, Mt 28:20 is cited here with Christ's promise of his continued divine presence ("I am with you always, to the end of the age"¹²⁰), intended by the Gospel's author to form an *inclusio* with the announcement of the Emmanuel ("God is with us") in Mt 1:23¹²¹.

The image leaves no doubt, in any case, that the divine Emmanuel will be solely with the righteous—the representatives of the "correct" faith, the so-called Orthodox who adhere to the teachings of Gregory Nazianzen.

*Frontispiece to Or. 31 (f. Fv / f. 147v): The Fifth Theological Oration: On the Holy Spirit*¹²²

In the upper tier of this frontispiece Gregory stands behind a curtain similar to the one in f. Bv which in this case is draped over what appears to be a chancel screen delimiting the sanctuary of a church. He preaches to a group of laymen, once again labeled as "the Orthodox." The audience is separated from the bishop by an elaborate building topped by a golden cross, which likewise indicates a church setting. Physically separating Gregory from his audience, the architecture was once again employed to define separate realms in terms of religious authority. Reminiscent of the frontispiece on f. Dv, Gregory is here too inspired by the dove of the Holy Spirit issuing from a segment of heaven. The addition of the dove represents a direct reference to the general topic and title of Or. 31, the fifth theological oration, "On the Holy Spirit," which is also cited in the miniature, before the incipit ("Saint Gregory the Theologian teaches on the Holy Spirit in this manner:...")¹²³.

Similar to the physical punishment depicted in the previous frontispiece to Or. 30, the lower part, now badly damaged by humidity, illustrates the punishment of a heretical bishop, identified by the inscription as "Macedonius,"¹²⁴ with the specification "the Pneumatomachian"¹²⁵ added by a different hand. An angel, labeled "Angel of the Lord,"¹²⁶ pierces the heretic with a spear, while three demons have placed a noose around his neck and are torturing him with what appears to be a pair of tongs. Blood is dripping from the neck of the collapsing bishop¹²⁷.

¹¹⁸ For some examples, see C. WALTER, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine (Archives de l'Orient chrétien 13)*. Paris 1970, 252–260, esp. 258–259.

¹¹⁹ SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 230–232; I wish to thank my colleague Margaret M. Mitchell (University of Chicago) for pointing me in this direction.

¹²⁰ NRSV. "Ἐσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος;" SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 232, ll. 12–13.

¹²¹ On Matthew's Christology as evident in the *inclusio* formed between Mt 1:23 and 28:20, see KUPP, Emmanuel, esp. 17–18, 175, 218–219, 222, 239, 242.

¹²² SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 276–342.

¹²³ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὕτω διδάσκων· (Inc.) Ὁ μὲν δὲ περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ λόγος, τοιοῦτος; SC 250, ed. GALLAY, 276 (critical apparatus).

¹²⁴ Μακεδόنيος.

¹²⁵ ὁ πνευματόμαχος.

¹²⁶ ἄγγελος κυρίου.

¹²⁷ A similar scene is found in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 367v), where, however, it is an Orthodox bishop who is being tortured and dragged away with ropes by two Arian soldiers; BRUBAKER, *Vision 227*, fig. 38, bottom register. The image is accompanied by the inscription "the Arians drag along a saintly old Orthodox man."

Or. 31 represents the Theologian's most important work on pneumatology, supporting his doctrine that the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and co-equal to the divinity of the Son¹²⁸. Whereas this oration must be viewed in the larger context of the Eunomian controversy, it is directed more specifically against the heresy of the so-called Macedonians, named after their founder, bishop Macedonius of Constantinople (exiled in 360), who rejected the full divinity of the Holy Spirit¹²⁹. Although the Macedonians are only implicitly being referred to in this oration¹³⁰, the theological argument presented by Gregory is clearly directed against their doctrines¹³¹, which explains why the tortured bishop in the lower tier of the miniature is identified by his label as the arch-heretic who thus stands for the opponents of Gregory's pneumatology. From the fourth century on, the supporters of the heresy of Macedonius were commonly called the "Pneumatomachians" ("Combatants against the Holy Spirit," or simply "Spirit-Fighters")¹³², as reflected in the epithet "the Pneumatomachian" that was added at a later stage to the frontispiece below the caption "Macedonius."¹³³ Macedonius and the Pneumatomachians were anathematized along with other heretics during Gregory's lifetime at the First Council of Constantinople (381)¹³⁴, a condemnation that was confirmed by subsequent councils, including the Second Council of Constantinople (553) and the Second Council of Nicaea (787)¹³⁵.

The frontispiece of the following homily, Or. 32¹³⁶, no longer survives.

*Frontispiece to Or. 6 (f. Gv / f. 222'v): First Discourse on Peace*¹³⁷

Gregory of Nazianzus is rendered here as a young man in priestly garb, gazing at the viewer and pointing at his father who stands to his right and is depicted in an attitude of grief. On the opposite side one can observe a group led by three figures in monastic garb and labeled "the crowd of the monks."¹³⁸ The architecture, composed of three arches topped by a series of roofed and domed buildings, serves to structure the tripartite composition that displays Gregory prominently at the center.

The historical background of Gregory's *First Discourse on Peace* was a schism between the monks and the ecclesiastic authorities of Nazianzus concerning the definition of the Holy Trinity¹³⁹. Gregory the Elder's expression of sadness explained in the figure's caption, "Gregory the Theolo-

¹²⁸ M. A. G. HAYKIN, *The Spirit of God. The Exegesis of 1 and 2 Corinthians in the Pneumatomachian Controversy of the Fourth Century* (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* 272). Leiden – New York 1994, 170–201, esp. 174–177; BEELEY, Gregory; C. A. BEELEY, *The Holy Spirit in Gregory Nazianzen: the Pneumatology of Oration 31*, in: *God in Early Christian Thought. Essays in Memory of Lloyd G. Patterson*, ed. Andrew B. McGowan – B. E. Daley – T. J. Gaden. Leiden 2009, 151–162.

¹²⁹ NORRIS, Faith 68–69, 183–184, 189; *SC* 250, ed. GALLAY, 51–54.

¹³⁰ Or. 31, §1; NORRIS, Faith 183–184.

¹³¹ See previous note and *Orationes Theologicae*, trans. H. J. SIEBEN, n. 1 on p. 272, n. 1 on p. 66.

¹³² BEELEY, Gregory 29, n. 88–89, and p. 157; MCGUCKIN, Gregory 105, n. 66.

¹³³ The minuscule script of this addition closely resembles, and is possibly identical to, that of the ζητει-notes written in the lower margins, following the addition of the frontispieces to the codex. Elias, too, refers to the Pneumatomachians in his commentary (f. 149r); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias §3.5 (3).

¹³⁴ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 28, 31 (Canon 1), 35 (Canon 7). The frontispiece to Gregory's Or. 34 in ms. Paris. gr. 510 depicts the curse of Macedonius during the First Council of Constantinople with the heretic crouching on the ground in front of the assembled clergy and Emperor Theodosius (f. 355r); BRUBAKER, Vision 210–219, fig. 36.

¹³⁵ Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 119, 134 (Nicaea II: "We abominate and anathematize...Macedonius and those with him, properly called the Pneumatomachi..."); Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, ed. LAMBERZ, *Horos* III 824, ll. 7–9.

¹³⁶ P. GALLAY – C. MORESCHINI, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32–37 (*SC* 318). Paris 1985, 82–155.

¹³⁷ M. A. CALVET-SEBASTI, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6–12 (*SC* 405). Paris 1995, 120–178.

¹³⁸ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μοναχῶν.

¹³⁹ On the historical background and issues of the debate, see *SC* 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 11–36; MCGUCKIN, Gregory 138–139.

gian's father, grievous after he was deceived because of his simplicity,"¹⁴⁰ relates to the prehistory of this sermon, which was delivered by the Theologian on the occasion of the successful reconciliation in the year 364¹⁴¹. The younger Gregory's mediation is reflected in the caption surrounding his head: "Saint Gregory the Theologian reconciling the schismatic monks with his father."¹⁴² The topic was also illustrated in the frontispiece miniature for this oration in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 52v): on the right side of the lowest tier Gregory and his father are seen preaching side by side under a canopy and behind an altar; next to them, members of the community of Nazianzus embrace each other in reconciliation¹⁴³.

*Frontispiece to Or. 23 (f. Hr /f. 250'r): Second Discourse on Peace*¹⁴⁴

This two-tiered miniature displays two scenes composed in a similar manner. In the upper tier Gregory the Elder is seen confronting a group of monks. The first part of the inscription—"Gregory of Nazianzus, the father of the Theologian, once he had already made peace with the monks"¹⁴⁵—serves to draw a connection between this image and the previous miniature commemorating the reconciliation of Gregory the Elder with the schismatic monks of Nazianzus (Or. 6). In the lower zone, Gregory the Theologian, dressed in priestly garb, points with his *left* hand at a group of bishops and laymen, while turning away from them ostentatiously. The meaning of this scene is illuminated by its caption: "Saint Gregory the Theologian blaming those who rejoiced at the recent separation of the monks."¹⁴⁶

The occasion of this oration is much disputed among modern scholars. Based on the text itself, it is not clear whether it was delivered by the Theologian at the beginning of his career as a priest and should be seen in light of the conflict between the monks of Nazianzus and Gregory the Elder (Or. 6), or whether it originated later, in 379, in Constantinople during the schism of Antioch¹⁴⁷. However, the iconography and captions of this frontispiece clearly reflect the understanding of this sermon as being connected with the conflicts at Nazianzus: the dispute between Gregory the Elder and the monks addressed in the preceding discourse (Or. 6) has meanwhile been settled (upper tier of the miniature), but the Arians are reanimating it to their profit (lower tier)¹⁴⁸.

Whereas the oration itself is ambiguous as to the historical context and nature of the schism, Elias in his *Commentary* relates it to the events at Nazianzus. It would be tempting, then, to conclude that the iconography of the frontispiece and the historical context it presents must be seen as a consequence of the metropolitan's expositions¹⁴⁹. However, this interpretation was current well before Elias, as is reflected in the ninth-century ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. and its miniatures. There,

¹⁴⁰ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ δυσφορῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἡπάτηται ἐξ ἀπλότητος; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 212.

¹⁴¹ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 31.

¹⁴² Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος εἰρηνεύων μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς τοὺς ἀποσχίσαντας μοναχοὺς. Then, after the introduction, "which begins in this manner:" (ἀρχεται δὲ οὕτως) follows the homily's incipit, Λύει μου τὴν γλῶτταν ἢ προθυμία; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 120.

¹⁴³ BRUBAKER, Vision 121, 221–224, fig. 10. ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf. (p. 118) depicts Gregory the Theologian and his father engaged in conversation; BRUBAKER, Vision 122; GRABAR, Grégoire, pl. X, fig. 2.

¹⁴⁴ SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 280–310.

¹⁴⁵ ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ Γρηγόριος ὁ Ναζιανζοῦ εἰρηνεύσας ἤδη μετὰ τῶν μοναχῶν. The inscription continues, "while the Theologian pronounced the following" (ἐνθα δὴ ὁ θεολόγος ἀποστομάτισε τὸ), followed by the incipit of Or. 23: θερμὸς ὁ ζῆλος, πρᾶον τὸ πνεῦμα; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 280.

¹⁴⁶ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διαστάσει τῶν μοναχῶν.

¹⁴⁷ SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269–275.

¹⁴⁸ For the context, see SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269, 273–274, and n. 1 on p. 290 (§ 5).

¹⁴⁹ See Mossay's commentary in SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 269, 273 (Mossay, erroneously, dates Elias' activity to the eighth century, 269).

the title miniature to Or. 23 (p. 119) shows the reconciled monks¹⁵⁰, and a second illustration (p. 122) depicts Gregory the Theologian and his father¹⁵¹.

*Frontispiece to Or. 22 (f. Ir / f. 267^r): Third Discourse on Peace*¹⁵² [PI. 3]

This miniature introduces Gregory's *Third Discourse on Peace*, delivered in Constantinople between 379 and 381¹⁵³. Gregory, depicted in episcopal garb, stands behind a chancel screen that is once again equipped with a purple curtain, decorated with a golden cross. He points upward at the clipeus containing the personification of Peace depicted with an attitude that, in light of the oration's argument, may be interpreted as one of admonition¹⁵⁴. The face and hairstyle, in accordance with the gender of the noun, suggest a female, but the headgear is typical of males. The figure's label, ἡ εἰρήνη ("Peace"), originally formed part of a longer caption, possibly once comprising three lines of text, the first part of which was covered with blueish paint and is now illegible. Next to Gregory, and much smaller, are two separate groups of bishops, some of whom are arguing while others are turning away in an attitude of dissent. The meaning of this scene is explained by the caption "Saint Gregory the Theologian pacifying the quarreling bishops at Constantinople."¹⁵⁵

The clipeus with the personification hovers in the upper part of the miniature, in front of two roofed buildings that flank a tall dome at the center. Once again, architectural details are employed to define different realms: the personification of Peace and Gregory Nazianzen are honored with pictorial elements that indicate sacred space, while the disputing bishops are situated in a meadow outside the sacred realm embodying discord. They are thus visually relegated to a different sphere, the lawn serving to indicate profane space.

The iconography of the personification of Peace is unusual and appears to be without parallels in Byzantine art. Curiously, the figure has on an imperial *stemma*—a simplified and small version of a type of crown worn by (male) emperors¹⁵⁶—in front of a domed cap. While crowned personifications are encountered elsewhere in Byzantine art to indicate imperial virtues¹⁵⁷, the white cap does not form part of imperial headgear. Along with the personification's elaborately embroidered dress, the domed hat instead recalls those typically worn by high-ranking court dignitaries, thus serving to enhance the figure's noble status¹⁵⁸. The iconographical references to the court that do not find an ex-

¹⁵⁰ J. MOSSAY – B. COULIE, Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus VI. Codices Aegypti, Bohemiae, Hispanae, Italiae, Serbiae, Addenda et corrigenda (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* N.F., 2. Reihe, *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz* 14). Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich 1998, 177, 179 (not illustrated in Grabar, Grégoire).

¹⁵¹ Repertorium Nazianzenum VI, ed. Mossay – Coulie, 177, 179; GRABAR, Grégoire, pl. X, fig. 2.

¹⁵² SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218–258.

¹⁵³ On the date and historical circumstances, see SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 201–206. Constantinople is explicitly mentioned in the title of this oration in some of the manuscripts, including ms. Basil. AN I 8; cf. SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, "Titulus."

¹⁵⁴ The multivalent gesture, with hands held in front of the breast, palms facing outward, may in other contexts mean prayer or veneration.

¹⁵⁵ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος· εἰρηνεύων τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μαχομένους ἐπισκόπους; then follows the introduction "that begins in this way:" (ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως) (Inc.): Εἰρήνη φίλη, τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218.

¹⁵⁶ PARANI, *Reality* 27–29, esp. pl. 12, 19, 20, 21.

¹⁵⁷ For example, in ms. Vat. Urb. gr. 2 (*Diktyon* 66469), f. 19v, two personifications (Charity and Justice) with imperial crowns are seen behind the throne of Christ, who symbolically crowns two emperors (John and Alexius Comnenus); Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln. Stuttgart 1992, 140. In this case, the crowns seem to imply the virtuous rulership of the two emperors; on personified virtues accompanying portraits of emperors in Byzantine art, see P. MAGDALINO – R. S. NELSON, *The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century*. *BF* 8 (1982) 123–183, 143–146.

¹⁵⁸ See above, section two, the discussion of Elias' headgear seen on f. Cr.

planation in the texts contained in the Basel codex might indicate an origin of the iconography in the imperial sphere. The fanciful combination of the crown and the cap underscores the abstract meaning of the clipeus image, as does the personification's ambiguous gender. Most conspicuously, the figure has a cross nimbus. Reserved for depictions of Christ, this detail alludes to Gregory's claim that God (Christ) is peace, as explained in a passage near the beginning of the oration: "Beloved peace, my pursuit and my pride—in the expressions, 'the peace of God,' and 'the God of peace,' and 'he himself is our peace,' we hear that it belongs to God and characterizes God, God and his very essence."¹⁵⁹

In this oration, Gregory deals at length with the peace and unity of the Church being endangered by the conflicts that prompted his sermon¹⁶⁰. Hence, in this case too, the image, in going far beyond mere illustration most aptly illustrates the key concerns expressed in the text.

As I will argue below, the curious figure representing Christ as "Peace" may be understood as a direct reference to Emperor Manuel I and his concerns about the unity of the church in his own days. It is thus the second piece of evidence that suggests an original connection of what is now the Basel codex with the Comnenian ruler.

*Frontispiece to Or. 33 (f. Kr / f. 285'r): On the Arians and Himself*¹⁶¹

Oration 33 was composed shortly after Gregory's arrival at Constantinople in 379, during the religious conflicts between the Nicene Christians and the Arians; in it Gregory, highlighting his own modesty and poverty along with that of his followers, accuses the Arians of accumulating worldly riches and seeking imperial support for the dissemination of their errors¹⁶². In the frontispiece, Gregory the Theologian, framed by an arch, addresses a group of bishops who are placed under a separate arch. The scene is topped by elaborate architectural elements.

This is one of the least elaborate miniatures of the codex, and without its caption, added in magenta uncials across both arches, the meaning of the iconography would be obscure¹⁶³: "Saint Gregory the Theologian summoning to a contest of words (πρὸς ἄμιλλαν [sic] λόγων) those reproaching his poverty, Arians and others"¹⁶⁴ (followed by the homily's incipit¹⁶⁵). Through its placement, the second part of the caption ("those who reproached his poverty, Arians and others") serves to identify the group of bishops as representatives of the heretics¹⁶⁶.

Macé and Andrist believe that the miniature's caption was derived from the *Commentary* of Elias, who likewise used the noun ἡ ἄμιλλα to characterize the encounter between Gregory and the heretics as a "contest" or "conflict."¹⁶⁷ Whereas this might well have been the case, the choice of the noun ἡ

¹⁵⁹ Εἰρήνη φίλη, τὸ ἐμὸν μελέτημα καὶ καλλώπισμα, ἦν Θεοῦ τε εἶναι ἀκούομεν καὶ ἥς Θεόν, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεον, ὡς ἐν τῷ· "Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ"· καὶ "Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης"· καὶ "Αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν"; SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, § 1: 5–9; cf. Phil 4:7, 2 Cor 13:11, Eph 2:14 (SC 270, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 218, n. 1, c-e [e should read "Éphés. 2,14"]).

¹⁶⁰ Esp. §§ 2–3.

¹⁶¹ SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 156–196.

¹⁶² SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 20–28; on the date, *ibid.*, esp. 20–21 (cf. 156, n. 1, 185, n. 4).

¹⁶³ In contrast to the reduced composition in the codex Basiliensis, the frontispiece for Or. 33 in ms. Paris. gr. 510 (f. 367v) presents three scenes involving the Arians that were derived from the contents of the homily; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 225–238.

¹⁶⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος προσκαλούμενος πρὸς ἄμιλλαν (sic) λόγων τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας αὐτῷ πενίαν ἀρειανούς καὶ λοιπούς; ed. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 212–213 (trans. adjusted), correcting Walter's reading of the label; cf. WALTER, *Commentaire* 123.

¹⁶⁵ Ποῦ ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῶν ὀνειδίζοντες; SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 157.

¹⁶⁶ The "others" are named in §16 (the adherents of the heresies of Valentinian, Marcion, Montanus, Mani, Novatian, Sabellius, and Photinus); SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 190–194.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. ms. Basil. AN I 8, f. 285v: Γρηγόριος ... πρὸς ἄμιλλαν (sic) αὐτοὺς ἐκκαλεῖται; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* §3.5 (5) and n. 144, where the authors comment that both variants of the noun, with *spiritus lenis* or *spiritus asper*, are attested in the Greek language.

ἄμιλλα does, on the other hand, not seem all that far-fetched in light of the highly polemic tone of this oration, which was prompted by the existing conflict between Gregory and the Arians. Hence, it might just be a coincidence that the word appears in Elias' text as well¹⁶⁸. As is suggested by the frontispiece's explanatory caption, the picture's composition, while serving to illustrate the confrontation between Gregory and the heretics more generally, appears to have been inspired by the very beginning of Or. 33. Fittingly, with his *left* hand outstretched Gregory addresses his adversaries in rage: "So where are those who reproach our poverty and boast with their wealth?"¹⁶⁹ (a question that is followed by a series of accusations).

*Frontispiece to Or. 26 (f. Lv / f. 303'v): Second Discourse about Himself*¹⁷⁰

In the upper register of this image, Gregory delivers his sermon to a group of people who are identified as the "Orthodox,"¹⁷¹ and the preacher is once again separated from his audience by means of architectural elements. His authority is further emphasized by situating him in the sacred realm of what appears to be an abbreviated depiction of the sanctuary of a church; the ecclesiastical setting is also indicated by the roofs and domes topping the two tall arches that house the figures. In the left part of the lower register is a building with its doors wide open. On the right, the painting is so badly damaged that it is difficult to discern the details of the scene, which is labeled, "the malicious philosopher Maximus being chased from the church by the Orthodox."¹⁷² Although Maximus is not explicitly addressed in Or. 26, he is named in the title for this oration as it appears in Byzantine manuscripts, including the codex Basiliensis: "About himself [Gregory], on his return from the country, after his struggle against Maximus."¹⁷³

The historical context of this oration is the so-called Maximus affair of 380, caused by the attempt of Bishop Peter of Alexandria to gain control over the bishopric of Constantinople by sending Maximus, a cynic philosopher, to usurp the capital's episcopal throne. Taking advantage of a temporary absence of Gregory, Maximus successfully took over, if only briefly, after being ordained by Alexandrian clerics¹⁷⁴. The scene depicted in the miniature's lower register illustrates the moment when Maximus was violently driven out from the Anastasia, the church of the Nicene Orthodox founded by Gregory, where the usurper had been celebrating mass¹⁷⁵. Two laymen are driving away with spears a bishop dressed in a pink *phelonion*; this figure, whose head has almost entirely been effaced, must be Maximus¹⁷⁶. Oddly, in spite of the crime for which he is being expelled, Maximus is depicted as much larger in size than the other figures. He is simultaneously being dragged along by a third layman who is climbing a flight of stairs. Another bishop, garbed in a brownish *phelonion* and who

¹⁶⁸ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213, mention that Gregory himself uses ἄμιλλα in other contexts, though not in Or. 33.

¹⁶⁹ Ποῦ ποτέ εἰσιν οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῶν ὀνειδίζοντες, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον κομπάζοντες; ...; SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 157.

¹⁷⁰ SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 224–272.

¹⁷¹ ὁρθόδοξοι.

¹⁷² ὁ σκαιὸς φιλόσοφος Μάξιμος διωκόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ.

¹⁷³ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ἄγρου ἐπιστάς μετὰ τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον (f. 304v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix V; cf. SC 284, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 224 ("Titulus").

¹⁷⁴ FREEMAN, AD 381, 88–90; A.-M. RITTER, Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol. Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des II. Ökumenischen Konzils (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte* 15). Göttingen 1965, 35: n. 1, 49–53.

¹⁷⁵ FREEMAN, AD 381, 89; on this church that Gregory had founded to "resurrect" Nicene Orthodoxy in Constantinople, see *ibid.*, 79–80. During the First Council of Constantinople in 381, Maximus' episcopate was officially annulled; Decrees, ed./trans. TANNER, 20, 32 (Canon 4); RITTER, Konzil 102, n. 2.

¹⁷⁶ It is difficult to determine whether this damage was caused by humidity, or whether the figure's head was deliberately erased by a user of this manuscript in an attempt to eliminate Gregory's opponent.

represents a member of the clergy loyal to Gregory, appears to be assisting the ejection of the adversary by pushing him from behind.

During the Maximus affair, Gregory was subject to betrayal from within his flock as well as criticism of his spiritual leadership, an experience of profound personal hardship and disappointment that caused him to temporarily retreat to the countryside¹⁷⁷. The image in the miniature's upper tier relates to his return to his Constantinopolitan community, as the inscription explains: "Saint Gregory the Theologian teaching the Orthodox, after his return from the countryside, in this way: (Inc.) 'I missed you, my children, and I have been missed in the same proportion'."¹⁷⁸ Originally only the first part of this caption ("Saint Gregory the Theologian teaching the Orthodox") and the label identifying the "Orthodox" were inscribed in the upper register of this miniature, whereas the incipit and its introduction appear to have been added by a different hand. In both tiers of this image there are traces of numerous adjustments to the composition¹⁷⁹. The stairs being climbed to the right of the somewhat awkward composition in the lower register do not seem to have any purpose specific to the content of this image¹⁸⁰.

*Frontispiece to Or. 36 (f. Mv / f. 325v): On Himself and to Those Who Said
That He Desired the See of Constantinople*¹⁸¹

This frontispiece has been misplaced, having originally been located opposite the beginning of the text of Or. 36 on f. 323r¹⁸². In this image, the architecture is a particularly elaborate design, again employed to structure the composition. The three arches serve to separate Gregory, at the center, from the two groups of bishops to his sides. Without the abundant inscriptions, the exact meaning of the scene would be unclear.

Or. 36 represents the inaugural sermon delivered by Gregory in mid-December of 380 on the occasion of his accession to the episcopal throne of Constantinople¹⁸³. Gregory, who is once again depicted as larger in scale and standing behind a lavish curtain, points with his left hand toward himself and with his right toward the group of bishops representing his adversaries, who had criticized his acceptance of the episcopal throne, insinuating, for example, that Gregory was driven by ambition¹⁸⁴.

The inscriptions of this miniature were added at two different stages, the original ones being the name label "Saint Gregory the Theologian" and the caption of the group of bishops depicted to his right, "those who say that he desired the see of Constantinople."¹⁸⁵ The inscription identifying the

¹⁷⁷ SC 284, ed. MOSSAY – LAFONTAINE, 115–141, esp. 115–120; J. BERNARDI, *La Prédication des pères cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire (Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier 30)*. Paris 1968, 168–181.

¹⁷⁸ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος διδάσκων τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους / μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἐπιστάσιαν οὕτως· (Inc.) Ἐπόθουν ὑμᾶς, ὦ τέκνα· καὶ ἀντεποθύμην τοῖς ἴσοις μέτροις;

¹⁷⁹ The adjustments of the design are particularly evident in the arcade framing Gregory in the upper register as well as, in the lower register, in the flight of stairs and in the figure ascending it.

¹⁸⁰ The stairs are probably purely decorative because a similarly purposeless flight of steps appears to the right of the upper register.

¹⁸¹ SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 240–268.

¹⁸² The frontispiece currently faces f. 326r. Resulting from humidity, parts of the red script citing a passage from Gregory's oration at the bottom of f. 323r have transferred onto the dark green strip of grass at the bottom of the miniature on f. Mr, beneath the group of the Orthodox bishops.

¹⁸³ On the historical context, see RITTER, *Konzil* 44–49, 53; BERNARDI, *Prédication* 192–198, esp. 193.

¹⁸⁴ BERNARDI, *Prédication* 195–197, esp. 197. Gregory himself insists on his modesty and on the fact that he was set upon the episcopal throne in spite of his vigorous protest (Or. 36, § 1–2).

¹⁸⁵ οἱ λέγοντες ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς καθέδρας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

"Orthodox" was added later along with the remaining inscriptions of this frontispiece. The oration's incipit and its introductory formula surround the head of Gregory: "[Saint Gregory the Theologian] very admirably stigmatizing their envy in this way:"¹⁸⁶ (the incipit then follows). Along these same lines, further down yet another inscription has been added that quotes from the text of Gregory's homily: "Would envy be eliminated from human beings, the devourer of those who adhere to it."¹⁸⁷ Having been added close to Gregory's arm, which points at the bishops standing at his right, the quote further identifies the group as representatives of the bishop's envious opponents. The group on the far right of the frontispiece represent Gregory's loyal supporters, the Nicene Orthodox, to whom he addressed this sermon. It seems that the entire composition serves to visually support, in retrospect, Gregory's legitimate accession to the Constantinopolitan See, suggested in particular by the detailed labels that were added to it as an afterthought¹⁸⁸.

*Frontispiece to Or. 3 (f. Nv / f. 331v): To Those Who in the Beginning Called,
But Did Not Move to Meet Him after He Became Priest*¹⁸⁹

Standing in an elaborate architectural setting and framed by an opened curtain, Gregory the Theologian, again depicted at the center of the composition and enlarged in size, addresses a group of people who gesture toward him in response. Seated to Gregory's right is his father, depicted in an attitude of sorrow, which seems to find explanation in the lack of affection and loyalty of the flock toward their shepherds, a theme addressed by the Theologian in this sermon with words of disappointment and reproach¹⁹⁰. That both Gregory the Theologian and his father were neglected by the flock of Nazianzus is clear from the text of the homily¹⁹¹.

In this image, too, the inscriptions were added at two distinct stages, and the additions made to the original inscriptions serve to provide information on the background of this sermon that in the Basel codex is isolated from its context of delivery as part of a series¹⁹². The inscription next to Gregory the Elder originally consisted of only the name label—"Gregory the father of the Theologian"—to which was then added the explanation, "who appointed his own son as shepherd of his flock."¹⁹³ Close to the Theologian's halo we read the original inscription, "Saint Gregory the Theologian blaming the flock of Nazianzus because they did not come eagerly to his [father's] teaching"¹⁹⁴ (the homily's incipit then follows¹⁹⁵, added at a later stage along with the second part of the inscription accompanying Gregory the Elder). Interestingly, whoever added the label next to the figure of the younger Gregory departed from the content of the sermon: in it, the Theologian in the first place reproaches the people for not coming to his *own* religious services. This is clear from the oration's title as well as from

¹⁸⁶ τὸν φθόνον στηλιτεύων θαυμασιώτατα ἄρχεται δὲ οὕτως: (Inc.) Ἐγὼ θαυμάζω τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἐμούς πεπόνθατε λόγους; SC 318, ed. MORESCHINI, 240.

¹⁸⁷ ὡς ἀπόλοιτο (sic) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ φθόνος, ἡ δαπάνη τῶν ἐχόντων; SC 318, ed. GALLAY – MORESCHINI, 250, ll. 13–14 (§ 4). The vice of envy is dealt with at length in §§ 4–5 of this sermon.

¹⁸⁸ It is worth noting that soon after his election, during the Second Council of Constantinople (381), Gregory lost the Constantinopolitan see again; RITTER, Konzil 105–111.

¹⁸⁹ SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242–254; cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix VII.

¹⁹⁰ On the circumstances of this sermon, delivered in 362, on the Sunday following Easter, see BERNARDI, Prédication 100–101; SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 24–28.

¹⁹¹ SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 244, § 3, esp. ll. 8–10.

¹⁹² Or. 3 (ed. SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242–254) is the last sermon of a series of three delivered by Gregory in the spring of 362; BERNARDI, Prédication 96; SC 247.

¹⁹³ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ / τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν ποιμένα τοῦ ποιμνίου προχειρισάμενος.

¹⁹⁴ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος μεμφόμενος τοὺς Ναζιανζηνούς τῷ μὴ προσεληλυθέναι προθύμως τῇ τούτου διδασκαλίᾳ.

¹⁹⁵ καὶ λέγων· ("and saying:") (Inc.) Πῶς βραδεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον ὧ φίλοι καὶ ἀδελφοί; SC 247, ed. BERNARDI, 242.

the introduction to this sermon and its occasion, as provided by Elias of Crete¹⁹⁶. The writer of this caption perhaps sought to explain the father's pronounced expression of grief, which appears to be the result of the painter's interpretation of the overall situation, which occasioned the Theologian to admonish the flock of Nazianzus.

*Frontispiece to Or. 9 (f. Or / f. 336'r): To His Father and Basil the Great
When He Was about to Ordain Him as Bishop of Sasima*¹⁹⁷

The frontispiece depicts the consecration of Gregory of Nazianzus as Bishop of Sasima in Cappadocia, to which Or. 9 refers. In an elaborate architectural setting indicating the interior of a church we see Basil the Great ("Saint Basil"¹⁹⁸) issuing a blessing toward Gregory the Theologian, depicted in an attitude of reverence with his head inclined and his hands veiled. Behind Basil stands Gregory's father ("Gregory the father of the Theologian"¹⁹⁹), and on the far right is a crowd led by a deacon. The latter is dressed in a white *sticharion*, a long-sleeved tunic, with an *orarion*, a long, narrow stole worn over his left shoulder²⁰⁰, and holds a vessel, likely containing frankincense, and a *rhypidion*, a liturgical fan. The inscription above the head of Gregory the Theologian explains what is depicted in this scene: "Saint Gregory the Theologian being ordained Bishop of Sasima by Basil the Great, at which occasion he pronounced the following:"²⁰¹ Then follows the homily's incipit, "Again on me the unction and the spirit,"²⁰² which was placed close to the head of Gregory so that he appears to be speaking these very words.

The consecration scene depicted in the frontispiece to Or. 9 serves as an illustration of the title of this oration ("From the same [author], to his father and Basil the Great, when he was about to consecrate him [Gregory] Bishop of Sasima")²⁰³. Gregory's involuntary ordination was arranged as a consequence of the contemporary ecclesiastical disputes caused by the division of Cappadocia into two separate provinces²⁰⁴. In fact, Gregory never took up his episcopate at Sasima in person²⁰⁵.

The different titles of Or. 9 provided in Byzantine manuscripts represent varying traditions regarding as to whom this discourse was directed and who performed the consecration of Gregory as Bishop of Sasima²⁰⁶. The title of this homily in the codex Basiliensis accords with the iconography of the frontispiece in that it explicitly names Basil the Great as the consecrating bishop. However, this tradition is much older than the *Commentary* of Elias, because in the ninth-century codex Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf., Gregory's ordination is illustrated in a manner similar to that seen in the Basel codex. Here, too, it is St. Basil who performs the consecration by offering a gesture of blessing toward Gregory Nazianzen, while Gregory's father stands on the other side pointing at the consecration scene²⁰⁷. In ms. Paris. gr. 510, a different procedure of consecration is depicted in the lower register

¹⁹⁶ F. 331r (the commentary's very beginning is missing in ms. Basil. AN I 8; cf. LEUNCLAVIUS, *Operum* 361).

¹⁹⁷ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300–314.

¹⁹⁸ ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος.

¹⁹⁹ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατήρ.

²⁰⁰ On the dress of deacons, WOODFIN, *Icon* 5–9.

²⁰¹ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος χειροτονούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου ἐπίσκοπος Σασίμου ὀπηνίκα ἀπεστομάτισε τὸν...; on the historical context, see BERNARDI, *Prédication* 113–118; BEELEY, *Gregory* 14–15.

²⁰² πάλιν ἐπ' ἐμὲ χρίσμα καὶ πνεῦμα; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300.

²⁰³ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, ὅτε ἤμελλεν αὐτὸν χειροτονεῖν ἐπίσκοπον Σασίμων (f. 336v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Appendix V; for further variants of the title, see SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 300.

²⁰⁴ MCGUCKIN, *Gregory*, 189–192, 194–195; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 84–99, esp. 85–86, 91–93; on the division of Cappadocia, see below.

²⁰⁵ MCGUCKIN, *Gregory* 197; RITTER, *Konzil* 104–105; SC 405, ed. CALVET – SEBASTI, 87–88.

²⁰⁶ MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 213.

²⁰⁷ GRABAR, *Grégoire*, pl. XI.1; XIII.1; BRUBAKER, *Vision* 122–123, fig. 50.

of the frontispiece to Or. 9: three bishops are seen holding the open Gospel book over the head of Gregory²⁰⁸.

*Frontispiece to Or. 13 (f. Pr / f. 342r): Invocation Published on the Occasion of the
Consecration of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara*²⁰⁹

Whereas most of the frontispieces in the codex Basiliensis illustrate events in the life of Gregory the Theologian, the images in both registers of the frontispiece to Or. 13 are unusual as they refer primarily to events in the biography of Basil the Great rather than to Gregory. There is no critical edition of Or. 13, the historical circumstances and content of which remain understudied²¹⁰.

This frontispiece and its red frame are provided with lengthy explanatory inscriptions, all of which appear to have been added at the same time by one and the same scribe using vermillion red and black ink. The explanations have been crammed into the limited space around the figures in minuscule script, and due to lack of space, the title (introduced by a black cross) and incipit of Or. 13, written in black ink, had to be inserted into the upper bar of the red frame (which is why in this case the incipit is not introduced by a red initial as usual): "On the homily pronounced by the Theologian on the ordination of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara, the beginning of which is" (the incipit then follows)²¹¹.

The iconography of the upper register is similar to that of the ordination scene in the preceding frontispiece (f. Or). Three bishops—Gregory the Elder, Gregory the Theologian, and Basil—ordain a male labeled "Eulalius,"²¹² who bows and has his hands covered to humbly accept his ordination. Behind him is a canopy above an altar with a book on it. It is actually Basil who leads the group in the performing of the ordination with a gesture of blessing that is repeated by Gregory the Elder. On the opposite side is a group led by a deacon holding a *rhypidion* and container for frankincense. A lengthy inscription explains the scene: "Saint Basil, Saint Gregory the Theologian and the father of the Theologian ordaining Eulalius as Bishop of Doara."²¹³ Just like the label, the title of Or. 13 in the codex Basiliensis²¹⁴ identifies the ordained individual as Eulalius, bishop of the See of Doara in Cappadocia Secunda, as does Elias in his *Commentary*²¹⁵. It is remarkable that only in the case of the frontispiece to Or. 13 was the homily's title added to the image as well, apparently in order to provide it with the interpretation of the oration's enigmatic contents as offered by Elias. In the text

²⁰⁸ BRUBAKER, Vision 122–123, fig. 11 (fol. 67v); WALTER, Scenes 240–241. On the different rites for consecrating a new bishop, either by blessing him or by holding the Gospel book over his head, see WALTER, Scenes 241; WALTER, Art 130–136, 160–161. In addition, the two ninth-century manuscripts include Biblical scenes or figures that are inspired by the text of this sermon; ms. Ambrosianus E 49–50 inf., pp. 128, 129; Repertorium Nazianzenum VI, ed. MOSSAY – COULIE, 177, 179; GRABAR, Grégoire, pl. XI.1–2; BRUBAKER, Vision 281. Paris. gr. 510, f. 67v: BRUBAKER, Vision 122–123, 281–284.

²⁰⁹ See MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213–214, for a discussion of this title and the interpretive problems arising from it.

²¹⁰ PG 35, 851–856; SOMERS, Histoire 277–287, identified 13 preserved Greek testimonies, but does not discuss the content or historical context of this homily. There is an English translation of Or. 13 in Gregory, Orations, trans. M. VINSON, 36–38, and a German translation in Des heiligen Gregor von Nazianz Reden (Rede 1–20), aus dem Griechischen übersetzt und mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen versehen von P. HAEUSER (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* 59). Munich 1928, 269–273.

²¹¹ εἰς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεολόγου ἐκφωνηθεῖσαν ὁμιλίαν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων ἧς ἡ ἀρχὴ (Inc.) Δέξασθε τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον, ἀδελφοί; cf. PG 35: 832, which has a different version of the homily's title.

²¹² Εὐλάλιος.

²¹³ ὁ ἅγιος Βασίλειος, ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ θεολόγου χειροτονοῦντες τὸν Εὐλάλιον ἐπίσκοπον Δοάρων.

²¹⁴ "Invocation published on the occasion of the consecration of Eulalius as Bishop of Doara;" προσφώνησις ἐκδοθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ Εὐλαλίου ἐπισκόπου Δοάρων (f. 342v); MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 214 (trans. adjusted).

²¹⁵ The ambiguities present in the Byzantine manuscript tradition render difficult the identification of Eulalius and in fact raise doubts as to whether Eulalius the Bishop of Doara ever existed, and, if so, who ordained him; see MCGUCKIN, Gregory 214–215; esp. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213–216.

of Or. 13, Gregory merely alludes to the consecration of a new pastor without providing his name or specifying the location²¹⁶. However, the names of both the bishop (Eulalius) and his see (Doara) are also provided elsewhere at least from the 12th century on²¹⁷.

In the lower register there is an elaborately rendered building of a church, from which a heretical bishop is seized by a demon and being driven away by an angel. Both the face of the bishop and the demon appear to have been scratched out by a later user of the manuscript in an obvious attempt to thus “erase” evil. This scene, too, is explained by means of detailed inscriptions: (to the right of the angel) “an angel of God expelling Anthimus from the church as unworthy,”²¹⁸ (to the left side of the bishop) “Anthimus Bishop of Tyana who always devised and did something wicked against Basil the Great.”²¹⁹ In the lower right of the image, there is an erasure of what was likely a further inscription. The scene of the punishment of the bishop was apparently inspired by Gregory’s severe condemnation in Or. 13 of an (unnamed) enemy of Basil the Great (§ 3)²²⁰. This enemy is identified by Elias as Anthimus, and it seems likely that the individual who added the label to the miniature derived it from the *Commentary*²²¹.

Nonetheless, the conflict between Basil the Great and Anthimus alluded to in the inscriptions of the lower register is already attested in contemporary sources²²². It was caused by the division of Cappadocia into two separate provinces by Emperor Valens in 372, after which Tyana was declared the capital of Cappadocia Secunda. Anthimus’ claims to the metropolitan see of Cappadocia Secunda and his constant attempts to extend his influence and augment the revenue of his see posed a serious threat to the episcopal authority and power of Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, the capital of Cappadocia Prima²²³. It has been suggested that the ordination (at Doara), with which Or. 13 is concerned in the first place, most likely occurred with Anthimus present, whom Basil was approaching with peace negotiations by the autumn of 373; Gregory’s sermon would thus mark the success of these efforts, which led to the restoration of peace in Cappadocia Secunda and between Basil and Anthimus²²⁴. Hence, the violent scene involving Anthimus in the lower zone may be understood as a reference to the conflicts of the previous year, which were directly associated with the division of Cappadocia. Gregory refers to these and the hostility between Basil and Anthimus at some length in his autobiographical poem²²⁵. More than the iconography itself, the inscriptions that have been added to the two scenes illustrating the cryptic contents of Or. 13 strongly suggest the influence of Elias’ *Commentary* on their wording.

²¹⁶ Or. 13, §§ 1, 4; *PG* 35: 833B, 856A.

²¹⁷ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias n. 156.

²¹⁸ ἄγγελος θεοῦ τὸν Ἀνθίμιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἀνάξιον ἐξωθοῦμενος.

²¹⁹ Ἀνθίμος ἐπίσκοπος Τυάνων ὁ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου πᾶν εἴ τι σκαιὸν μελετῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ποιῶν.

²²⁰ *PG* 35:833D–835A.

²²¹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 214–216.

²²² MCGUCKIN, Gregory 187–188; P. GALLAY, *La Vie de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze*. Lyon – Paris 1943, 105–108, 116–118.

²²³ MCGUCKIN, Gregory 187–188; GALLAY, *Vie* 105–108, 116–118; *SC* 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 84–88; K. G. BONIS, Basilios von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im vierten Jahrhundert, in: Basil of Caesarea. Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium, ed. P. J. Fedwick. Toronto, I 281–335, 305.

²²⁴ See MCGUCKIN, Gregory 214–216, esp. 215. McGuckin, who seems to be unaware of the evidence provided by the frontispiece miniature of Or. 13 in the Basel codex, adduces information from both Gregory’s and Basil’s writings to support his interpretation of the historical circumstances of Or. 13. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 213–216, do not discuss McGuckin’s argument, but take it for granted that the miniature in the lower tier, or rather its inscription, were inspired solely by Elias’ *Commentary*, on the grounds that Elias identifies Basil’s enemy, to whom Gregory alludes in Or. 13 (§ 3; *PG* 35:833D–835A), as Anthimus (“this identification ... seems peculiar to Elias;” MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 216). But this connection is likewise strongly suggested by sources of earlier date that help illuminate the probable historical context of Or. 13; cf. MCGUCKIN, Gregory 214–216; see also Gregory, *Orations*, trans. M. VINSON, 37, n. 19.

²²⁵ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, vv. 426–462. As is so often the case, Gregory does not name Anthimus in his poem, either; for this identification, see the commentary on this passage, *ibid.*, 171–172.

*Frontispiece to Or. 12 (f. Qr / f. 347'r): On Himself and His Father When He Entrusted Him
With the Care of the Church of Nazianzus*²²⁶

This image, the last of the surviving frontispiece miniatures in the codex Basiliensis, introduces Or. 12, delivered in 372²²⁷ on the occasion of Gregory taking charge of his father's see at Nazianzus²²⁸. It depicts Gregory the Elder pulling along Gregory the Theologian dressed in priestly garb toward a gathering of people at whom he eagerly points with his raised left hand. The scene is explained by the inscription added next to the father's head²²⁹: "Gregory the Theologian's father dragging his son and handing over to him the shepherding of his own flock."²³⁰ The crowd assembled on the right, with a priest standing in the front row, is labeled "Church and flock of Nazianzus."²³¹ The assignment that Gregory the Theologian was reluctant to accept was in fact that of serving as an auxiliary bishop to his father²³², which the painter appears to have acknowledged by depicting the younger Gregory in priestly garb.

Once again, the architecture, consisting of three arches topped by a series of symmetrically arranged buildings, serves to structure the composition. The congregation of the people of Nazianzus is separated by means of a column from the two protagonists who are approaching them. This arrangement, along with the depiction of figures of the community as proportionally smaller, serves to indicate the distance—spatial as well as spiritual—between the flock and the two saintly clerics.

The iconography and its explanatory captions indicate rather unequivocally that Gregory was reluctant to accept the task imposed upon him by his father. In his autobiographical poem, Gregory describes the situation in much stronger words as being an act of coercion and tyranny by his father²³³. In Or. 12, he explains at some length the conflict between his own desire to lead a life of solitude and the desire of the Holy Spirit that he provide spiritual leadership to the community of Nazianzus²³⁴. Accordingly, the incipit of Or. 12 added above the younger Gregory's head makes it plain that he was in fact authorized by the Holy Spirit. The text relates Biblical words uttered by the newly appointed shepherd in direct speech: "I opened my mouth and drew in the Spirit" (Ps 118:131²³⁵). In the first paragraph introduced by this Psalm verse, the Theologian expresses his determination to accept his task as willed by the Holy Spirit, perceiving himself as a "divine instrument" to serve the Holy Trinity²³⁶. By presenting his leadership as brought about by divine will, the caption underscores Gregory's legitimacy to serve as shepherd of the community of Nazianzus. Just like in the previous frontispiece, and likely by the same hand, all captions of this frontispiece, too, appear to have been added to the image at the same time.

The frontispieces of the last two homilies of this volume that were commented upon by Elias (Or. 17 and 10) are now missing.

²²⁶ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348–360.

²²⁷ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 88–89.

²²⁸ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348–360; also see the introduction, *ibid.*, 97–99.

²²⁹ SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348.

²³⁰ Γρηγόριος ὁ τοῦ θεολόγου πατὴρ ἔλκων τὸν υἱὸν καὶ παραδίδους αὐτῷ ποιμαίνειν τὸ ἴδιον ποίμνιον.

²³¹ ἐκκλησία καὶ ποίμνη Ναζιανζοῦ.

²³² SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 98, 101, 350–354 (§§2–3).

²³³ Gregor von Nazianz, *De vita sua*, ed. C. JUNGK, 70, vv. 337–352.

²³⁴ §4: SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 354–356.

²³⁵ ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος ὁ θεολόγος ἀπαγόμενος καὶ λέγων ("Gregory the Theologian carried away and saying:") (Inc.) "Τὸ στόμα μου ἤνοιξα, καὶ εἴλκυσα πνεῦμα"; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 248. The Psalm verse ("I opened my mouth and drew breath") is by Gregory interpreted as a reference to the Holy Spirit (cf. SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 349); <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/24-ps-nets.pdf> (consulted 03/25/2017); M. KARRER – W. KRAUS, *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart 2010, 877; KARRER – KRAUS, *Erläuterungen II* 1838.

²³⁶ ὄργανον...θεῶν; SC 405, ed. CALVET-SEBASTI, 348, l. 6 (cf. *ibid.*, 360, §6).

* * *

The full-page miniatures that were added to the Basel codex represent a unique and, at times, somewhat odd approach to book illumination. The iconography usually tends to be relatively simple and repetitive, which is especially obvious in the numerous preaching scenes, and some miniatures are rendered in an awkward manner by painters of obviously limited skill. Yet the codex also contains iconographically elaborate images that were created by more talented individuals. Many details in the frontispieces in fact reveal that their creators knew the content of the respective oration very well, and this holds particularly true in cases where elements of the composition offer an interpretation, rather than direct illustration, of an oration's content. The sophisticated rendering of the personification of Peace in the frontispiece of Or. 22 is a case in point, as is the miniature with Christ Emmanuel preceding Or. 30. Gregory may appear as a younger or older man depending on the occasion on which he delivered the respective homily; hence, portraiture reveals that the painters were familiar with the original historical contexts of the orations.

The numerous erasures present in the images and adjustments made with regard to the preparatory sketches permit the conclusion that the iconography was developed *ad hoc* with care for detail. As will be discussed in the following section on codicology, painters were at liberty to decide spontaneously to paint one single image on a folio that had been ruled for a two-tiered miniature, and vice versa. The workshop could not possibly have had at its disposal a rich set of iconographical models, because, judging from the surviving manuscripts, Gregory's orations were almost never illustrated in Byzantium, aside from those that belonged to the liturgical edition. As stated above, ms. Paris. gr. 510 and ms. Ambros. E 49–50 inf. in Milan are the only other extant manuscripts to contain images illustrating Gregory's "unread" orations, and these ninth-century books differ from the Basel codex in important ways, first of all their textual content. While some iconographical parallels do exist, they are altogether scarce, and there do not seem to be any obvious links between the miniatures in the ms. Basil. AN I 8 and those of the two earlier manuscripts.

The many explanatory captions that were added to the frontispieces of the Basel codex in several stages are symptomatic of the fact that Gregory's orations do not at all lend themselves easily to illustration²³⁷. Not only do these lengthy inscriptions contextualize the orations historically, but without them, some of the compositions would in fact remain largely incomprehensible as to their precise meaning, even for readers who were familiar with the texts to which they refer. In the majority of the paintings, the various inscriptions that identify figures and contextualize what is depicted were evidently supplemented at different stages and by several scribes. Palaeographical evidence suggests that all these labels were added close in time to the paintings themselves. It is conceivable, yet beyond proof, that some inscriptions were added after the frontispieces were already in place in what is now the Basel codex. The script of all these captions is of uniform calligraphic style and thus does not allow precise dating, nor is it possible to establish with precision how many different individuals were involved in their creation. Most often, their successive addition is suggested especially by the different shades of red ink that can be observed in the miniatures. Significantly, however, in none of the captions of the miniatures is the handwriting identical to that of the main body of the text on the paper quires.

Based on the text of the orations cited in the Basel codex, the great majority of the illustrative frontispieces visualize the various ecclesiastic, doctrinal, and personal conflicts Gregory was embroiled in during his life as a cleric, both in Cappadocia and in Constantinople. The subject matter

²³⁷ This equally holds true in the case of the 16 liturgical orations, which, owing to their liturgical relevance, were often accompanied by figural illustrations regardless of the difficulties these texts posed to painters (GALAVARIS, Homilies).

of most of the frontispieces contained in the Basel codex is polemic, or at least moralizing, and with this emphasis the images provide yet another—a visual—commentary to Gregory's orations. While some miniatures illustrate the punishment of Gregory's adversaries in the most drastic ways, in others, misbelievers and other wrongdoers are identifiable as such only by means of their labels. The meanings of Gregory's occasional gesturing towards his opponents with his left ("bad") hand and his physically turning away from them were beyond doubt understood by contemporary viewers. Along with their captions, the miniatures of the Basel codex clearly aim to confirm that Gregory was *always* right! This may in fact have been the main reason for the insertion of the frontispieces, most of which are characteristically bold and simple in their visual argument.

A conspicuous feature of this manuscript is the abundant and purposeful use of painted architecture to help structure compositions or harmonize them by creating symmetry. Obviously, architectural elements served to add splendor to the imagery, as they display a rich range of colors and decorative details. One cannot help thinking, though, that painters were also aware of the merits of architecture as the most obvious means to fill the large surfaces within the frames (that way, there would not be a lot of space left for them to try and visualize the abstract and often complicated theological reasoning presented in the homilies!). To be sure, architectural elements were employed most intelligently, as they frequently serve to underscore the argument put forward by the image: they separate opponents, function as a framing device to highlight individual figures, or serve to visualize notions of hierarchy by marking separate realms. This latter feature conforms well to the tendency of the painters to enlarge in size figures of special significance, especially Gregory Nazianzen.

First and foremost, the frontispieces aim to present Gregory of Nazianzus as a committed fighter for the Orthodox cause, as an outstanding authority in matters of religion, theology, and doctrine. Hence, the different biographical narratives that they visualize or allude to continue the visual argument put forth by the two author portraits placed at the beginning of the book, which present Gregory as a divinely inspired theologian and role model for others following in his footsteps. As I will argue in the next section, the 14 illustrative frontispieces were added to the codex as an afterthought, whereas the two author portraits are likely an original feature; at least they were in place before the addition of the frontispieces.

3. ASSESSING CODICOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: TECHNICAL OBSERVATIONS AND PROCEDURES OF MANUFACTURE

The miniatures have, over the centuries, suffered from flaking and damage caused by humidity. Attesting to the appreciation accorded to these paintings by previous owners of the manuscript, the miniatures were at some point protected by means of textile coverings²³⁸: traces of glue employed to attach the fabric onto the page are still visible in the upper margin of the frontispieces, and two folios (B and D) display a row of sewing holes. In two cases, remnants of silk fabric in different colors are preserved in the glue²³⁹.

²³⁸ Textile covers of miniatures are rather widespread in Greek manuscripts and would merit systematic study. Although it would seem likely, it is currently unknown whether their use represents an original Byzantine feature. It seems possible that, beyond offering protection of the pictures, such textile covers might have been used on occasions of display, i.e., the unveiling of the picture in front of an audience or individual beholders. As of now, such scenarios are speculative; for thoughts and observations regarding manuscripts from the Latin West, see C. SCIACCA, *Raising the Curtain. On the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts*, in: *Weaving, Veiling and Dressing*, ed. K. M. Rudy – B. Baert (*Medieval Church Studies* 12). Turnhout 2007, 161–190.

²³⁹ On f. Br are preserved fine threads of dark purple silk, and on f. Lv there are remnants of woven silk fabric in a whitish color.

The parchment is of mediocre quality, and the folia are rather thick throughout the manuscript, some evidently being scrap material²⁴⁰. Some folia have holes in the margins or even in the painted area, and toward the end of the codex some of them display brownish traits of the skin's preparation on the reverse, which were not smoothed out before the sheets were used to accommodate the miniatures²⁴¹. The parchment folia are creased in numerous places and display significant distortions mostly due to tight binding.

The 14 frontispieces that illustrate the individual homilies and the two author portraits share a uniform tricolor design in their frames, which consists of broad carmine borders painted around a black line that limits each composition, with a thin strip of the parchment ground left visible in between. Whereas similarly broad red frames are a relatively rare feature in illuminated manuscripts, they are very common in mural paintings, and it is tempting to think that monumental art provided the inspiration for the color contrast that is characteristic of the miniatures' frames in the Basel codex²⁴². The frontispiece miniatures are provided with an additional frame, the features of which will be discussed further below. Remarkably, the multicolored and gilded flower petal ornamentation typical of the vast majority of illuminated manuscripts produced in Byzantium around the time when ms. Basil. AN I 8 was made, including the many codices associated with the "decorative style" group, is entirely absent from the codex. Given the poor quality of the parchment used for the miniatures and the fact that the manuscript was made of paper, the scarcity of gold might also be attributed to limited resources. Aside from the two author portraits, the use of gold was restricted in the miniatures to the decoration of haloes and to the highlighting of minor details like costume or architectural elements. Yet it is also possible that the lack of gold leaf in the background of the frontispieces may have been a matter of choice for practical purposes rather than mere necessity: it was certainly much easier to apply the abundant inscriptions directly on the parchment ground. Aside from facilitating their writing and legibility, the application of these labels directly on the parchment rendered them much more durable²⁴³.

Perhaps prompted by the relatively mediocre quality of the parchment folia and in order to make up for the absence of gold as an appropriate background color, an elaborate and highly unusual procedure was employed by the workshop to accentuate the appearance of the 14 illustrative frontispieces. The flesh side of the skin was used throughout as the painting surface, and was carefully scraped to become smooth and of an evenly whitish color. Each image was equipped with a complex system of frames: at some distance from the carmine border, an additional black line marks the outer limit of each composition. This thin line in fact constitutes the actual frame, as details of the iconography occasionally project beyond the red borders²⁴⁴. Outside the rectangle defined by the black line, the

²⁴⁰ F. A (with the first author portrait on its verso) displays two vertical lines in the center, which were added in order to accommodate the two columns of the text fragment present on fol. Ar (see ANDRIST – MACÉ, Elias 185–186); f. K toward the outer edge of the page has two ruled parallel lines running from top to bottom. There are, on the verso of this folio, remnants of line drawings of uncertain date; f. F has a vertical line of pricking marks originally intended for the addition of lines of text. Some folia (N, P, Q) are several centimeters shorter than usual.

²⁴¹ These streaks are encountered on ff. M, N, O, P and (less conspicuously) Q.

²⁴² Significantly, in wall paintings, a thin white line was frequently inserted between the red frame and the dark blue background of the painted scenes or figures to enhance color contrast; e.g., M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Byzantine Wall-Paintings*. Athens 1994, figs. 10–11, 23–27, 36–42, etc. It seems that in the Basel codex, the dark blue background typical of most Byzantine frescoes was "substituted" for by the inner black line delimiting the parchment-colored or gilded background of the miniatures.

²⁴³ Text written, normally in red inks, on gold leaf tends to flake off easily, as attested by many illuminated manuscripts. Furthermore, when the golden ground itself becomes abraded or otherwise damaged (e.g., by humidity), as is often the case, the inscriptions applied to it disappear as well. One can observe this in the Basel codex in the author portrait on f. Av.

²⁴⁴ E.g. ff. Br, Nv.

parchment was carefully covered with varnish of a light beige color²⁴⁵. Being of a darker color than the parchment ground, the varnish frame has the effect of further enhancing the shiny white surface adorned with colorful painting²⁴⁶. The extravagant framing procedure observed in the frontispiece pages of the codex Basiliensis is extremely unusual, perhaps even unique, among the illuminated manuscripts surviving from Byzantium.

Most of the 14 illustrative frontispiece miniatures preserve Greek numerals, written in a calligraphic script in the upper left corner of the outer black frame line, which indicate the position of the respective image within the manuscript. These numbers were likely added to ensure the correct placement of the frontispieces within the book, either the present ms. Basil. AN I 8, or, more likely, the book for which these paintings were originally intended. In the Basel codex there are no (preserved) corresponding numbers on the text pages facing each miniature, and, except for the very first one, the manuscript's individual texts are not numbered. It cannot be firmly established whether these numerals are an original feature of the frontispieces, or if they were added at a later stage. The former scenario seems more likely because there are no visible differences in the shade of black in the ink used for the frame line and the numeral on each page. Yet the evidence of the numerals remains ambiguous and in fact complicates the reconstruction of the production stages of the manuscript that is now ms. Basil. AN I 8. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that the addition of the frontispieces represents an afterthought. I further believe that the set of the frontispieces that introduce the individual discourses were not originally commissioned for this codex, a conclusion that follows from the layout of the miniature pages and other evidence discussed below. Hence, if the numerals in the frontispieces are indeed related to their original context of production, one would have to conclude that the texts there were arranged in the same order as in the Basel codex.

The dimensions of the folia that contain miniatures and particularly the measurements of their outer frames are too large for this book. As a result, the outer black border lines of some of the miniatures were cut off when the manuscript was rebound for John of Ragusa (or possibly during a previous binding)²⁴⁷, and in other cases, the inner vertical line of the frame disappears into the fold. The dimensions of the images, or rather their outer frames, were clearly not determined with regard to the dimensions of the text block in ms. Basil. AN I 8.

Given the inconsistencies just mentioned, it is striking that the outer black frames of the individual compositions were conceived with great attention to the page layout of the codex for which they were made. Importantly, this codex was very likely *not* the one that is now in Basel. Within the rectangle defined by the outer black frame line, the compositions with their red borders were deliberately, and consistently, placed off-center²⁴⁸. Judging from the principles that govern layout in Byzantine manuscripts (and in fact in printed books still today), the shifting of the image within its frame either to the right or to the left must have been devised with regard to the arrangement of the text on the opposite page. In Byzantine manuscripts, full-page miniatures—as well as columns of text—are typically

²⁴⁵ The chemical composition of this lacquer-like substance could not be determined by the conservators at the University Library; I would like to thank Friederike Koschate-Hennig for this information.

²⁴⁶ John Lowden has drawn attention to a white covering, possibly gesso, that has been applied to entire parchment pages of some illuminated manuscripts from the Late Byzantine period, apparently in an attempt to make the surface appear whiter and more even before the miniatures were added; J. LOWDEN, *Manuscript Illumination in Byzantium, 1261–1557*, in: *Byzantium Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans. New Haven – London 2004, 258–269, 263. The unusual procedure observed in the Basel codex is rather distinct, yet in a sense aimed at a similar effect.

²⁴⁷ It is, of course, impossible to know how often the codex has been rebound, and to what extent the pages have been trimmed.

²⁴⁸ This distinctive feature of the frontispieces is lost in the schematic drawings of the layout included in MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias*, Table 1 and Appendix VIII, which, unfortunately, convey the wrong impression that the paintings and their frames have been centered on the page.

oriented toward the facing page, which results in the outer vertical margin of pages being of significantly greater width than the inner margins [Fig. 1]²⁴⁹:

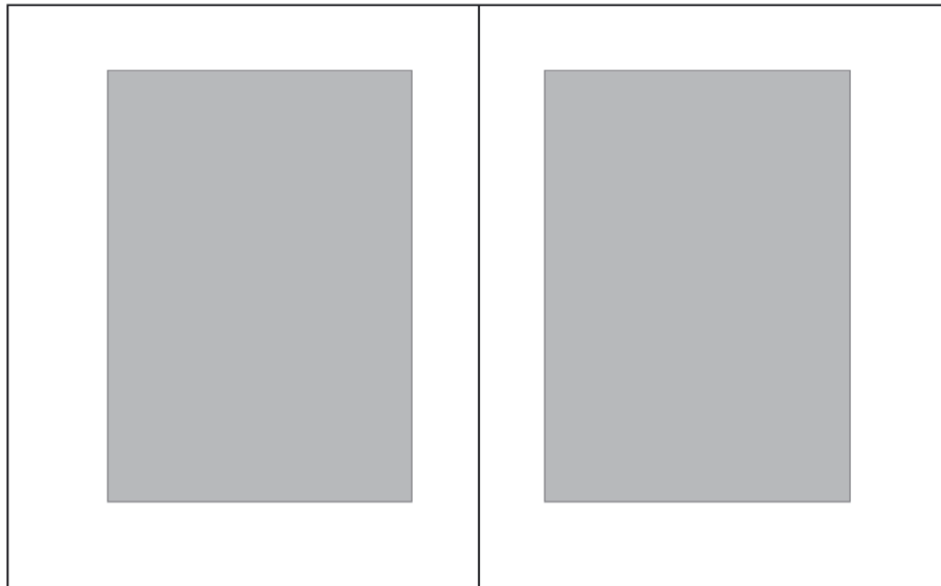


Fig. 1 Schematic rendering of two facing pages in a Byzantine manuscript showing the typical arrangement of text blocks or images shifted toward the fold of the quire.

It is thus quite likely that the off-centered arrangement of the images in the frontispieces of the codex Basiliensis adhere to the common Byzantine custom governing book design. However, it is this very presumption that creates major problems regarding the interpretation of the manuscript's procedures of manufacture, because the off-centered placement of the images in the codex Basiliensis follows no logical pattern. In fact, only six of the 14 preserved frontispiece paintings were shifted toward the center of the book within their outer black borderline, in accordance with normal practice [Pl. 4²⁵⁰]²⁵¹. Oddly, on most of the parchment pages the images are located closer to the outer vertical edge of their framing rectangle [Pls. 5 and 6].

There are several possible explanations for the odd placement of the majority of the frontispieces. If one were to assume that the frontispieces were commissioned specifically for the codex that is now ms. Basil. AN I 8, either carelessness on the part of the painters, or insufficient information as to the exact location of the initia of the individual text units, would seem to be plausible explanations for the ill-conceived layout. However, given the sophistication of the highly unusual frame design, and the significant additional effort it entailed, I think that sloppiness may safely be ruled out. A lack of communication between those who commissioned the illustrations for this manuscript and those who executed them would seem more conceivable, particularly if one were to imagine that the workshop

²⁴⁹ Today this feature is sometimes obscured by the fact that the outer margins of codices have been subjected to later trimmings. It is difficult to know whether this page design was chosen primarily for aesthetic reasons, or whether the procedure was originally adopted mostly for practical reasons, in anticipation of the wear and tear on a book that would necessitate trimming of the pages and rebinding.

²⁵⁰ For conservation reasons, only single pages could be photographed. Pls. 4 to 6 thus represent photomontages of the respective double page in the manuscript.

²⁵¹ F. Bv, Dv, Fv, Gv, Nv, and Or. The two author portraits (ff. Av, Cr) are likewise shifted toward the center within the borders.

in which the miniatures were created had no direct access to the manuscript itself. Yet such a scenario is difficult to prove, and, again, does not seem likely: the procedure chosen for the layout of the frontispiece pages required a great deal of extra time and care, and it is thus hard to imagine that such an extravagant method would have been employed, had the workshop been left with insufficient information as to whether the initia of the individual texts were located on recto or verso pages²⁵².

It seems far more likely, then, that the frontispiece miniatures of the codex Basiliensis were originally made for a different book, and not the one in which they are now found. In this hypothetical volume, the off-centered placement of the pictures within the rectangles defined by the outer black frames would have conformed to the practicalities and aesthetics of Byzantine book layout; this other codex would also have been a few centimeters larger in size.

However, it can safely be ruled out that the frontispieces were recycled, i.e., removed, from another manuscript in order to be reused in the Basel codex—a solution that might seem the most obvious in light of the oddities present in the layout. It can, in fact, be demonstrated that the miniatures were never actually bound into a codex other than the one now in Basel. There are no visible traces (such as additional sewing holes) on any of the parchment folia to suggest that they previously formed part of the quires of another manuscript. The claim is further substantiated by a close look at the lacquer-like coating applied around the black frame line. Two of the frontispieces that are now found on recto pages (ff. Hr [PI. 5] and Qr) were originally conceived as verso pages, and a third frontispiece, now on a verso page (f. Lv [PI. 6]), was intended as a recto page. Aside from these paintings being shifted to the wrong side, their misplacement is also evident from the fact that the outer vertical edge of each miniature page was left without the lacquer-like coating applied to the four margins outside the black frame line. This can be observed in PIs. 5 and 6, where the arrow indicates the edge of the lacquer coating applied to the outer vertical margin. The procedure finds a logical explanation because no coating would have been needed in the area that has been spared by the craftsman who applied it: the outer vertical parchment strip would originally have served as the fold for the insertion of the single folio into the quire, and the image would thus have been facing the opposite page in a correct manner, as was obviously intended by the painter (on a verso page, in the case of ff. Hr [PI. 5] and Qr, and on a recto page in case of f. Lv [PI. 6])²⁵³. No previous folds or sewing holes from an older binding are visible in the outer vertical margin on any of the three folios in question, which is why it seems logical to assume that the frontispieces were not used previously in another manuscript. The 14 frontispieces were clearly intended to be used in a codex in which the initia of the texts were laid out in a manner *different* from that in ms. Basil. AN I 8. What was the textual content of this other book?

As was explained in section two, all details of the iconography may be explained on the basis of the texts of the orations of Gregory of Nazianzus or their known historical context, and nothing in these compositions betrays the presence of the lengthy *Commentary* in the book. Is it possible, then, that the frontispieces were originally intended for a manuscript containing only Gregory's orations,

²⁵² If that had been the case, it would have been less laborious to omit the highly unusual outer black frame lines altogether. Had one simply cut parchment folia of a width greater than that of the text pages to accommodate the miniatures, the latter, in the process of their insertion into the manuscript, could conveniently have been moved toward the center of the book, independently of their being located on recto or verso pages; at the outer vertical edge the parchment could have been trimmed accordingly to fit the size of the text quires.

²⁵³ It is more than likely that this was a regular, original feature of all frontispiece miniatures, but the outer vertical margins of the "misplaced" folia are usually cut off today. Similar observations may be made on the present fold belonging to f. D, which is visible between ff. 12v and Dr: the fold measures up to 2.7 cm in width, and the lacquer-like coating only covers the inner side of the fold. This coated strip would originally have been seen on f. Dr, to the right of the miniature's outer black frame line, and the parchment would have been folded right next to it in order to insert the folio into the book for which it was originally intended. However, since the frame is too wide for the present codex, the coated area disappeared in the fold.

without Elias' *Commentary*? After all, this option would provide an explanation for the two odd instances in the Basel codex where the incipit of the oration cited in the frontispiece deviates from the incipit of the same oration in the text²⁵⁴. Given that two richly illuminated copies of the complete collection of Gregory's homilies survive (mss. Paris. gr. 510 and Milan, Ambros. E 49–50 inf.), it would not seem unlikely that the frontispieces surviving in the Basel codex formed part of a larger set that was originally intended for a similar book. However, an assessment of the situation is complicated by the presence of the Greek numerals in the frontispieces, which conform to the sequence of the homilies in the present codex. If these numbers were present right from the start (which, I think, was the case), the paintings were likely *not* made for a manuscript containing the complete collection in which the texts were arranged in different order²⁵⁵.

No illustrated manuscripts of Gregory's "unread" orations survive from Byzantium, so it is impossible to know whether they ever existed. Consequently, it is equally impossible to exclude the possibility that the frontispieces were intended for such a volume before they ended up in the Basel codex with both homilies and exegesis. After all, the fact that a volume containing Elias' *Commentary* includes such elaborate illustration must be regarded as even more unusual, since the text is of a relatively late date and appears to have been rarely copied in Byzantium. Yet, the numerals of the frontispieces—again, *if* they were added at the outset—render this scenario improbable as well. There are great variations in the sequences of Gregory's "unread" homilies among the preserved codices, but no collection has been identified that contains the orations commented upon in the Basel codex in an identical order²⁵⁶. Hence, if the numerals present on the frontispieces originate from the time when these paintings were created, it is very unlikely that the miniatures were originally intended to adorn a codex that contained Gregory's "unread" orations.

Significantly, however, the order of the orations and their commentaries in the codex Basiliensis does conform exactly to that of the second part of ms. Vat. gr. 1219, the only known manuscript to contain Elias' complete *Commentary*²⁵⁷. Therefore, if the numerals on the frontispieces are an original feature, it seems beyond doubt that the paintings were produced for a commentary volume just like the Basel codex, and not for a codex containing Gregory's orations alone. It is conceivable that several—at least two—copies of the text contained in the Basel codex were produced at the same workshop, and that the frontispieces were originally intended for a codex in which they were never included for unknown reasons. The textual content of this hypothetical "twin" volume would have been identical to the Basel codex, but with differing locations of the initia of the individual orations on recto or verso pages, and this codex must have been of yet larger dimensions²⁵⁸. It is possible, if not likely, that the volume for which the frontispieces were originally made featured certain textual variations because, as was noted above, the incipits of Or. 27 and Or. 30 quoted in the frontispiece

²⁵⁴ Cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendix VII, Or. 27, where the difference is especially obvious, and Or. 30.

²⁵⁵ If the numerals were added at the outset, the miniatures cannot possibly have been made for a codex belonging to classes M or N of the complete collection, in both of which the internal order of texts is entirely different (cf. SOMERS, Histoire 70; V. SOMERS, Description des collections complètes des Orations de Grégoire de Nazianze: quelques compléments. *Byz* 71 (2001) 462–504, 465). Somers has pointed out that a large number of manuscripts contain Gregory's 44 orations in an order that differs from that in classes M and N and that varies among the manuscripts of this third class (class X; SOMERS, Histoire 76–82, 708). However, none of the surviving manuscripts arranges the texts in a manner corresponding to the Basel codex.

²⁵⁶ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 190, 193.

²⁵⁷ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Appendices II and IV (V36/V29), 189 (also see the Introduction of the present article).

²⁵⁸ In its current state, ms. Vat. gr. 1219, measuring 425 × 300 mm, is even larger than the Basel codex. It can, however, be ruled out that the Basel frontispieces were originally conceived for what is now the Vatican codex. Aside from the existing textual differences (see above, Introduction), the arrangement of incipits on recto/verso pages in the Vatican manuscript (cf. above, n. 9) is not compatible with the layout of the Basel frontispieces.

miniatures differ from the incipits quoted in the text. This evidence complicates the reconstruction of an identical "twin" volume copied at the same time from one and the same source, and the production scenario may in fact have been even more complex.

Whereas it is clear that the frontispieces were inserted into the present codex as an afterthought and appear to have been painted for another manuscript, their original purpose cannot be reconstructed with certainty. After having discussed the questions that arise from the unusual frame design and layout of the frontispieces, I will now describe other features of the parchment folios that offer insight into the creation of the manuscript's miniatures and their insertion into what is now ms. Basil. AN I 8.

The artistic quality of the paintings is very uneven, and there is plenty of evidence that the miniatures of the Basel codex are the result of a collaborative effort undertaken by several artists of different levels of skill in the same workshop, working hand in hand to complete what must have been an exceptional commission. There is also evidence to suggest that the painters worked under some time pressure and had to complete their task in a hurry. In the latter half of the codex especially, figures and architectural elements are often rendered with a certain degree of carelessness, and the elaborate ornamentation typical of the depictions of buildings (e.g., ff. Fv, Ir) is toward the end much reduced or entirely lacking (e.g., f. Qr). Oftentimes, only figures of outstanding importance or holiness were painted with care (e.g., the face of Gregory on f. Bv, or the face of the angel on f. Pr).

Codicological observations substantiate the view that a group of painters collaborated on the completion of the illustrations. Whereas the carmine borders of all the images appear to be uniform in design and dimensions, at least approximately²⁵⁹, there is evidence of several distinct approaches to the preparation of the parchment sheets. Six of the 14 frontispieces display carefully executed double rulings, running from the top to the bottom of the pages, to define the dimensions of the frames, with single rulings at the top and bottom to mark their horizontal edges²⁶⁰. Ultimately, however, when the painters added the red frames of the miniatures they did not consistently respect the previous rulings. Major changes were made to the original design, namely decisions to paint one rectangular image where a two-tiered miniature had been planned, and vice versa²⁶¹. This spontaneity accords with the numerous erasures and corrections present in the images themselves, suggesting an impromptu development of the details of the iconography as well. Four parchment folia completely lack rulings, but instead display preparatory drawings for the carmine frame in light brown ink²⁶². Two distinct ways of employing pricking marks to define the corners of the carmine frames may be observed on some, but not all, of the parchment folia, combined with either rulings or outlines executed in ink²⁶³.

²⁵⁹ I mean to say that there are no *huge* discrepancies in the overall frame design. The measurements provided by MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias, Table 2, Appendix VIII, 237–238, may be misleading because, due to the severe distortion of the parchment folia (likely owing to tight binding), it is simply impossible to take exact measurements of the frames. Aside from this problem, it is not apparent to me what benefits may be gained from these measurement charts. It is, for instance, impossible to relate their information to the existing differences regarding painterly style, or the preparation of the folia (ruling; pricking marks).

²⁶⁰ Significantly, the same ruling pattern is also found on f. C with the second author portrait on its *recto* (see below for a possible explanation for this). On three folia (ff. C, D and E) the vertical lines run from one edge of the page to the other; ff. B, F, K and Q have a very similar design, but the vertical parallel lines end in the margins, rather than continuing up and down to the borders of the page.

²⁶¹ On f. F the ruling prepared for a single framed image was ignored in order to render a two-tiered miniature, and on f. K the two-tiered design was in the end replaced by one single image.

²⁶² ff. G, H, I, M (fol. Q basically displays the ruling pattern described above, with the variant that the upper horizontal is an ink line).

²⁶³ They are one pricking mark on each of the four corners – ff. H, I, L, O, P, Q; and three pricking marks, in triangular shape – ff. K and M.

In six of the frontispieces the carmine frame was, without prior ruling or ink outline, applied directly onto the parchment²⁶⁴.

The variety of methods used in the ruling (or lack thereof) of the parchment folia is paralleled in the images themselves. Different approaches to preparatory drawing can be discerned: there are carefully rendered outlines in pale ink of varying colors in some cases and, in others, sketchy paintbrush designs. Aside from this, the images reveal obvious discrepancies in terms of conceptual skill. Some, such as the frontispieces on ff. Bv, Er, or Ir, display high levels of precision and thought, and the other extremes are awkwardly designed and crudely painted compositions, such as on f. Qr. Unfortunately, the different approaches to preparing the parchment pages for the accommodation of images do not seem to permit final conclusions as to the exact division of labor between different painters, nor is it possible to establish the exact number of individuals who collaborated on this commission²⁶⁵.

It seems beyond doubt that the bifolium containing the author portraits formed part of this book *before* the 14 frontispiece illustrations were added. When the author portraits were already in place, someone using the book appears to have spilled an oily substance onto it, most likely lamp oil. The mishap must have occurred when the book was open at the first text page because on this page and the facing (empty) verso of f. Cv the oil stains are most visible. The stains are quite visible on the paper sheets at the beginning of the book, as well as on both parchment folia with the two author portraits. Revealingly, they are not seen on the now-misplaced f. B with the first frontispiece on its verso that was originally inserted to face the beginning of the text²⁶⁶. Therefore, this unsoiled folio—and thus all the other frontispieces—cannot yet have been part of the manuscript when the misfortune happened, but must have been added to the quires later on.

The two author portraits lack the additional black outer frame line and coating that is characteristic of the frontispieces, yet it is especially because of the gilded ground that their visual appearance differs so significantly from the frontispieces. Based on stylistic and codicological observations, it is very likely, however, that all 16 miniatures of the codex were produced by one and the same workshop. The miniature depicting Gregory and Elias writing on a shared rotulus (f. Cr) has the same ruling pattern that is present in six of the illustrative miniatures²⁶⁷. Folio Av shares with six of the illustrative frontispieces the feature of the painting having been applied directly on the parchment page without prior ruling²⁶⁸.

As has been suggested above, it is possible that the author portrait on f. Av was added as an afterthought in order to complement the one on f. Cr. While it remains an oddity that both pictures, with varying degrees of sophistication, convey essentially the same message regarding the transfer and continuity of divine inspiration and authority, it is conceivable that the painter of the picture now situated on f. Av aimed at creating more-conventional portraits of both authors, who are in this image appropriately depicted in their episcopal regalia. Its color scheme corresponds closely to that used throughout the codex, and the design of the folds of the garments finds close parallels among the

²⁶⁴ These are ff. G, H, L, N, O, and P (f. N has no visible pricking marks). The same procedure of applying the miniature on the parchment without prior preparation (and without any pricking marks, like on f. N) is also evident in the first author portrait on f. Av (see below).

²⁶⁵ Aside from the fact that stylistic analysis lacks appropriate methods and is thus to some degree subjective, it is possible, if not likely, that several painters collaborated on one and the same miniature. In addition, painters of limited merits likely arrived at better results when they could simply copy from models, instead of devising an image entirely on their own. There are other uncertainties that render a precise reconstruction of work procedures impossible.

²⁶⁶ As has been stated above, f. B has been misplaced and is now found between the two author portraits; when it was added to the volume (obviously *after* the oil was spilled onto the book), the miniature on its verso faced the beginning of the first oration (Or. 27) and its commentary on f. 1r.

²⁶⁷ Cf. ff. B, D, E, F, K, and Q; see above.

²⁶⁸ Cf. ff. G, H, L, N, O, and P (ff. A and N have no visible pricking marks); see above.

frontispiece paintings. A recurring element in the figures of the bishops depicted on f. Av, encountered as well in many of the illustrative frontispieces, are the strong contour lines of the *omophoria*, which were applied in a greyish hue²⁶⁹.

The evidence of the oil stain suggests that the bifolium with the author portraits formed part of the book before the decision was made to include the frontispieces. Whereas it is beyond doubt that the addition of the fourteen frontispieces resulted from an afterthought, for stylistic and codicological reasons it is unlikely that a long period of time elapsed between the creation of the book and their insertion. This is also suggested by the presence of the prologue on f. Br, which, it seems to me, was written by the same hand as the main text²⁷⁰. The entire set of the surviving 16 miniatures that adorn what is now the Basel codex may easily have been produced within just a few months or years. The reconstructed production scenario must not necessarily have required a rebinding of the manuscript shortly after it was first bound, as it was not at all uncommon for Byzantine codices to remain without a cover, sometimes even over prolonged periods of time²⁷¹. It is impossible to reconstruct the concrete motivations for the addition of the frontispieces, which were not originally meant to accompany this text. Possibly, with these miniatures added, the resulting book served as a display copy, or it was intended as a gift delivered on a special occasion to impress its recipient. There is currently no way of knowing.

In the next, and last, section, I will address matters of the date and provenance of the Basel codex and discuss the historical circumstances that may shed light on the origin of this book, especially its miniatures. I suggest that the latter at least ought to be viewed in connection with the imperial propaganda of Manuel I Comnenus, which was devised to present the ruler as a guardian of orthodoxy²⁷².

4. SOME CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

When and where was ms. AN I 8 produced, and around which time were the frontispieces added to the codex? The difficulties in answering these questions with any degree of precision are grounded in the general methodological problems regarding stylistic dating of both art and script²⁷³, and, additionally, in the lack of comparable manuscripts from the decades around 1200 that could be securely dated and localized. Almost no dated or datable illuminated manuscripts survive from the late 12th and early 13th centuries, and none of the extant codices display obvious similarities to the Basel codex²⁷⁴. In the realm of monumental painting the situation is somewhat more favorable, although the evidence is still extremely fragmentary, and the surviving monuments are widely scattered across various regions of the Eastern Mediterranean²⁷⁵. Given that the manuscript was purchased by John of Ragusa in Constantinople only about 250 years after its creation, it seems at least possible that

²⁶⁹ Cf. ff. Dv, Er, Ir, etc.

²⁷⁰ Macé and Andrist seem to favor the view that two different scribes copied the prologue and main text at roughly the same time, but they do not exclude the possibility that one and the same individual wrote all of these texts because of the "strong affinities;" MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 184–185, quote 185.

²⁷¹ I owe this thought and bibliographical references to one of the anonymous readers of my essay for *JÖB*; BIANCONI, Cura 95–97; CAVALLI, Stralci 53–54; MONDRAIN, Réutilisation 114, n. 7.

²⁷² On this role of Manuel, see MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 316–412.

²⁷³ I have summarized the major methodological obstacles elsewhere; KRAUSE, Homilien 12–13.

²⁷⁴ I. SPATHARAKIS, Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453 (*Byzantina Neerlandica* 8). Leiden 1981. The frontispiece miniature of the Gospel Lectionary ms. Sinait. gr. 221, copied on the island of Crete (Heraklion) in 1175, displays the same unusual majuscule *sigma* in the shape of an inverted Latin "S" that is also present in some of the miniatures of the Basel codex (cf. MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 179–180); however, the Lectionary does not display other features comparable to ms. Basil. AN I 8; SPATHARAKIS, Corpus, no. 162, 46, figs. 308–309, esp. 308; WEITZMANN – GALAVARIS, Manuscripts, no. 63, 176–180, color pl. XXVIII, a.

²⁷⁵ For an overview, see esp. SKAWRAN, Development, esp. 81–102.

the book originated in the capital; however, the codex may also have been brought from elsewhere. Judging from the surviving evidence, or rather the glaring lack of it, artistic production in the capital decreased significantly during the later decades of the 12th century, and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1203/4 likely had a devastating effect on art production during the following decades. However, as will be explained below, there are strong indications that suggest a date of manufacture of the Basel codex in the later 12th century. Iconographical observations in fact reveal an association of the illuminations with the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, and, more concretely, the Christological debates held at his court around 1166/70.

The relatively mediocre painterly quality of most of the miniatures contained in the Basel codex further complicates the assessment of the book's origin. Along with the fact that material resources were obviously restricted wherever the codex was made, the limited skills of some of the painters might point to its production somewhere in the provinces. Yet, after what has just been said about the artistic production in Constantinople around 1200, this is in fact far from certain. The problems in establishing the Basel manuscript's place of origin are paralleled in the assessment of the many dozens of illuminated manuscripts that have been associated with the so-called decorative style: whereas an origin on the island of Cyprus or in Palestine has initially been suggested for all or most codices belonging to the group, this provenance has recently been challenged; other places, including Constantinople and Lascarid Nicaea, have been suggested as well—if on somewhat shaky grounds, due to lack of convincing evidence²⁷⁶. It cannot currently be ruled out that the Basel codex originated in a Greek-speaking enclave outside of the Byzantine Empire. Aside from the many oddities present in the miniatures, an origin in the empire's periphery might also explain why palaeographers have not been able to identify the scribe, or at least pin down the region from where the manuscript originated.

Scholars have pointed out broader similarities between the handwriting of the text in the Basel codex with two codices dated to 1196 and 1200 respectively, but these comparisons (if found convincing at all) are of limited help for methodological reasons²⁷⁷. Similar methodological problems of course apply to the stylistic dating of works of art. As I will argue below, iconographical evidence suggests that the Basel miniatures were painted in the later 12th century. Stylistically, they find close comparisons in mural paintings that have variously been dated to the decades around 1200, such as in the Refectory of the Monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos²⁷⁸ and the Church of Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzis in Kastoria²⁷⁹. Frescoes in the monastery church of the Panagia in Myriokephala on the island of Crete, which have been dated to the second half of the 12th century, show close stylistic affinities with the Basel miniatures²⁸⁰. The similarities include the rendering of facial details and, for instance, the awkward depiction of arms hidden under the figures' garments in a way that makes them appear as stumps²⁸¹. Architectural designs similar in form and ornamentation

²⁷⁶ CARR, *Illumination*, esp. 1; for a summary of recent scholarship, see MAXWELL, *Afterlife* 12–14.

²⁷⁷ Ms. Vind. theol. gr. 19 (1196) (*Diktyon* 71686), and the inventory of the Patmos Treasury (1200; Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Archives, no. II, 15); see MACÉ – ANDRIST, *Elias* 175 (with the older bibliography). Aside from the problem of subjectivity applying to stylistic comparison of any kind, it is impossible to know how long a certain writing style was practiced by individuals, or how widespread it was.

²⁷⁸ SKAWRAN, *Development*, no. 58, 177–178, figs. 341–349 (second phase of the decoration).

²⁷⁹ SKAWRAN, *Development*, no. 46, 170–171, figs. 233–250; PELEKANIDIS – CHATZIDAKIS, *Kastoria* 50–65, esp. 58; ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Wall-Paintings*, figs. 39–45. The frescoes of both churches are, however, of a much higher painterly quality than the Basel miniatures.

²⁸⁰ I. SPATHARAKIS, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, Rhetymnon Province*, I. London 1999, 2–3, 141–152, esp. 150–152, pl. 15b, 16a/b, figs. 192–195; I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers of my essay for *JÖB* for drawing my attention to these murals.

²⁸¹ Cf. SPATHARAKIS, *Crete*, pl. 15b, fig. 193 (figures of Sts. Peter and esp. John) and ms. Basel, AN I 8, ff. Bv (bishop in the front line on the left), Dv (St. Gregory), etc.

to those in the frontispieces of the Basel codex are found in Hagios Nikolaos Kasnitzis as well as in the murals of the Panagia Mavriotissa, likewise at Kastoria, which have variously been dated to the late 12th or early 13th centuries²⁸². Similar architectural shapes and embellishing details are seen in the mosaics of the nave of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which were completed in 1169 and depict the seven ecumenical councils of the Church along with six provincial councils of the third and fourth centuries²⁸³. These mosaics refer to the synods not by means of figural representations, but by displaying texts belonging to the genre of the conciliar synopses²⁸⁴. At Bethlehem, the conciliar synopses are framed by elaborate architectural elements signifying the respective city where the council was held²⁸⁵. Aside from the principle of symmetry that governs the depictions of architecture, details such as ornamental bands, the design of roof tiles, and the shape of domes are very close to the mosaics and the Basel miniatures. The style of figures depicted in the narrative mosaics of the Church of the Nativity is also closely related to that of the miniatures, and, in some of the figures depicted at Bethlehem, we encounter pronounced depictions of human emotions that are a conspicuous feature encountered in several of the Basel frontispieces as well²⁸⁶. As scholars have pointed out, new interest in the portrayal of human psychology is first manifested in the murals of the Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi (Macedonia), painted in 1164²⁸⁷. An exaggerated display of emotions may also be observed in some of the murals at the Church of the Hospitallers at Abu Ghosh near Jerusalem. These frescoes, which have been convincingly dated to around 1170, reflect Constantinopolitan style and quality²⁸⁸. Some of the heads of the Apostles in the fresco of the Dormition of the Virgin find close parallels in the Basel miniatures, especially with regard to the dark shades applied around the eyes of some of the figures, and the strong color contrasts employed to render hair strands²⁸⁹. It must be said, though, that the Abu Ghosh frescoes are generally of a more refined quality than the illuminations of the Basel miniatures. Stylistic comparisons help situate the Basel miniatures within artistic trends that are typical of painting in the Eastern Mediterranean area around 1200 and especially the later decades of the 12th century. Yet they are of limited use for establishing with greater precision their date and place of manufacture.

²⁸² SKAWRAN, Development, no. 64, 180, figs. 377–391; PELEKANIDIS – CHATZIDAKIS, Kastoria 66–83, esp. figs. 11–12. Aside from the design of the architectural elements, the frescoes of the Panagia Mavriotissa do not suggest close parallels to the Basel miniatures.

²⁸³ Most recently, M. BACCI, *The Mystic Cave. A History of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem*. Brno – Rome 2017, 151–203; H. J. SIEBEN, *Studien zur Gestalt und Überlieferung der Konzilien (Konzilsgeschichte, Reihe B: Untersuchungen)*. Paderborn et al. 2005, 203–241; also see A. JOTISCHKY, *Manuel Comnenus and the Reunion of the Churches: the Evidence of the Conciliar Mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem*. *Levant* 26 (1994) 207–223; on the date, G. KÜHNEL, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst 14)*. Berlin 1988, 4–5, 145.

²⁸⁴ These texts, which are a typically Byzantine phenomenon, offer a brief outline of the reason why the particular council was assembled, summarize its definition, provide the name of its president along with the number of its participants, and name the individuals who were anathemized; on this genre, SIEBEN, *Studien* 189–265. Sieben has aptly summarized its main purpose: “Wie kaum in einer anderen Kategorie von Texten kommt in den Konzilssynopsen das Selbstverständnis der griechischen Kirche zum Ausdruck, Kirche der sieben Konzilien zu sein ...;” *ibid.*, 232.

²⁸⁵ See JOTISCHKY, Manuel 211, and BACCI, *Cave* 164, on the uniqueness and meaning of this approach to representing Church councils; the Greek inscriptions have been translated in WALTER, *Conciles* 268–270. Only the synopsis of the Second Council at Nicaea (787) is rendered in Latin, likely to signal that its decrees, which had been rejected by the Latin Church, were now being acknowledged by it; SIEBEN, *Studien* 229; BACCI, *Cave* 169.

²⁸⁶ Cf., for instance, N. CHATZIDAKIS, *Greek Art: Byzantine Mosaics*. Athens 1994, 152–155.

²⁸⁷ SKAWRAN, Development, 83; I. SINKEVIĆ, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage (Spätantike—Frühes Christentum—Byzanz, Reihe B: Studien und Perspektiven 6)*. Wiesbaden 2000, 76–82, esp. 79–80.

²⁸⁸ See the fine analysis by A. WEYL CARR, *The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land*, in: *Crusaders Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda. Oxford 1982, 215–243; also see KÜHNEL, *Painting* 149–180.

²⁸⁹ Cf., for instance, f. Nv, or f. Or in the Basel codex. It is difficult to find in publications good photographs of the murals at Abu Ghosh; see the plates accompanying the relevant sections in KÜHNEL, *Painting*.

While stylistic evidence tends to be ambiguous, certain iconographical features of the Basel frontispieces appear to indicate a time of origin of the manuscript during the reign of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus, more concretely, in or after 1166. Among the most enigmatic motifs present in the Basel codex is the figure of Christ Emmanuel severing Arius in the frontispiece to Or. 30 (f. Er) [PI. 2]. As the iconographical investigation has demonstrated, the image of Christ Emmanuel conforms well to the doctrinal contents of the homily but has not been inspired directly by the texts contained in the manuscript. Likewise, the figure of Arius, whose body is being cut in half in the lower tier of the miniature, is not mentioned in this oration, nor in its *Commentary*. I argue that the iconography of this frontispiece may be explained in light of the Christological debates that triggered the Church council assembled by Emperor Manuel I Comnenus in early March of 1166 at the Great Palace in Constantinople in order to illuminate the meaning of Christ's statement, "My Father is greater than I" (John 14:28)²⁹⁰. The orthodox position (or rather what was *declared* as the orthodox position by Manuel) assumed legal status by virtue of an edict issued by the emperor on April 4. The latter announced the punishment of opponents to the synod's decisions, and Manuel had it inscribed on large marble slabs that were set up in the Church of Hagia Sophia—whose clerics were among the emperor's greatest opponents²⁹¹. The council's rulings were publicized on the Sunday of Orthodoxy (March 13, 1166), and relevant additions were made to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, a document that was originally created in celebration of the defeat of Iconoclasm in 843 and served to supplement the decrees of the seven ecumenical councils²⁹².

Unsurprisingly, given the Christological subject matter of the debate, during the Church council of 1166 the theology of Arius was discussed extensively, and different patristic writings drawn up in response to Arius' positions were cited in its opening session²⁹³. While this might explain why it is Arius who in the frontispiece to Or. 30 is punished by Christ Emmanuel, the Biblical passages referring to the latter ("Look, the virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and they shall name him Emmanuel, which means 'God is with us'"; Mt 1:23, cf. Is 7:14) are not cited anywhere in the council's proceedings. Revealingly, though, they are implicitly referenced in the concluding paragraph, in which the ruler and his accomplishments are praised. Aside from reflecting *topoi* common in Byzantium of the emperor being a representative and image of Christ on earth, the text alludes concretely to Christ Emmanuel as the namesake of Manuel I, saying that "*the Lord is with him* (i.e., the emperor)," and, as is "*consistent with his name*," Manuel resembles God²⁹⁴.

²⁹⁰ The proceedings are edited in PG 140, 201–282; on the historical context, see P. CLASSEN, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und die Lateiner*. BZ 48 (1955) 393–408; H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. Munich 1959, 622–623; G. SIDÉRIS, *Ces gens ont raison: La controverse christologique de 1165–1166, la question des échanges doctrinaux entre l'Occident latin et Byzance et leur portée politique*. *Cahiers de recherche médiévales et humanistes* 24 (2012) 173–195, esp. 173–176; SIEBEN, *Studien* 217–218, 237–241; for summaries of the different interpretations of the phrase, see CLASSEN, *Konzil* 355–356; G. THETFORD, *The Christological Councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople*. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 31 (1987) 143–161, 143–145, esp. 149–150; J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII^e siècle*. TM 1 (1965) 299–324, 216–221, esp. 218; A. SIMPSON, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study* (*Oxford Studies in Byzantium*). Oxford 2013, 42–43.

²⁹¹ C. MANGO, *The Conciliar Edict of 1167*. DOP 17 (1963) 315–330; SIMPSON, *Niketas* 43; M. ANGOLD, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni 1081–1261*. Cambridge 1995, 84–85, 99–101; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204*. London – New York 1997, 264; CLASSEN, *Konzil* 343, n. 2; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 220, 223; on the practice and tradition of publicizing laws on monumental stone tablets, see SIEBEN, *Studien* 235–239.

²⁹² CLASSEN, *Konzil* 343, n. 2; GOUILLARD, *Synodikon* 21, esp. 218–219, 223–225, *ibid.* (ed.), ll. 472–509; PG 140, 272B; on the additions made to the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* viewed in light of the persecutions of heretics during Comnenian rule, see MAGDALINO, *Manuel* 383–384.

²⁹³ PG 140, esp. 209–213, 229–231.

²⁹⁴ ... διότι Κύριος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστίν; PG 140, 280B. The argument continues as follows: Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν μέγιστον ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν κἀν τούτῳ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν ἐμφέρειαν σώζοντα, ὅτι μηδὲν ἐστὶ κοινόν τι προσαρμοζόμενον ὄνομα ...; PG 140, 280C, n. 46.

Manuel's "literary deification" by writers of the period and the comparisons of him with Christ Emmanuel have been studied exhaustively by Paul Magdalino²⁹⁵. In the visual sphere, the contemporary propaganda of Manuel as the God-like ruler is reflected in the seals and coins issued under his rule, which show the bust image of Christ Emmanuel on their obverse, and a portrait of the emperor on the reverse²⁹⁶. Given that the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the frontispiece of Or. 30 of the Basel codex finds no direct textual explanation in the book itself, I suggest that it was intentioned, first of all, as a crypto-portrait alluding to Emperor Manuel I²⁹⁷. Byzantine users of the book who were familiar with imperial propaganda conveyed by means of rhetoric and material artifacts must without doubt have made this connection. Hence, in the miniature it is Manuel (alias Christ) who acts as an "arbiter of Orthodoxy," a role that the emperor took seriously throughout his rulership²⁹⁸. The image strongly confirms Manuel's claimed orthodoxy, thus contradicting his opponents, who in fact viewed him as a heretic—not without reason, given the problematic position that the emperor assumed during the synod of 1166²⁹⁹. It is thus tempting to conjecture that the iconography of the frontispiece to Or. 30 reflects official imperial propaganda and was possibly devised by someone in the emperor's entourage. It would seem, then, more likely that the miniatures in the Basel codex originated in Constantinople rather than elsewhere.

There is yet another indication of iconographical nature to suggest that a connection existed between the Basel codex and Emperor Manuel. A second motif that finds no obvious explanation in the texts copied in the manuscript is the curious headgear of the personification of Peace with the *nimbus cruciger* in the frontispiece to Or. 22 (f. Ir) [PI. 3]. While the figure's gender is ambiguous, the *stemma* clearly points to a male ruler. When viewed in conjunction with the text at the beginning of Or. 22, a passage in the council's proceedings reveals that the odd visual "hybrid" of Christ/Peace was almost certainly intended as an allusion to Manuel as well. I suggest that, just like the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the frontispiece to Or. 30, it was designed to visualize the parallels between Manuel and Christ that were also claimed in official propaganda. At the end of the council's fifth session, Manuel is praised as a peacemaker who, being inspired by Solomonic wisdom, truly exalts the kingdom of Christ; in this passage, words from Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians are put in the mouth of Manuel, who exclaims, "For he [i.e., Christ] is our peace; in his flesh he has made both groups into one" (Eph 2:14)³⁰⁰. This is the very same verse that Gregory Nazianzen cites at the beginning of Or. 22 to substantiate his argument that Christ is peace³⁰¹. Consequently, as implied in the curious design of the personification of Peace of the Basel codex, Christ—alias Manuel—is Peace. It would be most interesting to know the original wording of the figure's label, and learn when and why it was partly overpainted.

²⁹⁵ MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 434–437, 481 (quote).

²⁹⁶ P. GRIERSON, Byzantine Coins. London – Berkeley – Los Angeles 1982, 36, 220, 231; W. SEIBT – M. L. ZARNITZ, Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung. Vienna 1997, 39–40; <http://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/gods-regents-on-earth-a-thousand-years-of-byzantine-imperial-seals/rulers-of-byzantium/bzs.1958.106.607>; <https://www.doaks.org/resources/online-exhibits/byzantine-emperors-on-coins/the-komnenoi-and-angeloi-1081-1204/hyperpyron-of-manuel-i-1143-1180> (both accessed 26.03.2018); I. KALAVREZOU, Imperial Relations with the Church in the Art of the Komnenians, in: Byzantium in the 12th Century. Canon Law, State and Society, ed. N. Oikonomides. Athens 1991, 25–36, 32.

²⁹⁷ The label of the figure of Christ Emmanuel in the Basel miniature reflects Manuel's preference for an older type of omikron-ypsilon ligature, as evidenced by almost all of his seals; SEIBT – ZARNITZ, Bleisiegel 40.

²⁹⁸ BECK, Kirche 622–623; MAGDALINO, Manuel, esp. 316–412; MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor 148 (quote); SIMPSON, Nike-tas 38, 40–46.

²⁹⁹ SIMPSON, Niketas 42–44; MANGO, Edict 320–321; CLASSEN, Konzil 356.

³⁰⁰ NRSV; Χριστός ... ἐστὶν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν ὁ ποιήσας τὰ ἀμώτερα ἐν; PG 140, 264C–D.

³⁰¹ SC 270, ed. J. MOSSAY– G. LAFONTAINE, 218 (see above, section two).

When understood as allusions to Emperor Manuel I, the figure of Christ Emmanuel and the imperial headgear of the personification of Peace in the Basel codex find an intriguing explanation that is absent from the texts contained in the manuscript itself. The textual evidence derived from the conciliar proceedings of 1166 seems to furnish a date for these images, and thus likely also the remainder of the frontispieces, either in or after the year in which the council was held. The Christological issues that had triggered this synod were by no means settled by it, and the disputes arising in its aftermath soon led to another council, held in 1170, at which the emperor was also present; in fact, opposition to the rulings of both councils continued into the following century³⁰². It cannot be ruled out entirely that all or some of the Basel miniatures were copied from older sources, in which case the manuscript may be of later date. However, as was already observed above, the many erasures and changes of plan that are evident in the miniatures strongly suggest that their iconography was rather developed *ad hoc*. The above-mentioned parallels in style and architectural designs between the miniatures in the Basel codex and the dated mosaics of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem are also in line with the assumed time of origin of the Basel miniatures. It thus seems that, in all likelihood, the miniatures of ms. Basil. AN I 8 were created around 1166/70 when the two church councils were held in Constantinople, or in the decade prior to Manuel's death in 1180. The iconographical elements that point to the imperial sphere seem to suggest an origin of the manuscript in Constantinople, although a different provenance cannot be ruled out in light of the many puzzling features of this manuscript. It seems possible that the book containing Elias' expositions experienced an "upgrade" by the insertion of the frontispieces to transform it into an impressive display copy, perhaps to be viewed and used during theological debates conducted at Manuel's court. That, of course, remains speculation.

The stylistic similarities mentioned above that exist between the Basel miniatures and the mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem might suggest some sort of connection, given that Emperor Manuel I was the leading force among the patrons who commissioned these mosaics³⁰³. The subject matter of the mosaics in the nave, the early Church councils, ought to be seen in light of the ambitions evident under Manuel's rule to emphasize the continuity between his own empire and "that of the remote Christian past."³⁰⁴ It has rightly been pointed out that Manuel's reign witnessed a "revival" of the same christological and trinitarian disputes that had been the subject of the early church councils depicted in the mosaics on the nave's walls³⁰⁵. Scholars have highlighted the self-understanding of Comnenian rulers, and Emperor Manuel I in particular, as the overseers and defenders of Orthodoxy³⁰⁶. In fact, the Basel miniatures visualize most poignantly the climate of doctrinal disputes, anti-heretical discourse, and religious persecution that were particularly intense during the 12th century³⁰⁷.

Future research must establish whether the creation of the Basel codex and its miniatures, just like the Bethlehem mosaics, was possibly triggered by the political, religious, and doctrinal struggles between Byzantium and the Latin West under Manuel's rule³⁰⁸. It may not be insignificant for the reconstruction of the origins of the Basel codex that Elias' expositions attracted enormous interest

³⁰² THETFORD, Councils; CLASSEN, Konzil, n. 2; GOUILLARD, Synodikon 221–225.

³⁰³ The decoration was a joint venture by the Byzantine emperor, King Amalric of Jerusalem, and Ralph, Bishop of Bethlehem; KÜHNEL, Painting 4–5, 145–146. Most scholars have assumed that the mosaics were executed by Byzantine craftsmen; *ibid.*, 147; for a summary of different scholarly positions, see JOTISCHKY, Manuel 218. On Manuel's patronage and its quality-enhancing effects on local art production in Palestine, see CARR, Paintings 221–224.

³⁰⁴ MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor 177; MANGO, Edict 330; also see CLASSEN, Konzil 344; CARR, Paintings 221–222.

³⁰⁵ JOTISCHKY, Manuel 210.

³⁰⁶ ANGOLD, Church 73; MAGDALINO, Manuel 316–412; MAGDALINO – NELSON, Emperor 148; JOTISCHKY, Manuel 219.

³⁰⁷ MAGDALINO, Manuel 316–412, esp. 366–392.

³⁰⁸ MAGDALINO, Manuel 26–108; CLASSEN, Konzil; SIDÉRIS, Controverse; specifically on Bethlehem, JOTISCHKY, Manuel. As Jotischky has demonstrated, the inscription relating to the First Council of Constantinople privileges Byzantine Orthodox,

from scholars during the early modern period, after the arrival of both the Basel codex and ms. Vat. gr. 1219 in the West³⁰⁹. In light of Emperor Manuel's ambitions to reunite the Churches³¹⁰, one should recall that, centuries later, John of Ragusa purchased the Basel codex specifically for use at the Council of Basel, which pursued the same aim.

In order to further unravel the circumstances that brought about this most unusual book, it may be promising to launch further research into establishing the significance of the "unread" orations of Gregory Nazianzen and their expositions by Elias of Crete in twelfth-century Byzantium and the larger Mediterranean area. Given that ms. Vat. gr. 1219 dates from approximately the same time as the Basel codex, it might be fruitful to investigate further the role these writings played in the refutation of heresies during the later Middle Ages, particularly in the decades around 1200³¹¹. Not only is a critical edition of Elias' *Commentary* needed, but so is scholarly inquiry into both its sources and the history of its reception. Research on Gregory's writings has focused almost exclusively on their doctrinal relevance in the late fourth century³¹². Given that Gregory's writings survive in a multitude of Greek manuscripts, the far-reaching lack of scholarship on the significance, especially of the Theologian's "unread" orations in medieval Byzantium, is astonishing³¹³. More specifically, the relevance of his writings in the doctrinal debates of the Comnenian era deserves systematic investigation, also in light of the suggested date for Elias' expositions of the "unread" orations around 1120 (an assumption that remains in need of verification³¹⁴).

In light of the probable origin of the Basel miniatures during the later years of the reign of Manuel I Comnenus, as has been suggested in the present essay, it seems important to mention that the proceedings of the synod of 1166 contain multiple references to the authority of Gregory of Nazianzus, in addition to direct quotations from his first and second orations *On the Son* (Or. 29, 30)³¹⁵. After all, the importance of Gregory's *Theological Orations* for the doctrinal debates held at Manuel's court may also supply the reason why only the second part of Elias' expositions was copied in what is now the Basel codex, in which these homilies are found right at the beginning³¹⁶.

The *Theological Orations* contributed significantly to Gregory's outstanding position among the patristic authors of the Greek East. Significantly, he was in Byzantium even likened to the Twelve Apostles, which became manifest when in 946 Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos transferred his relics from Cappadocia to the capital and deposited them in the sanctuary of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the altar of which enshrined relics of some of the latter³¹⁷. Gregory's sarcophagus

not Latin, religious policy regarding the definition of the procession of the Holy Spirit (*filioque* debates); JOTISCHKY, Manuel 214–215.

³⁰⁹ MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 186–189, 193–197.

³¹⁰ JOTISCHKY, Konzil; SIDÉRIS, Controverse.

³¹¹ As is well known, heresies of the Middle and Late Byzantine periods remain understudied along with the relevant writings; for an overview, see, for example, A. CAMERON, How to Read Heresiology. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33 (2003) 471–492; GOILLARD, Hérésie; MAGDALINO, Manuel 366–412; Alicia Simpson's recent monograph on Niketas Choniates presents new insight into a major, yet not fully published, work on heresiology, Niketas' *Dogmatike Panoplia*; SIMPSON, Niketas 36–50.

³¹² See the works cited above throughout the iconographical analysis of the Basel frontispieces.

³¹³ The manuscript inventories provided in the volumes of the *Repertorium Nazianzenum* and the critical editions that have been published of most of Gregory's orations would seem to supply a sound basis for further research.

³¹⁴ See above, Introduction, and MACÉ – ANDRIST, Elias 202–203.

³¹⁵ PG 140, 209A (Or. 30), 217C–D (Or. 29), 232D–233A, 240A, 240C, 241C, 244D, 245A.

³¹⁶ See the Introduction of the present article.

³¹⁷ B. FLUSIN, Le Panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien (BHG 728). *REB* 57 (1999) 5–97; B. FLUSIN, L'empereur et le théologien. À propos du retour des reliques de Grégoire de Nazianze (BHG 728), in: AETOS. Studies in Honour of Cyril Mango Presented to Him on April 14, 1998, ed. I. Ševčenko – I. Hutter. Stuttgart 1998, 137–153.

was set up symmetrically opposite that of St. John Chrysostom, whose remains had been present in the Apostoleion since 438³¹⁸. The emperor also institutionalized a new feast day in Gregory's honor (Jan. 19), to be celebrated annually with a major procession in commemoration of the translation, for which Constantine composed and personally delivered a panegyric³¹⁹. Furthermore, the initiative signals that the emperor aimed at honoring the Theologian as equal in rank with the famous Golden Mouth³²⁰. In the following century, the joint veneration of the Theologian and John Chrysostom was further enhanced by the institution of yet another festival, the Feast of the Three Hierarchs (Jan. 30), which also included St. Basil of Caesarea³²¹. It is thus clear that St. Gregory Nazianzen's cult had become more prominent in the capital relatively late, only during the Middle Byzantine period.

In a work of art that was almost certainly commissioned by Emperor Manuel, the Theologian and the Golden Mouth featured prominently as equals in matters of doctrinal authority. One of the epigrams related to works of art, which are documented in ms. Marcianus gr. Z 524 (*Diktyon* 69995) along with brief descriptions of the artifacts, testifies to a now-lost picture that showed the divinely inspired emperor. Manuel was depicted beneath the descending dove of the Holy Spirit and accompanied by Christ, who was whispering in his ear. Also included in the image were the Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as saintly bishops handing the ruler books that contained their writings. Only John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus are explicitly named by the poet, and were thus likely depicted in prominent positions close to the ruler³²². Magdalino and Nelson have associated this image, probably a monumental work of art, with the doctrinal debates of Manuel's reign³²³. This is indeed likely, given that the epigram neatly summarizes the Orthodox position within the major christological and trinitarian disputes of the time³²⁴:

"You, O Child, speak to the emperor; he wishes to proclaim what his ear has heard, how You are one although You have two natures, both unmixed in one person. And you, O Spirit, give grace from above, for he teaches the faithful to revere your procession from the Father alone, and your one origin."³²⁵

Significantly, the formulation "O Child" suggests that in this image, too, Christ was depicted in the iconographical type of the Emmanuel. The picture's iconography, presenting the ruler as a divinely authorized herald of the true faith, must have appeared most extravagant to contemporary viewers. In Byzantine art, the inspiration of humans through direct interaction with Christ is extremely rare and was limited practically exclusively to figures of biblical authors³²⁶. Hence, if the description in the Marcianus can be fully trusted, in this image Emperor Manuel claimed for himself a visual privilege that artists seem to have denied even to the saints. In this lost image, Gregory Nazianzen along with the Golden Mouth assumed leading roles as the emperor's learned advisors and saintly witnesses to his divinely inspired orthodoxy³²⁷.

³¹⁸ FLUSIN, *Panegyrique* 22–25; KRAUSE, *Homilien* 2.

³¹⁹ BHG 728; FLUSIN, *Panegyrique*, esp. 10–12, ed./trans. (French) 40–81.

³²⁰ On Constantine's intense veneration of both these saints, see FLUSIN, *Panegyrique* 11–12, n. 33.

³²¹ KRAUSE, *Homilies* 2–3, 197.

³²² See MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 147–149*, for a full quotation of the description and epigram in Greek and English.

³²³ MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 148*; see also KALAVREZOU, *Relations* 31–32.

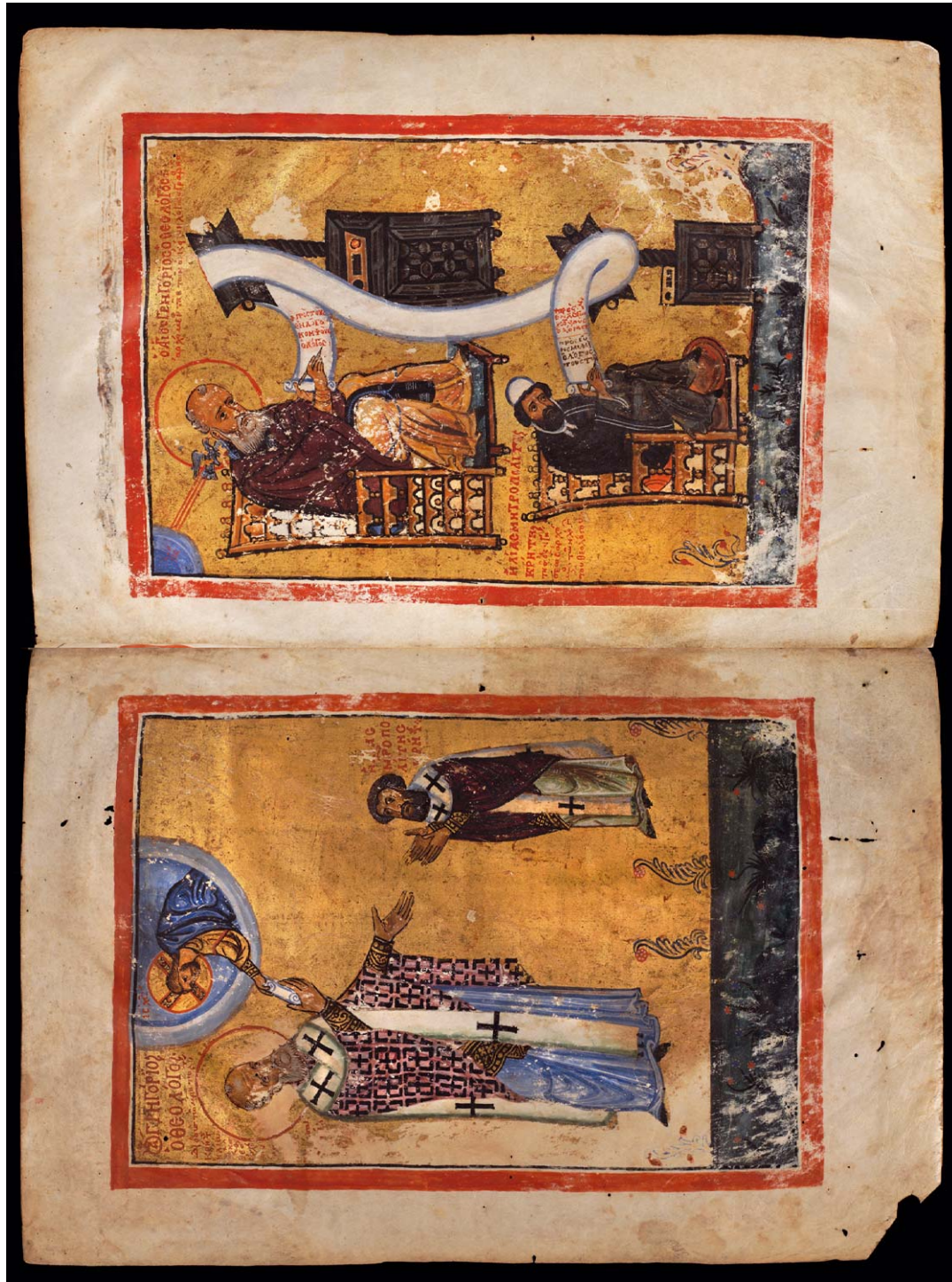
³²⁴ For a useful summary of the debates, see SIMPSON, *Niketas* 40–45.

³²⁵ Trans. MAGDALINO – NELSON, *Emperor 148*.

³²⁶ Judging from the surviving images, Christ is never portrayed in the act of personally whispering words of inspiration into the ears of humans, but employs saints for the task; on such scenes, see KRAUSE, *Inspiration*.

³²⁷ It is possible, albeit beyond proof, that the picture formed part of the splendid pictorial decoration designed to celebrate Manuel's deeds in his newly constructed throne hall at the Great Palace, where the synod of 1166 was assembled; *PG* 140, 236; on this hall, see SIMPSON, *Niketas* 44.

The unusual set of miniatures that was added to Elias' *Commentary* to create the Basel codex in its present form is remarkable for celebrating Gregory of Nazianzus not only as an outstanding theologian and religious leader of his time, but as an individual of lasting authority for the definition of Byzantine Orthodoxy. In a sense, as is clear from his chosen role as a guardian of orthodoxy, Emperor Manuel I strove for similar distinction, perhaps most decidedly when he assembled the Church council of 1166 at the Great Palace. As I have argued in this essay, this is likely the historical context in which the creation of the Basel codex ought to be viewed.



Pl. 1: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN 18: Reconstructed original arrangement of the two author portraits on facing pages, ff. Av–Cr (Photomontage).

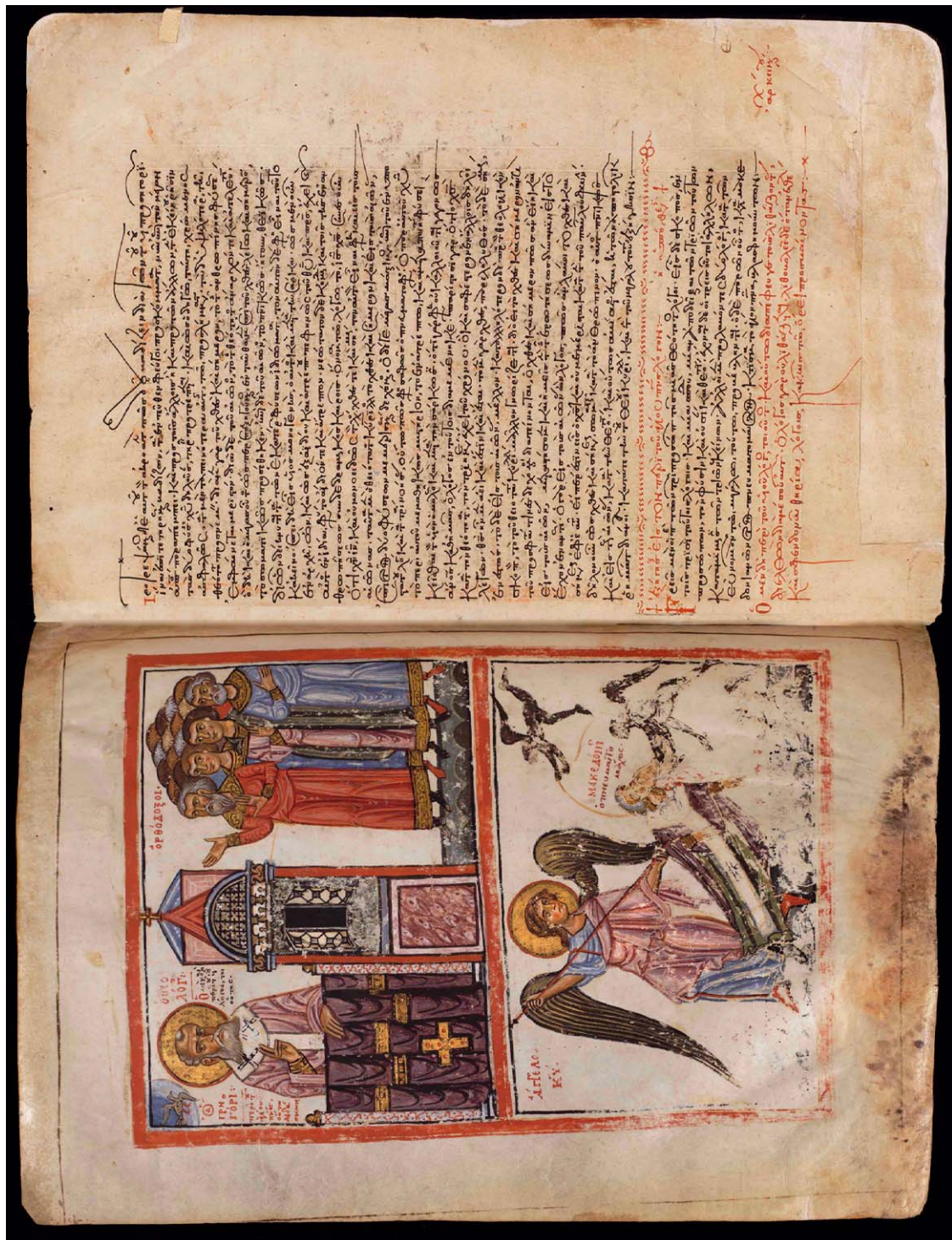


Pl. 2: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. E: Frontispiece to Or. 30, Gregory of Nazianzus, The Fourth Theological Oration

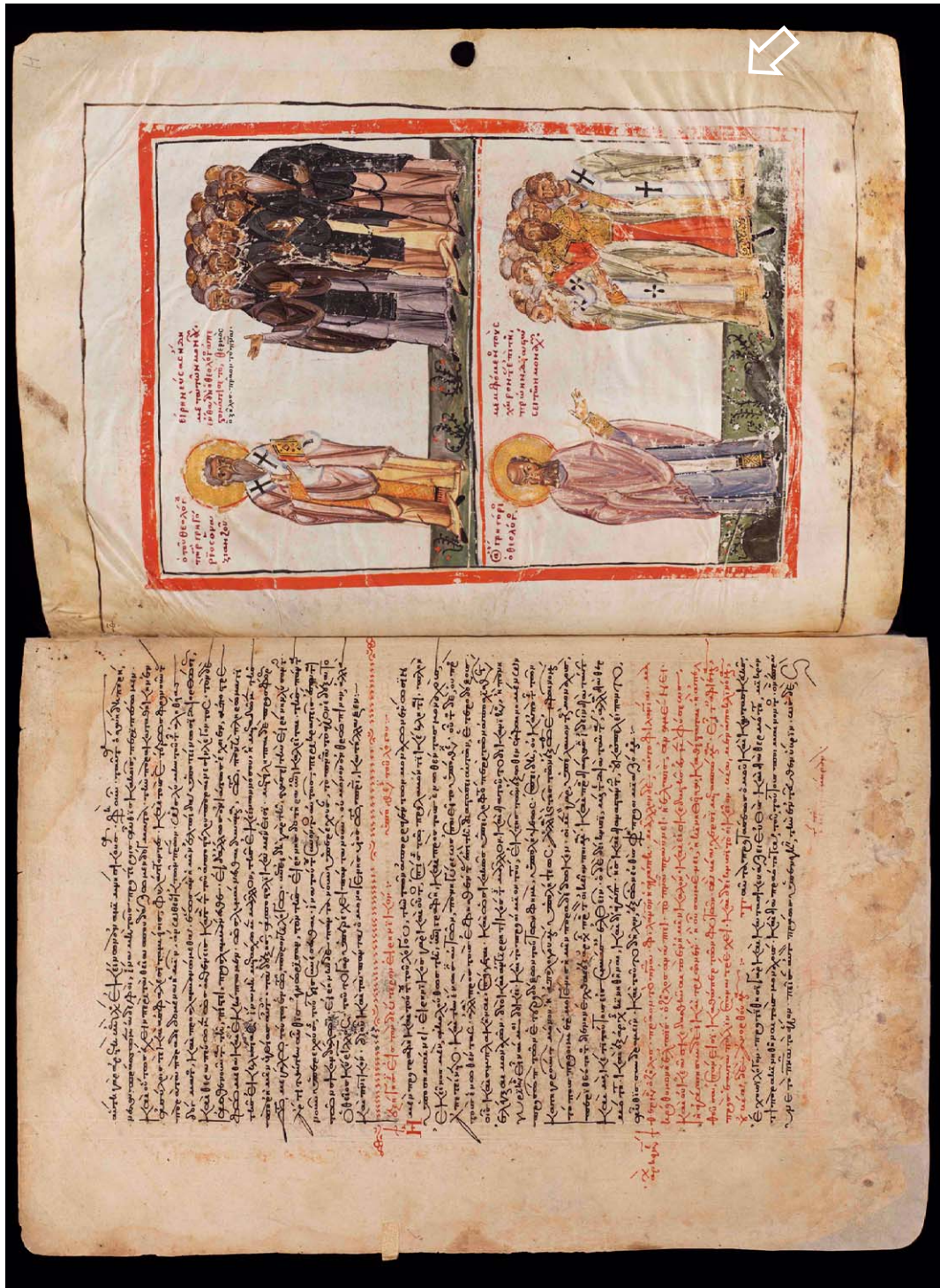


Pl. 3: Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8, f. 1r: Frontispiece to Or. 22, Gregory of Nazianzus, Third Discourse on Peace

Pl. 4
Basel, Universi-
ty Library, Ms.
AN I 8:
Example of a
double page
(ff. F^v-148^r)
with the image
shifted to the
correct side
(toward the
book's center)
within its frame
defined by the
outer black
rectangle



Pl. 5
Basel, University Library, Ms. AN 18:
Example of a double page (ff. 250^v-H^r) with the image shifted to the wrong side within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle; the frontispiece was conceived to serve as a *verso* (the arrow marks the limit of the lacquer coating applied around the outer black frame line)



Pl. 6
Basel, University Library, Ms. AN I 8:
Example of a double page (ff. L^v-304^r) with the image shifted to the wrong side within its frame defined by the outer black rectangle; the frontispiece was conceived to serve as a *recto* (the arrow marks the limit of the lacquer coating applied around the outer black frame line)



DIRK KRAUSMÜLLER

Two Middle Byzantine Treatises in Defence of the Care of the Dead

Abstract: This article contains the edition and translation of two treatises about the care of the dead. Their authors seek to show that the lot of the dead is alleviated when their names are commemorated in church and alms are given in their name. In order to make their case they insert into their texts passages from the New Testament, episodes from hagiographical texts, and in particular edifying stories that show the efficacy of the care of the dead.

Throughout the Byzantine period the care of the dead was an integral part of religious life. The names of the deceased were entered into diptychs and read out during the celebration of the Eucharist. Moreover, special commemorative services were held on the third, ninth and fortieth day after a person's death and thereafter at least once a year¹. On these occasions, bread was brought to the church, part of which was then offered up by the priest in the name of the deceased. In addition, oil was donated in order to light the lamps of the church, and alms were distributed among the poor². It was believed that these activities had an instantaneous effect on the dead, giving them a respite from the torments that they were believed to suffer for their sins.

Most of these practices were already well entrenched in the fifth century³. This does not mean, however, that everybody believed in their efficacy. In the late sixth century a group of intellectuals claimed that the souls of the deceased could not feel what was being done for them. This raised the ire of the priest Eustratius, an associate of Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople, who wrote an entire treatise in defence of the care of the dead⁴. Eustratius' adversaries based their argument on a particular anthropology. They were of the opinion that the soul could only function in conjunction with the organs of the body. This stance had antecedents in Syriac Christianity but was possibly also influenced by Aristotelian philosophy. In his response Eustratius averred that the soul was even more active after death when it had escaped the prison of the body⁵. Similar statements are already found in the writings of earlier authors such as Athanasius of Alexandria and Gregory of Nazianzus. They can be ultimately traced back to Plato's teachings about the soul⁶. Yet these teachings had been completely de-contextualised, constituting what has been dubbed *Vulgärplatonismus*⁷. John of Scythopolis, who engaged more deeply with contemporary Neoplatonic philosophy, had quite a different opinion.

¹ On the meaning of these days see G. DAGRON, *Troisième, neuvième et quarantième jours dans la tradition byzantine: temps chrétien et anthropologie*, in: *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe–XIIIe siècle*, ed. J.-M. Leroux. Paris 1984, 419–430.

² See V. MARINIS, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium. The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art*. Cambridge 2017, 93–95.

³ See E. REBILLARD, *Religion et sépulture: L'église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive*. Paris 2003, 161–164.

⁴ N. CONSTAS, *An Apology for the Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity. Eustratius Presbyter of Constantinople 'On the State of the Souls after Death' (CPG 7522)*. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002) 267–285.

⁵ D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Contextualising Constantine V's Radical Religious Policies: The Debate about the Intercession of the Saints and the "Sleep of the Soul" in the Chalcedonian and Nestorian Churches*. *BMGS* 39 (2015) 25–49, esp. 33–36.

⁶ See e.g. E. P. MEIJERING, *Orthodoxy and Platonism in Athanasius: Synthesis or Antithesis*. Leiden 1968, 29–30, and C. MORESCHINI, *La 'meditatio mortis' e la spiritualità di Gregorio Nazianzeno*, in: *Morte e immortalità nella catechesi dei padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici. Rome 1985, 151–160.

⁷ Cf. e.g. A. BOEHLIG and Ch. MARKSCHIES, *Gnosis und Manichäismus: Forschungen und Studien zu Texten von Valentin und Mani sowie zu den Bibliotheken von Nag Hammadi und Medinet Madi (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche 72)*. Berlin – New York 1994, 22.

He made it clear that only the intellect remained active after death whereas the faculties of the soul such as memory and sense perception were inactive⁸. Unsurprisingly, this point of view also met with opposition. Dorotheus of Gaza was told by a hermit that it was wrong to think that the souls of the deceased did not remember what they had done during their life-time⁹. The debate was resumed in the late eleventh century when John Italos claimed that unlike the intellect, the soul was immortal only in its essence but not as regards its activities. Although he did not openly say so, he thereby undermined the foundations of the care of the dead. This was seen clearly by the Stoudite monk Nicetas Stethatos who argued that disembodied souls can remember their life on earth and perceive what is done on their behalf, either because of their innate powers or because angels enable them to do so¹⁰.

It is very likely that these controversies were confined to a tiny elite. Yet this does not mean that 'ordinary' Christians did not have reservations about the efficacy of the care of the dead. Otherwise one could not explain the production of edifying stories, written in simple Greek, which were meant to prove that the deceased really benefited from it¹¹. Even clearer evidence is found in the sermon 'About Those Who Have Fallen Asleep in the Faith', falsely attributed to John of Damascus, which probably dates to the first half of the ninth century¹². This text is extant in no fewer than 148 manuscripts and was the preferred reading for the days of the year on which the deceased were commemorated¹³. Its author polemicises against people who declare that the status of the souls cannot be changed after death and presents his audience with a string of quotations from homilies and hagiographical texts, which emphasise the importance of prayers and almsgiving on behalf of the dead¹⁴. The topic was revisited by a twelfth-century author, Michael Glykas, in his collection of *Questions and Answers*¹⁵. Glykas also presents quotations from many older sources, among them the sermon 'About Those Who Have Fallen Asleep in the Faith', in order to persuade his readers of the efficacy of the care of the dead. This suggests that even at this late date the practice was still a matter of debate¹⁶.

This hypothesis can be substantiated through the analysis of evidence that has so far escaped the attention of scholars. The codex Monacensis graecus 226 contains two treatises, falsely attributed to Anastasius of Sinai, whose purpose it is to prove that commemoration and almsgiving have a beneficial effect on the deceased¹⁷. The former of these treatises is also found in several manuscripts from

⁸ D. KRAUSMÜLLER, Christian Platonism and the Debate about Afterlife: John of Scythopolis and Maximus the Confessor on the Inactivity of the Disembodied Soul. *Scrinium* 11 (2015) 242–260.

⁹ N. CONSTAS, 'To Sleep, Perchance to Dream': The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature. *DOP* 55 (2001) 92–124, esp. 100.

¹⁰ D. KRAUSMÜLLER, What is Mortal in the Soul? Nicetas Stethatos, John Italos and the Controversy about the Care of the Dead. *Mukaddime* 6 (2015) 1–17.

¹¹ See M. DEL SANTO, Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great (*Oxford Studies in Byzantium*). Oxford 2012, 126–148.

¹² *Sermo de his qui in fide dormierunt* (BHG 2103t, CPG 8112). PG 95, 247–277.

¹³ J. M. HOECK, Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung. *OCP* 17 (1951) 5–60, esp. 39, and note 3.

¹⁴ See D. KRAUSMÜLLER, An Ambiguous Authority: Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and the Debate about the Care of the Dead (6th–11th Century). *RSBN*, n. s. 52 (2016) 3–19.

¹⁵ Michael Glykas, Theological Chapters 22 (ed. S. EUSTRATIADES, *Eis tās āporias tēs theias graphēs kefālāia*. Athens and Alexandria 1912, II 55–61).

¹⁶ Cf. Y. PAPADOGIANNAKIS, Michael Glykas and the Afterlife in Twelfth-Century Byzantium, in: *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul: Papers Read at the 2007 Summer Meeting and the 2008 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. P. B. Clarke (*Studies in Church History* 45). Woodbridge 2009, 130–142.

¹⁷ For a description of the manuscript (M) see K. HAJDÚ, Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München, IV: Codices graeci Monacenses 181–265. Wiesbaden 2012, 246–258. It includes liturgical poetry by Cosmas of Maiouma, John of Damascus, Theophanes Graptus and Mark of Otranto, as well as hagiographical texts. Only the former treatise is included in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (BHGn 2103s). Neither treatise is listed in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* under the spuria of Anastasius of Sinai.

the Sabas and Sinai monasteries (codex Hierosolymitanus graecus 80, codices Sinaitici graeci 463, 529, 531)¹⁸. The two texts resemble each other closely in structure and content but it cannot be ruled out that they were written by different authors. Since they show familiarity with the topography of Constantinople—mention is made of the church of Sts Philemon and Apollonius in the Strategion, and of the church at the Chalke Gate—it seems likely that they were produced in the capital. A *terminus ante quem* for the second treatise is provided by the Munich codex, which was copied around the year 1300¹⁹. By contrast, the oldest manuscript containing the first treatise, the codex from the Sabas monastery, has been dated to the thirteenth century²⁰. Establishing a *terminus post quem* is even more difficult. The church at the Chalke Gate, which is mentioned in the second treatise, was built by Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) and then rebuilt on a larger scale by Emperor John Tzimiskes (969–976)²¹. Thus we can conclude that the second treatise cannot have been written before the middle of the tenth century. The first treatise contains no information that would allow a firm dating. The collapse of the church of Sts Philemon and Apollonius of which it speaks could have happened during any of the frequent earthquakes that rocked the capital²². Yet on balance it seems likely that both texts were written in the eleventh or in the twelfth century.

The first treatise appears to have been intended for a monastic audience. Its author, most likely also a monk, envisages that the last will of the deceased is executed by their ‘disciples’ (μαθηταί) and ‘students’ (φοιτηταί), two terms that were commonly used to describe the followers of spiritual fathers. This suggests that even in monastic settings not everybody was enthusiastic about the care of the dead. In order to convince his audience that commemorations have a positive impact on the fate of the dead, the author quotes from existing texts that help him make his case. He begins with Biblical verses, which make the general point that prayers on behalf of others are heard by God. Then he adds several narratives as illustration. Paraphrasing Acts 12, he highlights how the Apostle Peter was freed from prison through the prayer of his fellow Christians. Then he recounts an episode from the martyrdom of St Cornelius where the prayers of the saint rescue a woman and a child who had been buried under the debris of a collapsed pagan temple²³. This is followed by two

¹⁸ For the Hierosolymitanus graecus 80 (H) see A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, Ἱεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων. St Petersburg 1894, II 149–151. For the Sinaitici graeci 463 (S₁), 529 (S₂) and 531 (S₃) see K. CLARK, Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine’s Monastery, Mount Sinai. Washington 1952, 7, 8; and M. KAMIL, Catalogue of all manuscripts in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. Wiesbaden 1970, 89, 92. For S₃ see esp. V. N. BENEŠEVIČ, Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum qui in monasterio S. Catharinae in Monte Sinai asservantur. St Petersburg 1911, I 312–313. For S₁ and S₂ see A. VASILIEV, *IV* 14 (1907) 228, 307–308. See also A. EHRHARD, Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts, 1. Teil: Die Überlieferung, vols I–III (*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* 50–52). Leipzig 1937–1952, for S₂: III 888, for S₁: III 772, for H: II 254–255. In H and S₁ the text is preceded by Hippolytus, *De consummatione mundi*, and Ephrem, *De patientia et de consummatione huius saeculi* and *In adventum Domini et de consummatione saeculi*, and followed by Basil of Caesarea, *De Ieiunio* 1–2, John Chrysostom, *In Genesim, sermo* 3, and Anastasius of Sinai, *In Psalmum Sextum*. S₃ has some of these texts, but in a different order. S₂ has a completely different content.

¹⁹ See HAJDÚ, Katalog 256.

²⁰ See the manuscript catalogues listed in note 18.

²¹ C. MANGO, *The Brazen House: a Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*. Copenhagen 1959, 161–162.

²² On this church, see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l’empire byzantin, I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique, 3: Les églises et les monastères*. 2nd edition. Paris 1969, 529–530. On the Strategion, cf. N. WESTBROOK, Notes Towards the Reconstruction of the Forum of the Strategion and its Related Roads in Early Byzantine Constantinople. *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 9 (2013), *Academic OneFile*, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A454359773/AONE?u=43wien&sid=AONE&xid=a907e755> (accessed 15.03.2018).

²³ This narrative is also found in the edited *Passiones* of Cornelius. See *Passio epitomata* (ed. F. HALKIN, Un abrégé inédit de la vie ancienne et disparue de Corneille le centurion. *RBSN*, n. s. 1 [1964] 31–39, esp. 35–36) (*BHG* 370z); and Symeon

miracle stories of the martyrs Theodore and George who are said to have saved young men from captivity after their mothers had called on their help²⁴. All these narratives have in common that they have no direct bearing on the care of the dead. They only become relevant when one accepts that being in captivity or being buried alive is analogous to being dead. This analogy is made explicit in the following narrative, which had been composed specifically to defend the efficacy of commemorations. We are told that three youths, who were buried for several days under the debris of a collapsed church, were during this time fed with the bread that the priest had consecrated in their name at the request of their parents. Even more straightforward is the last episode. A monastic community prays for a deceased member who has died in sin and persuades God to forgive him. In the concluding paragraph the author appeals to his audience's self-interest, claiming with a reference to the Liturgy of St Basil²⁵ that prayers and alms on behalf of the dead are beneficial first and foremost for those who offer them.

The second treatise appears to have been written for a lay audience because its author envisages that the last will of the deceased will be executed by their relatives and friends. The text begins on a sombre note, stating that fallen humankind is prone to sin and is therefore in need of repentance. Having extolled the beneficial aspects of the care of the dead, he adds a narrative which is borrowed from the seventh-century *Life of John the Almsgiver*: a captive who is presumed dead enjoys a respite whenever his parents have him commemorated²⁶. Having quoted a verse from the Epistle of James that emphasises the power of intercessory prayer, and having offered a brief summary of the story of Peter's rescue in Acts 12, he points out that eminent figures such as Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom and Andrew of Crete all recommended prayers for the dead. Then he adds two narratives that are already found in the sermon 'About Those Who Have Fallen Asleep in the Faith': through their prayers the first female martyr Thecla and Pope Gregory the Great succeed in alleviating the lot of two deceased pagans, the young girl Falconilla and the Emperor Trajan²⁷. This is followed by the centre piece of the sermon, a lengthy edifying story about the monk Phocas who, presumed dead, is commemorated in his monastery and as a result is free of temptation. In the concluding part the au-

Metaphrastes (*PG* 114, 1293–1312, esp. 1300–1301) (*BHG* 371). However, in both cases the wording is quite different so that it is impossible to determine, which text the author used.

²⁴ For the miracle of George (*BHGn* 691f), see J. B. AUFHAUSER, *Miracula Sancti Georgii*. Leipzig 1913, 100–103, 176–177. The miracle of Theodore seems to be otherwise unknown.

²⁵ See F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*. Oxford 1896, I 332, 15–18.

²⁶ Leontius de Neapolis, *Life of John the Almsgiver* 24 (ed. L. RYDÉN – A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*. Paris 1974, 375–376) (*BHGn* 886d). Cf. e.g. the sentence οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὗτος περὶ οὓ ἐρώτων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ὁμοίων αὐτῷ ἀπαράλλάκτως in Leontius' *Life* (375 RYDÉN – FESTUGIÈRE), with its counterpart οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τελευτήσας καθὼς εἶπον οἱ συναιχμάλωτοι αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἕτερος ὁμοῖος αὐτοῦ ἦν in the treatise. This sentence is not found in the Metaphrastic *Life of John the Almsgiver* (*PG* 114, 937B–D) (*BHGn* 888). It is noticeable, however, that the wording in the treatise differs from that in Leontius' *Life*. The author may have paraphrased the text or he may have drawn on an intermediary source. This episode is also found in Glykas' *Theological Chapters* (II 59–60 EUSTRAIADES). Glykas offers a brief summary, which makes it difficult to establish his source. Note, however, his use of the verb ἐφρουρεῖτο, which is only found in the Metaphrastic text (Leontius has ἀπεκλείσθη).

²⁷ Both stories are adapted from the sermon 'About Those Who Have Fallen Asleep in the Faith' (Falconilla, *PG* 95, 253C–256A, Trajan, *ibid.*, 261D–264A; see n. 12). Cf. e.g. in the case of Falconilla the phrase ὅτι περ ὑπὲρ Ἑλληνίδος, εἰδωλολάτιδος τε καὶ πάμπαν ἀνέρου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου κυρίου ἐργάτιδος in the sermon, and its counterpart περὶ Ἑλληνίδος καὶ ἀβαπτίστου καὶ ἀλλοτρίας οὐσης τοῦ θεοῦ in the treatise. There is, however, a notable discrepancy. The author of the treatise claims that Falconilla informed her mother in a dream that she had been transported from punishment to bliss. This part of the story has no counterpart in the sermon, nor is it found in the edited versions of the *Passio Pauli et Theclae* (ed. R. A. LIPSIIUS – M. BONNET, *Acta Apostolorum apocrypha*. Leipzig 1891, I 256–257) (*BHG* 1710–1713), and *Life of Thecla* (ed. G. DAGRON, *Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle*. Texte grec, traduction et commentaire, avec la collaboration de M. DUPRÉ LA TOUR [*Subsidia Hagiographica* 62]. Brussels 1978, 236–240) (*BHGn* 1717–1718). This suggests that the author of the treatise added this detail because it allowed him to make his point more effectively. On the salvation of pagans see J. A. TRUMBOWER, *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity*. Oxford 2001, 66–69.

thor discusses a prayer, in this case from the Liturgy of the Apostle James, which suggests that God remembers those who do something on behalf of the dead²⁸.

The two treatises show clearly that even in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the care of the dead was not necessarily a matter of course. The envisaged audience is people who have no principal objections to the practice, but are merely somewhat remiss in the discharge of their duties. Yet we are also told that there existed another group, which rejected the practice out of hand and was impervious to all admonition. The treatises are written in very simple and at times ungrammatical Greek, which suggests that the author had received only a rudimentary education. This is a clear sign that doubts about the efficacy of the care of the dead were not limited to the elite.

EDITION

The edition is based on the five manuscripts listed below. A sixth manuscript, which is found in the library of the monastery of St Nikanor in Zaborda, was not accessible to me²⁹.

M codex Monacensis graecus 226, ff. 113v–116r (Treatise 1), 116r–119v (Treatise 2), s. 13/14 (*Diktyon* 44673).

H codex Hierosolymitanus (Πατριαρχική Βιβλιοθήκη, Hagios Sabas) graecus 80, ff. 37r–41v (Treatise 1), s. 13 (*Diktyon* 34337)

S₁ codex Sinaiticus graecus 529, ff. 97r–107r (Treatise 1), s. 16 (*Diktyon* 58904)

S₂ codex Sinaiticus graecus 531, ff. 126v–133v (Treatise 1), s. 16 (*Diktyon* 58906)

S₃ codex Sinaiticus graecus 463, ff. 46r–51r (Treatise 1), s. 17 (*Diktyon* 58838)

Z Consensus Codicum HS₁S₂S₃

The second treatise is only found in M. By contrast, the first treatise is found in all five manuscripts. In this case H, S₁, S₂ and S₃ have a virtually identical text whereas the version in M is quite different: syntactical units are transposed and synonyms are used³⁰. M contains numerous words and phrases that are not found in the other four manuscripts³¹. In particular, place names are preserved³². This suggests that its version is in these instances closer to the original, while the text in the other manuscripts has been somewhat shortened. Yet in a few cases it is H, S₁, S₂ and S₃ that have a fuller text³³. Moreover, they have the correct forms of words that are misspelt in M³⁴. This suggests that the version in M and the version in the four other manuscripts are independent reworkings of a lost common model. Since it is impossible to establish the original text, the edition presents the version of the Munich manuscript, which alone contains both treatises. The variant readings of the other four manuscripts can be found in the apparatus.

²⁸ See Liturgy of the Apostle James (ed. B.-Ch. MERCIER, La Liturgie de S. Jacques: Édition critique, avec traduction latine (*PO* 26, 2). Turnhout 1946, 115–256, esp. 212.

²⁹ Codex Zaborda, Μονή τοῦ ἁγίου Νικάνορος 117, ff. 153sq., s. 14. The manuscript is described in L. POLITIS – M. POLITI, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ζάβορδας. Thessaloniki 2012.

³⁰ See e.g. τὸν λόγον τρέψομαι in M and τρέψω τὸν λόγον in Z; and ἀναντιρρήτως in M and ἀναμφιβόλως in Z.

³¹ See e.g. οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ in M and οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ in Z.

³² See e.g. ναὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλήμονος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου πλησίον τοῦ λεγομένου Στρατηγίου in M and ναὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλήμονος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου in Z.

³³ See e.g. οἱ φυλάσσοντες αὐτὸν στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἀπενεκρώθησαν καὶ αὐτὸς in M and οἱ φυλάσσοντες ἀπενεκρώθησαν καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα τῶν σιδηρῶν πυλώνων αὐτοματὶ ἠνεώχθησαν καὶ αὐτὸς in Z.

³⁴ See e.g. ἐκεχόμενοι in M and ἐγκεχωσμένοι in Z; ἀσύμφαστός τις in M and ἀσύμφαστός τις in Z.

Αναστασίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὅρους λόγος κάλλιστος καὶ ψυχωφελὴς περὶ τῶν ἀποικομένων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργιῶν.

- Στασιώδης ὁ παρὼν βίος, ἀγαπητοί, καὶ πολλαῖς καταντλούμενος τρικυμίαις· μόλις γάρ τις τῇ ἀκρότητι τῶν ἀρετῶν οἰακίζόμενος καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι νοῖ τὰ χεῖρονα καθυποτάξας τῷ κρείττονι
 5 δυνηθεῖν ἂν ἀπεριτρέπτως τὴν πολυσχεδὴ τοῦ βίου διαπερᾶσαι θάλασσαν καὶ ἀνώτερον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σκάφος τῶν νοητῶν βραχῶν καὶ σπυλάδων καὶ ἱλίγγων διασώσασθαι καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀθανάτους αὐτὸ ἐγκαθορμίσαι λιμένας. Καὶ μακάριος ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁ διὰ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν νεύσεως καθαρθεὶς καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων εὐμοιρήσας μανδρῶν, μακαριώτερος δὲ εἰ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον εὐμοιρήσοι θεοφιλῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ μακαρίων φιλοπατόρων· οἱ τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ὡς ζῶντα καὶ μετὰ θάνατον τὸν ἀποικόμενον
 10 αἰδοῦμενοι τὰ αὐτῷ δόξαντα ἅπαντα ἀπαραχάρακτα καὶ ἀκλόνητα διατηρήσειεν. Ὁ δὲ γε κατ' ἐμὲ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἀνάξιον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀμελῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον διαπεράνας καὶ μὴ ἀντιστήκουσαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πταισμάσιν ἐνδειξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν, εἰ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἀμοιρήσοι θεοπειθῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ μαθητῶν εὐγνωμόνων, ἐλεεινὸς γενήσεται καὶ ἡδικημένος παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζει προνοηθῆναι· οὐ μικρὰς γὰρ ὠφελείας παρεκτικὴ τῷ ἀποικόμένῳ γίνεται ἢ μετὰ
 15 θάνατον εὐγνώμων συντήρησις τῶν αὐτοῦ βουλευμάτων· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἀσύμφθαστός τις τὸν τῆδε βίον ἀμείψει, δύνανται οἱ εὐγνώμονες αὐτοῦ διάδοχοί τε καὶ ἐπίτροποι δι' ἐλεημοσυνῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν καὶ φωταγνῶν προσβιβάσαι τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀναπαύσεως, καὶ ἐλεύθερον αὐτὸν ἀποτελέσαι τῶν ἐγκαταλειφθέντων αὐτῷ ὀφλημάτων. Καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀμάρτυρός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀκοῆς ἢ ἀπάτην παρ' ἡμῶν συμπλασθεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἐκλεκτῆς καὶ θείας γραφῆς τὰς μαρτυρίας
 20 ταύτας νυνὶ παραστήσομαι· ἀψευδὴς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, καθὼς πάντες ἴστε, ὁ φάσκων· “Πᾶς ὁ αἰτῶν λαμβάνει, καὶ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρίσκει, καὶ τῷ κρούοντι ἀνοιγήσεται.” Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἡτήσατο σοφίαν, ὁ δὲ πλοῦτον, ὁ δὲ δόξαν, ὁ δὲ ἀνδρείαν, ἄλλος δὲ φρόνησιν, ἕτερος πραότητα, ἄλλος σύνεσιν καὶ ἄλλος βασιλείαν θεοῦ. Οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ, καὶ
 25 πάντες οὗτοι καθ' ὃ ἡτήσαντο, οὕτως καὶ ἔλαβον. Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ λόγου ταῦτα λεπτομερίσαι οὐ βούλομαι, ἐφ' ἕτερα μέρη τὸν λόγον τρέψομαι. Εἶπεν ὁ κύριος· “Ὅπου δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσι συνηγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑμῷ ὀνόματι συμφωνήσουσιν, ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν. Καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσωνται αἰτήματα, δοθήσονται αὐτοῖς πάντα παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀμάρτη εἰς σὲ ἀδελφός σου, παράλαβε μετὰ σοῦ δύο ἢ ἓνα ἐκ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ,
 30 καὶ εἰ μὲν διαλλάσσεται σοι, χάρις τῷ θεῷ τῷ οὕτως εὐδοκήσαντι, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ διαλλάσσεται σοι, εἰπέ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὥστε ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τριῶν μαρτύρων συνίστασθαι πέφυκε.” Καὶ ἐὰν παράκλησίς τις γένηται παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, οὗ ἐὰν αἰτήσωνται,

1 Αναστασίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σινᾶ ὅρους om. Z || 1–2 λόγος ὠφέλιμος ἐκ θείων πατέρων καὶ εὐαγγελικῶν διδαγμάτων περὶ τῶν ἀποικομένων ἀποδεικνύων ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν HS₁S₂ ἐπευχομένων S₃ || 3 μόλις Z μάλιστα M || 4 τῷ κρείττονι om. Z || 6 αὐτό om. Z || 8 εὐμοιρήσοι] εὐμοιρήσαι S₁S₃ || 9 μακαρίων] φοιτητῶν Z | θάνατον] πότμον Z || 10 τὰ] τῷ M τὰ Z || 12 post ἀντιστήκουσαν add. καὶ ἰσόρροπον Z | ante μετάνοιαν om. τὴν Z | ἀμοιρήσοι] εὐμοιρήσοι M ἀμοιρήσει Z || 13 εὐγνωμόνων Z εὐγνωμόνως || 14 γίνεται] δέικνεται Z || 15 ἀσύμφθαστός M ἀσύμφθαστός τις Z || 16 δι'] διὰ HS₁S₂ || 17 προσβιβάσαι] προβιβάσαι Z | ante τόπον om. τόν Z | ante ἀναπαύσεως om. τῆς Z | αὐτόν om. Z || 18 ante λόγος om. ὁ Z | ἡδονῆς ἀκοῆν M ἡδονὴν ἀκοῆς Z || 19 post συμπλασθεὶς add. ἄπαγε Z | ἀπὸ ἐκλεκτῆς καὶ] ἐκ τῆς Z | ταύτας om. Z | νυνὶ om. Z || 20 παραστήσομαι] παραστήσω σοι Z | ἴστε] ἴσμεν Z || 22 ἀνδρείαν ἄλλος δὲ om. Z | post ἕτερος add. ἀνδρείαν ἄλλος Z || 23 post σύνεσιν add. καὶ ἄλλος ταπεινώσιν Z | ὑπάρχουσι om. Z | δύο ἢ τρεῖς] εἷς ἢ δύο Z || 23–24 οἱ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀρετὰς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτησάμενοι om. Z || 24 οἱ τοιοῦτοί εἰσιν om. Z || 25 καθ' ὃ] καθ' ὃν S₃ om. HS₁S₂ | post καθ' ὃ add. ἂν τις Z | ἡτήσαντο] ἡτήσατο Z | οὕτως καὶ om. Z | ἔλαβον] ἔλαβεν S₂ | τοῦ λόγου om. Z || 26 μέρη om. Z | ὃν λόγον τρέψομαι] τρέψω τὸν λόγον Z || 27 ὑπάρχουσι συνηγμένοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑμῷ ὀνόματι om. Z | post συμφωνήσουσιν add. ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὀνόματι Z || 27–28 τοῖς τοιοῦτοις om. Z || 28 ὅσα] ὃ S₁S₂ καθ' ὃ H καὶ ὃ ἐάν S₃ | ἂν αἰτήσωνται αἰτήματα] ἂν τις ἡτήσατο H | δοθήσονται] δοθήσεται Z | πάντα om. Z || 29 ante ἐὰν ἀμάρτη add. ἀλλὰ τοῦ Z 6 | ante ἀδελφός add. ὁ Z | ἐκ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ om. Z || 30 καὶ εἰ μὲν διαλλάσσεται σοι, χάρις τῷ θεῷ τῷ οὕτως εὐδοκήσαντι om. Z | καὶ² om. Z || 30–31 διαλλάσσεται σοι om. Z || 31 μαρτύρων] ἀδελφῶν Z || 32 post παράκλησίς τις add. περὶ πράγματος Z | πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ om. Z

By Anastasius monk of Mt Sinai¹, a most beautiful and profitable speech about our departed brothers and about the holy services.

This present life is full of discord, beloved, and drenched by many huge waves, for barely is someone who is steered by the eminent virtues and who through the guiding mind has subjected the worse to the better able to traverse the multiform sea of life without foundering and to keep his ship above the spiritual rocks and reefs and whirlpools and to moor it in the immortal harbours. And blessed is such a one who has been purified through his inclination towards God and has gained the celestial sheepfolds, but more blessed is he, if even after death he has gained God-loving executors of his will and blessed father-loving ones², for such ones will respect the departed one even after death as if he were alive and will preserve unadulterated and unshaken all his decisions. But one who is lowly and unworthy of heaven and earth like myself and has traversed his life in negligence and indifference and has not shown a repentance that would offset³ his failings will be miserable and wronged by those whom he hoped would care for him if he does not gain even after death God-obeying executors of his will and diligent disciples, for the diligent keeping of his decisions after death gives the departed one no little profit. For even if someone departs from this life without due preparation his diligent heirs and executors of his will can through alms and services and illuminations move such a one to the place of rest and set him free from the sins that have remained in him. And this is not a statement without witness, fabricated in order to please or deceive the ear, but I will now present to you these witnesses from select and divine Scripture, for the Word of God is truthful as you all know, who says: "Everyone who asks receives and the one who seeks finds and to the one who knocks it will be opened." For one has asked for wisdom, another for riches, another for glory, another for courage, another for prudence, another for meekness, another for understanding⁴, and another for the kingdom of God. And there are not two or three who have asked God for such virtues but there are many such ones both in the Old and in the New Testament, and all these have received what they have asked for. But since I do not want to set this out in detail lest the speech become burdensome, I will turn the speech to other parts. The Lord said: "Where two or three are gathered and agree in my name, there I am in their midst", and to such ones all will be given by my Father in heaven, whatever they ask for. And if your brother sins against you, take two or one of his friends along with you and if he is reconciled with you, thanks be to God whom it has pleased thus, but if he is not reconciled with you, speak to the church so that the church may naturally consist of two and three witnesses." And if there is an entreaty by the church to God about him⁵, they will undeniably receive what they

¹ The translation of the first treatise follows the edited text, which is based on the Codex Monacensis graecus 226. Additional phrases in the other four manuscripts, which are likely to have been part of the original text, are added in the footnotes.

² Z has instead 'and father-loving students'.

³ Z has here additionally 'and compensate for'.

⁴ Z has here additionally 'another for humility'.

⁵ Z has here additionally 'about a matter'.

ἀναντιρρήτως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου φωνὴν λαμβάνουσιν. Καὶ μηδεὶς, ἀγαπητοί, τοῦτο ἀπιστήτω, ἀλλ' ὥδε τὸν νοῦν ὑμῶν ἐπιστήσατε.

- 35 Πέτρος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ὁ πρωτόκλητος καὶ πρωτόθρονος, προβάθμιός τε καὶ πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἀποστόλων τε πάντων κρηπὶς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν κλειδοῦχος παρὰ Ἡρώδου ποτὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν εἰρκτῇ ἀποτεθείς καὶ ἀλύσει διτταῖς προσδεθείς καὶ στρατιώταις συνδέσμιος ὢν, καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν φυλαττόντων καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἡρμοσμένων, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εὐχομένης, καθὼς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀναγράφεται, ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐλθὼν ἐξ
40 οὐρανοῦ ἐπάταξεν τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐθέως αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐξέπεσον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ φυλάσσοντες αὐτὸν στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἀπενεκρώθησαν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος ἀβλαβὴς ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἐκ μέσου πάντων ἀποφῆτι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καταλαβὼν ἔνθα ἡ εὐχὴ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ἐξέπληξεν ἅπαντας.

- Κορνήλιος δὲ ὁ τοῦτου μαθητῆς ναὸν εἰδωλικὸν δι' εὐχῆς καταστρέψας θαῦμα ἐξαισίον εἰργάσατο·
45 Δημητρίου γὰρ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Εὐανθία ἡ σύμβιος καὶ ὁ τοῦτου μονογενὴς υἱὸς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ συμπτώματι τοῦ ναοῦ συγχωσθέντες μετὰ δεκάτην ἡμέραν πλημμύρας λαοῦ ἐκχοῖζοντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Κορνηλίου προσευχομένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν συγχωσθέντων ἐν τῷ ναῷ, σῶσι καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς οἱ ἐγκεχωσμένοι τῇ ὕλῃ εὐρέθησαν.

- Εἶδες, ἀγαπητέ, εὐχῆς δύναμιν, πῶς οἱ τὰς τοσαύτας ἡμέρας νήσεις καὶ συγκεχωσμένοι ὄντες
50 ἐπὶ πλήθους συμπτώματος εὐρέθησαν ζῶντες καὶ σῶσι καὶ ἀνθηροί; Ἄλλ' ἔρεῖ τις ἴσως ὅτι μαθητῆς ἀποστόλου προσηύξατο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγένετο. Οἶδα καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ἰδέ μοι τὸ μέγεθος τούτου τοῦ θαύματος, μάνθανε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ὅτι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ἀποστόλου λέγω Πέτρου, οὐδὲ μαθητῆς προσηύξατο, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες τινες χριστιαναὶ καὶ οἱ τυχόντες πάντες χριστιανοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς καὶ πολλῆς
55 ἀσφαλείας ἡ εὐχὴ τούτων τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν τῶν κατατυχόντων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξεύλατο πάντων τῶν αὐτῶν κολαστηρίων ὀργάνων.

- Ἀλλὰ καὶ γυνὴ τις οὐχ ἁγία ἀλλ' ἡ τυχοῦσα υἱὸν ἔχουσα ἐν Συρίᾳ αἰχμάλωτον καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἀποκείμενον καὶ τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα Θεόδωρον θερμῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ αἰτησαμένη τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, οὐ παρείδε κύριος τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τῆς εὐχῆς τέλος
60 λαβούσης ἀπελθὼν εὐθὺς ὁ μεγαλομάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεόδωρος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, καὶ λαβὼν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τῆς γυναικὸς μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ αὐτοῦ βαρείας ἀλύσεως, καὶ ἐπιθείς αὐτὸν σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀλύσει ἐν λευκοτάτῳ ἵππῳ διὰ μιᾶς νυκτός – ὦ τοῦ θαύματος – παρέστησεν αὐτὸν μέσον τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς.

33 ἀναντιρρήτως] ἀναμφιβόλως Z | ἀγαπητοί, τοῦτο om. Z || 34 ὑμῶν om. Z || 35 πρωτόκλητος καὶ om. Z | post πρωτόθρονος add. καὶ Z | τε om. Z || 35–36 πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ om. Z | 36 τε om. Z | 37 τοῦ βασιλέως om. Z | 39 εὐχομένης] εὐχὴν ποιουμένης Z | τῶν ἀποστόλων om. Z | ἀναγράφεται] δηλοῦται Z || 39–40 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ om. Z || 41 ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ om. Z | αὐτὸν στρατιῶται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου om. Z | post ἀπενεκρώθησαν add. καὶ τὰ κλείθρα τῶν σιδηρῶν πυλεῶνων αὐτοματὶ ἠνεφώθησαν Z || 41–42 ὁ ἅγιος Πέτρος om. Z || 42 ἐκ τε τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ om. Z || 43 δι' αὐτοῦ] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Z | ἐγένετο] ἐγένετο Z || 45 ἄρχοντας] ἄρτος S₂ | υἱὸς om. Z || 46 ἐκχοῖζοντος] τοῦ λαοῦ add. M || 47 Κορνηλίου om. Z | ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν συγχωσθέντων ἐν τῷ ναῷ om. Z || 48 ἐκεχωσμένοι M ἐγκεχωσμένοι Z || 49 εἶδε M εἶδες Z | καὶ om. Z || 50 ἐπὶ] ὑπὸ Z | καὶ σῶσι om. S₃ | post ἀνθηροί add. ἐρώτησις M | ἴσως ὅτι om. Z || 51 ἀποστόλου] ἀποστόλοις S₃ | καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα οὕτως ἐγένετο om. Z | post ἐγένετο add. ἀπόκρισις M | τοῦτο σαφῶς om. Z || 52 τούτου om. Z | καὶ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς om. Z || 53 λέγω Πέτρου om. Z | τινες χριστιαναὶ om. Z | πάντες] om. Z || 54 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ om. Z || 55 τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν χριστιανῶν τῶν κατατυχόντων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ om. Z || 56 πάντων τῶν αὐτῶν κολαστηρίων ὀργάνων om. HS₂ S₃ || 57 ἀλλ' ἡ τυχοῦσα] ἄλλη τυχοῦσαν S₁ S₃ | ἔχουσα ἐν Συρίᾳ] ἐν Συρίᾳ ἔχουσα Z | αἰχμάλωτον] αἰχμαλωτισθέντα Z || 59 τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας om. Z || 60 εὐθὺς om. Z | μεγαλομάρτυς] μάρτυς Z | τοῦ Χριστοῦ Θεόδωρος om. Z || 61 τῆς γυναικὸς om. Z || 61–62 σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀλύσει] σὺν αὐτῇ Z

ask for according to the word of the Lord. And nobody, beloved, shall disbelieve this, but turn your mind hither.

Peter, the most holy, the first-called and first-seated and first-ranked and rock of the church of Christ and foundation of all Apostles and key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven was once thrown into prison by Herod and bound with twofold fetters and chained together with soldiers, and while they guarded him all round and the doors were securely fastened and the church prayed for him as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, an angel of the Lord came from heaven and smote his side and the fetters immediately fell from his hands and feet and the soldiers who guarded him were overcome by a death-like sleep⁶ and the holy Peter himself went out from the prison and from the midst of all unharmed and soundlessly, and arriving at the church where the prayer was being performed for him he astounded them.

And Cornelius, his disciple, who had destroyed through prayer a temple of idols performed an extraordinary miracle. For when Euanthia, the wife of the governor Demetrius, and his only son Demetrius had been buried by the collapse of the temple, and when ten days later the people cleared away the debris and the holy Cornelius prayed for those who had been buried in the temple, those who had been buried by the debris were found hale and unharmed.

Have you seen, beloved one, the power of prayer, how those who had for so many days been without food and buried by such a mass of debris were found alive and hale and blooming? But perhaps someone will say that the disciple of an Apostle prayed and that therefore it happened in this way. I, too, know this well, but behold the greatness of this miracle, and accurately learn this, too, that for him, I mean the Apostle Peter, no disciple prayed but some Christian women and all Christians that happened to be in the church, and the prayer of these women who happened to be in the church freed him from the hands of Herod and the fetters and the prison and the great security, and all the instruments of torture.

But some woman, too, who was not holy but ordinary had a son who was captive in Syria and lay in prison, and when she fervently beseeched the great martyr Theodore about him that her son might return from captivity, the Lord did not overlook her entreaty but when the prayer had ended the great martyr of Christ Theodore immediately went to the prison and took the son of this very woman together with the heavy chain around his neck and set him on a white horse with this very chain and in one night, o miracle, brought him to the midst of Byzantium into her house.

⁶ Z has here additionally 'and the locks of the iron portals opened by themselves'.

- Ἐτέρα δὲ πάλιν γυνὴ ἀγροίκου τινὸς καὶ αὐτὴ ὁμοίως υἱὸν ἔχουσα δοῦλον ἐκέισε τοῦ ἐν
 65 Κρήτη χρηματίσαντα ἀμνηρᾶ ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλόκληρον, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς γυναικὸς ὀλοψύχως τὸν θεὸν
 αἰτήσαμένης, οὐδὲ αὐτῆς τὴν αἴτησιν παρῆεν ὁ φιλόφρων κύριος. Ἀλλ' ἐν ἧ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὥρᾳ
 τὴν αὐτῆς εὐχὴν πρὸς θεὸν ποιουμένη καὶ τὸν μεγαλομάρτυρα Γεώργιον εἰς πρεσβείαν κινουσα,
 ὥσπερ πάλαι ἡρπάγη ὁ Ἀββακοῦμ μετὰ τοῦ ἀρίστου ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα πρὸς Δανιήλ, οὕτω
 καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου μετὰ κύλικος οἴνου ἀρπαγεῖς παρέστη ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ
 70 – ὃ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἐξαισίου θαύματος – διδοὺς τὸ ποτήριον πεπλησμένον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ.

Καὶ μηδεὶς, ἀδελφοί μου, ἀπιστεῖτω τοῦτο τὸ τερατοῦργημα· ὁ γὰρ τότε θεὸς καὶ νῦν καὶ πάντοτε
 ἐστὶν καὶ αἰεὶ τοῖς θερμῶς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εὐήκοος γίνεται, ἐκπληρῶν αὐτῶν πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ
 συμφέροντι αὐτῶν αἰτήματα.

- Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον θαῦμα ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ πάνυ εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην ἀρμόδιόν τε
 75 καὶ ὠφέλιμον τοῖς νουνεχῶς ἀκούουσι καὶ εὐπειθῶς πιστεύουσι· τοὺς γὰρ μὴ βουλομένους ἀκοῦειν
 ἢ προσέχειν ἢ πιστεύειν οὐδὲ ὁ κόσμος ὅλος δύναται πείσαι ἢ ἐξυπνῆσαι.

- Ναὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Φιλήμονος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου πλησίον τοῦ λεγομένου Στρατηγίου. Οὗτος ὁ
 ναὸς ποτὲ συμπτωθεὶς ἐναπέκλεισεν ἐν τῷ συμπτώματι νεανίσκους τρεῖς. Τούτων τὴν σωτηρίαν,
 μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν ζωὴν οἱ τούτων γεννήτορες ἀπελπίσαντες, πρὸς ψυχικὴν μᾶλλον ὠφέλειαν ἐπέδωκαν
 80 ἑαυτούς, ὑπὲρ τῶν νομιζομένων νεκρῶν λειτουργίας ὁμοῦ καὶ παννυχίδας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνας καθ-
 ἐκάστην ἐποιοῦν. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς τοῦ ναοῦ κατεπεύγοντος ἀνακαινισθῆναι ἤρξαντο ἐκχοῖζειν
 τὴν συμπεσοῦσαν ὕλην, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε οἱ τὴν ὕλην ἐκεῖθεν ἀνασπῶντες ἤκουον
 φωνὰς κάτωθεν ἐπὶ πυκνῷ τούτους ἐκκαλουμένους. Δόξαντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐκ φαντασμάτων δαιμονικῶν
 εἶναι ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν τὸν κλῆρον συνέλεξαν. Οἱ δὲ τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον ἐπὶ χεῖρας λαβόμενοι
 85 καὶ τὸν τίμιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν σταυρὸν λείψανά τε ἁγίων μαρτύρων καὶ κηροῦ ἀνάψαντες μύρα
 τε ἐπικαπνίσαντες καὶ δαυϊτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς ἐκέισε τελέσαντες τὸ σύμβολόν τε τῆς πίστεως
 προσφθεγξάμενοι ἐκτενεστάτην δέησιν καὶ προσευχὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πεποιήκασιν. Καὶ τέλος τῆς
 εὐχῆς αὐτῶν λαβούσης, ἤκουσαν κάτωθεν φωνῆς τινος μετὰ ἡδύτητος καὶ μέλους ἐπιβοώσης αὐτοῖς
 τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ ἐπὶ ἱκανὰς ὥρας ἀναπεμπομένης. *Τίς οὖν λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας σου, κύριε, ἢ ἀκουστάς*
 90 *ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου;* Μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα θαύματα, δέσποτα, κατὰ γενεὰν καὶ
 γενεὰν ποικιλοτρόπως τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν πραγματευόμενος ὑποδεικνύεις τοῖς δούλοις σου. Ταύτης
 ὑπακούσαντες τῆς φωνῆς ἅπαντες καὶ ὡς εὐέλπεις γενόμενοι μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ εὐφυΐας πολλῆς τῆς

|| 64 post υἱὸν add. ἐν Κρήτῃ Z || 64–65 δοῦλον ἐκέισε τοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ χρηματίσαντα ἀμνηρᾶ] δοῦλον χρηματίσαντα τοῦ ἐκέισε ἀμνηρᾶ Z | 65 τῆς γυναικὸς om. Z || 66 αὐτῆς τὴν αἴτησιν] αὐτήν Z | ὁ φιλόφρων κύριος om. Z | ἀλλ' ἐν om. Z | post ὥρᾳ add. τῷ παρελθόντι ἐνιαυτῷ ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς ἐκρατήθη ἐν αὐτῇ πάλιν HS₁S₂ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκρατήθη πάλιν S₃ || 67 αὐτῆς om. Z | post εὐχὴν add. αὐτῇ Z | ποιουμένης M ποιουμένη Z | post τὸν add. ἅγιον Z || 68 Ἀββακοῦμ] Ἀμβακοῦμ Z | μετὰ τὸ ἀρίστον M μετὰ τοῦ ἀρίστου Z || 69 post ἀρπαγεῖς add. ἐκ Κρήτης Z | παρέστη] παρέστησεν S₃ || 70 ὃ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ ἐξαισίου θαύματος om. Z | διδοὺς τὸ ποτήριον πεπλησμένον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μητρὶ] ἐπιδίδους τὸν ἄκρατον τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ HS₂ ἐπιδίδους τὸν ἄκρατον μητρὶ αὐτοῦ S₃ ἐπιδίδους τὸν ἄκρατον τῇ μητρὶ S₁ | post μητρὶ add. ὃ ξένου καὶ παραδόξου μυστηρίου Z || 71 post μηδεὶς om. ἀδελφοί μου Z | post ἀπιστεῖτω add. ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί Z | οὗτο τὸ τερατοῦργημα om. Z | καὶ om. HS₁S₂ || 72 ἐν ἀληθείᾳ om. Z | εὐήκοος M εὐήκοος Z | πάντα om. Z || 73 συμφέρον M συμφέροντι Z | αὐτῶν om. Z || 74 post δέ add. τι Z | τοιοῦτον θαῦμα om. Z | post Βυζαντίῳ add. ἐν ταῖς παρελθούσαις ἡμέραις Z | τε] ὁμοῦ Z || 75 τοῖς] τοῖς S₁S₃ | βουλομένους] βουλομένοις S₁S₃ || 76 ἢ προσέχειν om. Z | ἢ ἐξυπνῆσαι om. Z || 77 πλησίον τοῦ λεγομένου Στρατηγίου om. Z || 78 ὁ ναὸς om. Z || 6 | ἐν τῷ συμπτώματι om. Z || 80 post ἐλεημοσύνας add. ἐπιμελῶς Z || 81 ἐποιοῦν] ποιοῦμενοι Z | τινὰς om. S₁S₃ || 82 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε οἱ τὴν ὕλην om. Z || 83 ἐκκαλουμένους] ἐπικερτομοῦντας καὶ Z | δὲ οὗτοι ἐκ om. Z | δαιμονικῶν om. Z || 84 ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν om. HS₁S₂ | συνέλεξαν] ἔλεξαν S₁S₂ | ἅγιον om. Z | ἐπὶ χεῖρας om. Z | λαβόμενοι] λαβόντες Z || 85 καὶ ζωοποιόν] καὶ ἅγιον HS₁S₂ om. S₃ | post σταυρὸν add. καὶ Z | post λείψανά om. τε Z | post μαρτύρων om. καὶ Z | post ἀνάψαντες add. καὶ Z || 86 post μύρα om. τε Z | post τελέσαντες add. καὶ Z | post τὸ add. ἅγιον S₃ | post σύμβολόν om. τε Z || 87 ἐκτενεστάτην] ἐκτενήν Z | δέησιν καὶ προσευχὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν om. Z | πεποιήκασιν] πεποιήκεσαν HS₁S₂ πεποιήκησαν S₃ || 88 αὐτῶν om. Z | κάτωθεν φωνῆς τινος μετὰ ἡδύτητος καὶ μέλους] κατῶθεν μετὰ μέλους φωνῆς H κάτωθεν μετὰ μέλους φωνᾶς S₁S₂S₃ || 89 ἐπιβοώσης αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀμὴν καὶ om. HS₁S₂ | ἱκανὰς ὥρας] ὥρας ἱκανῆς Z | post ἀναπεμπομένης add. τὸ ἀμὴν Z | οὖν om. Z | post ἢ add. τίς Z || 91 post ταύτης add. τοιγαροῦν HS₁S₂ γὰρ οὖν S₃ || 92 ὑπακούσαντες τῆς φωνῆς] τῆς φωνῆς ὑπακούσαντες Z || 92–93 πολλῆς τῆς ὕλης om. Z

And again another woman of some rustic, too, who likewise had a son who was a slave of the emir of Crete for a whole year, and when this very woman entreated God with all her heart, the merciful Lord did not overlook her entreaty either but on the day and hour⁷ prayed to God and moved the great martyr George to intercession. As of old Habakkuk was snatched away to Daniel in Babylon by an angel together with the breakfast, so this one, too, was snatched away by the great martyr George with a chalice of wine and arrived in Mitylene—o the unexpected and extraordinary miracle—, giving the full vessel to his mother.

And nobody, my brothers, shall disbelieve this portentous event, for the God of old is now and always and always lends his ear to those who fervently entreat him in truth, fulfilling all their wishes provided they are beneficial to them.

There also happened another such miracle⁸ in Byzantium, which is exceedingly fitting to this topic and useful for those who listen carefully and believe obediently. For those who do not want to hear or pay attention or believe, the whole world will not convince or wake up.

There is a temple of Philemon and Apollonius near the so-called Strategion. This temple once collapsed and buried in the debris three youths. Their parents despaired of their rescue or rather of their life and devoted themselves rather to that which is profitable for the soul and performed services as well as all-night vigils and almsgiving each day for those who were presumed dead. And after some days when the temple was about to be restored, they began to dig out the fallen debris, and after four or five days those who removed the debris from there heard voices from below frequently calling them, and believing that this voice was the result of demonic illusions they gathered together the clergy. And those took in their hands the holy Gospel and the venerable and life-giving cross and relics of holy martyrs and lighted candles and burned incense and performed the Psalms of David there and also recited the symbol of the faith, performing a most extended entreaty and prayer to God. And when the prayer had ended they heard from below a voice with a sweet tune, which responded to them with amen and was sent up for many hours. Who then will express your powers, Lord, and who will make heard all your praises? For, Lord, bringing about our salvation you show to your servants great and inscrutable miracles in each generation in manifold ways. When they heard this voice they all became as if hopeful and very quickly undertook the clearance of the mass of debris with zeal and

⁷ Z has here additionally 'on which her son had been captured in the previous year she again'.

⁸ Z has here additionally 'in recent days'.

ὑλης τὴν ἀνακάθαρσιν ἐποιοῦντο πάνυ συντόμως. Καὶ ὡς ἀνεκάθαρσιν τὴν ὑλὴν εὗρον τοὺς τρεῖς νεανίσκους – ὃ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ ἐξαισίου θαύματος – ζῶντας καὶ ἀνθηροὺς καὶ μηδεμίαν βλάβην ἔχοντας. Ὡς οὖν εὗρον αὐτοὺς οὕτως σφούς καὶ ὑγίεις καὶ μηδεμίαν βλάβην ὑπομείναντας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ συμπτώσεως ἐθαύμασαν πάντες καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ μετὰ θάμβους πολλοῦ τὸ “κύριε ἐλέησον” ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὥρας ἀνέκραζον. Τούτους δὲ ἀκριβολογῆσαντες οἱ ἑαυτῶν γεννήτορες καὶ οἱ ἐκεῖσε εὐρεθέντες φιλόχριστοι ἄνδρες πυθόμενοι πῶς διεσώθησαν καὶ τί διετρέφοντο, ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτοῖς λέγοντες, ὅτιπερ “καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἡ ὑλὴ ἐπακουμπήσασα καὶ οἶονεὶ κόλπους τινὰς ποιήσασα εἰσεδέξατο ἡμᾶς ἰδίως, καθὼς ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ ὀκονόμησεν, καὶ περὶ ὥραν τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας προστάξει τοῦ θεοῦ ὥσπερ θυρίδος ποθὲν ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φαινούσης ἡμῖν δι’ ὅλου ἐφωτιζόμεθα μέχρις ἐσπέρας καὶ ἀνὰ ἡμίσεως προσφορᾶς ὁ καθεὶς ἡμῶν λαμβάνοντας βρῶμα καὶ πόμα ἡμῶν εἰς κόρον τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμισυ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἡμῖν ἐγίνετο.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ τούτων γεννήτορες σφόδρα ἐβεβαιοθήσαν ὅτι αἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γενόμεναι λειτουργίαι διέτρεφον αὐτοὺς καὶ αἱ

παννυχίδες ἠϋφρανον καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι ἐφύλαττον αὐτοὺς σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς.

Εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε λέγω ὑμῖν καὶ ἕτερον διήγημα εὐγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάνυ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀρμόδιον πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν.

Μαθητὴς ποτε κοινοβίου μεγάλου ἀπελθὼν εἰς διακονίαν καὶ ἐκ συνεργίας τοῦ πονηροῦ περιπεσὼν εἰς πορνείαν εὐθὺς πρὸ τοῦ ἐξαγορευθῆναι αὐτὸν κατέλυσε τὸν βίον. Τοῦτον προθέντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς τὸ κηδεῦσαι γέγονεν ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ὅλη δι’ ὅλου ἡσβολωμένη ὥσπερ χύτρα μαγειρίου. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἡγούμενος τὸ γεγονός ἐγνω παρευθὺ πόθεν ἡ αἰτία γέγονεν τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀμαυρώσεως, καὶ φησι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς· “Πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοί, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν οὗτος εἰς τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας βάραθρον ἐνέπεσεν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ ἡσβολωμένη ὡς αἰθίοπος καθὼς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως βλέπετε ταύτην. Καὶ πάντως εἰ ἦν ὁ ἀδελφὸς εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἡμεῖς πάντες ἤμεν, οὐκ ἂν περιέπεσεν ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ συμπτώματι, ὥστε ἀναμφιβόλως δι’ ἡμᾶς πάντως ἐξελθὼν ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἐκινδύνευσεν. Λοιπὸν οὖν χρεια ἐστίν, πατέρες, ἵνα κοπιᾶσθωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἴ τι θεὸς οἰκονομήσει.” Καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ θεῖος ποιμὴν ἐκεῖνος θείας τε τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἅπασαν λαμπάσι πολλαῖς καταφαιδρύνεσθαι ποιήσας τὰ τρία νυχθήμερα οὐ διέλιπον δεόμενοι τοῦ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, μήτε φαγόντες μήτε πίνοντες μήτε ὑπνώσαντες μήτε τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ σύνολον ἐξιόντες εἰ μήπου εἷς ἢ δύο πρὸς τὴν ἀπαραίτητον χρεῖαν τῆς γαστρὸς ἐξίεσαν. Τῶν δὲ θείων μυστηρίων τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας τελουμένων καὶ σιγῆς βαθείας οὔσης ἤκουσαν φωνῆς τινος ἄνωθεν λεγούσης· “Κύριε, δίκαιος εἶ, δικαίως καὶ κρῖνον· εἰς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν γὰρ ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἄφες αὐτόν, δέσποτα, ὅτι ἡμέτερός ἐστιν.” Ὁ δὲ φιλάνθρωπος κύριος ἀπεκρίνατο· “Δίκαιος μὲν εἰμι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν φιλάνθρωπος, καὶ

93 πάνυ συντόμως om. Z 6 | ἀνεκάθαρσιν sic | ἀνεκάθαρσιν τὴν ὑλὴν om. Z || 94 ὃ τοῦ φοβεροῦ καὶ ἐξαισίου θαύματος om. Z || 95 ἔχοντας] ἔχοντες S₁S₃ || 96 ὡς οὖν εὗρον αὐτοὺς οὕτως σφούς καὶ ὑγίεις καὶ μηδεμίαν βλάβην ὑπομείναντας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ συμπτώσεως ἐθαύμασαν πάντες καὶ om. Z | ἐξεπλάγησαν] ἐξεπλήττοντο Z | πολλοῦ om. Z || 97 τὸ κύριε ἐλέησον post ὥρας transp. Z | ἑαυτῶν om. Z || 98 ἄνδρες πυθόμενοι om. Z || 99 ἀπεκρίναντο om. S₁S₃ | αὐτοῖς λέγοντες om. Z | καθεκάστην M καθ’ ἑαυτὴν Z | post ὑλὴ add. οἰκονομικῶς Z | ἐπακουμπήσασα] ἐπικουμώσασα S₂ ἐπικουμμίασασα S₃ | οἶονεὶ om. Z || 100 ποιήσασα] ποιησαμένη Z | καθὼς ἡ πρόνοια τοῦ θεοῦ ὀκονόμησεν om. Z || 101 post προστάξει om. τοῦ Z | καὶ φαινούσης ἡμῖν om. Z || 102 post καθεὶς om. ἡμῶν Z || 103 ἡμισυ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἡμῖν om. Z || 104 σφόδρα om. Z | γενόμεναι λειτουργίαι] ιερουργίαι γενόμεναι Z || 105 σώους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς om. Z || 107 πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν om. Z || 108 ἐκ συνεργίας τοῦ πονηροῦ om. Z || 109 post πορνείαν add. ἀνελθὼν Z | post εὐθὺς add. ἐτελεύτησε Z | αὐτὸν κατέλυσε τὸν βίον om. Z || 110 πρὸς τὸ κηδεῦσαι] πρὸς τὸ κηδευθῆναι πάντων συναθροισθέντων Z | ὅλη δι’ ὅλου] ἀθρόως Z || 111 μαγειρίου] μαγειρικῆ Z | ἔγνω] ἐπέγνω Z | παρευθὺ om. Z | ἡ αἰτία om. Z || 112 τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀμαυρώσεως om. Z || 113 ἐνέπεσεν] περιέπεσε Z || 114 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀρτίως om. Z | ταύτην om. Z | ὁ ἀδελφὸς om. Z || 115 πάντες ἤμεν] πάντες ἡμεῖς Z | ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ συμπτώματι om. Z || 116 πάντως] πάντας Z | ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν om. Z | χρεια] χρεῖαν S₃ || 117 συναγαγὼν] συλλέξας Z | πάντας] πάντα S₃ || 118 post θείας om. τε Z | post μέσῳ om. καὶ Z | ἅπασαν om. Z | πολλαῖς om. Z || 119 καταφαιδρύνεσθαι ποιήσας] καταφαιδρύνας Z | φιλανθρώπου om. Z || 120 μήτε] μὴ Z | μήτε²] μὴ Z | μήτε³] μὴ Z | ἐξιόντες] ἐξελθόντες HS₁S₃ || 121 ὑπνώσαντες μήτε τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ σύνολον ἐξιόντες εἰ μήπου εἷς ἢ δύο om. S₂ | post δύο add. καὶ αὐτοῖ Z | ἐξίεσαν om. Z || 122 post τελουμένων om. καὶ Z | οὔσης] γινομένης HS₁S₃ γινομένης S₂ | τινος om. Z | λεγούσης] λεγούση S₁ || 123 δέσποτα om. Z | ὅτι om. Z || 124 φιλάνθρωπος om. Z | post κύριος add. πρὸς ταῦτα Z | εἰμι] εἰμιν S₁S₃ | λίαν om. S₁S₃

diligence. And when they had cleared away the debris they found the three youths—o frightful and extraordinary miracle—alive and blooming and completely unharmed. When they then had found them thus hale and healthy and completely unharmed from the collapse of the temple, they were all amazed and astounded, and cried “Lord have mercy” for many hours. When their parents and the Christ-loving men who found themselves there interrogated them and asked how they had survived and how they had fed themselves, they answered them thus: “The debris settled on itself and made so-to-speak three hollows in which it received us separately, as the providence of God arranged, and around the third hour of the day at the command of God it was as if a window opened from somewhere and shone on us, and we were illuminated until the evening and each of us took one half of an offering and this same half of an offering became our food and drink so that we were sated.” When they heard this, their parents were greatly assured that the services, which had been performed for them, had fed them and that the all-night vigils had gladdened them and that the alms had preserved them hale and unharmed.

And if you wish, I will tell you yet another story, which is well known to all and very profitable and fitting to such a topic.

A disciple of a great coenobium once went away on an errand, and through the collusion of the evil one, fell into fornication and immediately ended his life before he could confess. When the brothers laid him out for burial in the church his face became completely blackened like a kitchen pot. When the abbot saw what had happened he immediately realised what was the reason for the blackening of the brother, and he said to the brothers: “Fathers and brothers, this brother of ours fell into the pit of licentiousness and therefore his face has become blackened like that of an Ethiopian as you, too, see it now. And certainly if the brother had been in his cell as we all were, he would not have suffered such a mishap so that it cannot be denied that our brother certainly got into danger because he had gone out on our behalf. Therefore, then, it is necessary, fathers, that we, too, toil on his behalf and see if God arranges something.” And having gathered all in the church, the divine shepherd had the corpse put in their midst and saw to it that the whole church was illuminated with many lamps, and three days and nights they did not cease to beg the merciful God about the brother, neither eating nor drinking nor sleeping nor at all stepping out of the church unless one or two stepped out because of the inevitable need of the belly. And when the divine mysteries of the third day were performed and there was deep silence, they heard a voice speaking from above: “Lord, you are just, judge then justly, for he has died in sin, give him up, Master, because he is ours.” And the merciful Lord replied: “I am just but also exceedingly merciful and seeing this great perseverance and entreaty of the

- 125 βλέπων τὴν τοσαύτην ἐπιμονὴν καὶ δέησιν τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρακοῦσαι τούτους οὐ δύναμαι. Πείσων οὖν αὐτοὺς τοῦ παύεσθαι τῆς εἰς ἐμὲ παρακλήσεως καὶ λαβὲ αὐτόν.” Καὶ ὡς ταῦτα ἐλέγοντο ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡς ῥόδον εὐανθές. Καὶ λαβόντες πληροφορίαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ τούτου ὅτι συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμάρτημα, ἐμφορηθέντες τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἅπαντες ἐκήδευσαν αὐτὸν μετὰ ψαλμῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὕμνων. Καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως τροφῆς μεταλαβόντες καὶ μικρὸν
- 130 εὐψυχήσαντες αἶνον καὶ εὐχαριστίαν μεγάλην πρὸς τὸν κύριον πεποιήκασι.
- Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, πάντα δισταγμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας ἡμῶν ἀποβαλλόμενοι τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εὖ ποιεῖν μὴ κατοκνήσωμεν εὐχεσθαι, παννυχεῦειν, λειτουργεῖν, διάδοσιν τινα σμικρὰν καὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν τὰ τε δόξαντα τῷ ἀποικομένῳ μὴ ὀκνήσωμεν τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτὰ σῶα καὶ ἀπαραχάρακτα. Τούτων γὰρ γινομένων οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀποικομένοις
- 135 ὠφελοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς πλεῖον. Φησὶ γὰρ ἡ γραφή· “Ὁν τρόπον ἐποίησας ἔστω σοι.” Καὶ ἄψευδές ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον. Ὁ δὲ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Βασίλειος εἰς τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν ἐμπρώτοις οὕτως φησὶ· “Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν προσενεγκόντων.” Καὶ τότε ἐπιφέρει καὶ· “δι’ οὓς προσήνεγκαν”.
- Ταῦτα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἐλαχιστότεροι παντὸς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἀφωνότεροι ἰχθύων καὶ ἀγροικότεροι
- 140 ἀλόγων οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ἅπαγε, ἀλλ’ ἐκ θείας γραφῆς ἀκριβῶς συλλέξαντες οὐ τοὺς εὐπειθεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτορας διδάσκοντες τούτου χάριν ταῦτα εἰρήκαμεν, ἀλλ’ ὑπόμνησιν τινα οἰκτρὰν πρὸς πάντας ποιησάμενοι ἐν εὐτελεῖ καὶ ἀκαλλωπίστῳ λόγῳ ἐξεθέμεθα αἶνον καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ ἀναπέμποντες νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

* * *

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀναστασίου μοναχοῦ λόγος περὶ τῶν ἀποικομένων ἦτοι κεκοιμημένων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, δεικνύων ὅτι πάνυ ἐστὶ καλὸν καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ θεῶ εὐάρεστον τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα αἱ θεῖαι καὶ μυστικαὶ λειτουργίαι αἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γινόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις.

- Ἐπειδὴ, ἀγαπητοί, μετὰ τὴν παράβασιν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις αἰεὶ τὸ εὐόλισθον ἔχουσα, πῇ μὲν ἐκοντί,
- 5 πῇ δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλομένη, ὥσπερ ἐν συνηθείᾳ λαβοῦσα, τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν οὐ παύεται, ἐκ μικρᾶς ἡλικίας καὶ μέχρι γήρους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὑπὸ μυρίων παθῶν ἐλκομένη, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν πάντως καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας κλυδωνίζεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ γε πάντων δημιουργὸς καὶ σοφὸς θεὸς ἡμῶν ταύτης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως κηδόμενος δέδωκεν ἡμῖν νόμον, εἴτα προφήτας, τέλος ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, ταύτην τὴν ἡμῶν σάρκα φορέσαι τε καὶ ἀγιάσαι, καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος τῆς ἁμαρτίας
- 10 ἀνασπάσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον κάλλος ἐπαναγαγεῖν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ῥάθυμοι ὄντες καὶ ἀμελεῖς πρὸς τὸ καλόν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αἰεὶ ἐμμελῶς διακείμενοι, τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ παραφθείρομεν καὶ τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν οὐ παύομεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ἐννοίᾳ καὶ συγκαταθέσει ἁμαρτάνομεν. Καὶ

125 τούτους] αὐτοὺς Z || 126 οὖν om. Z 6 | post αὐτοὺς om. τοῦ Z | παύεσθαι] παύσασθαι Z | εἰς ἐμὲ om. Z | post ταῦτα add. ἐν τῷ ἀέρι Z || 127 ante ἀδελφοῦ add. προκειμένου Z | ὡς] ὥσπερ Z | οἱ ἀδελφοὶ om. Z || 128 τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμάρτημα om. Z | ἅπαντες om. Z || 129 μετὰ ψαλμῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὕμνων om. Z | εἶθ’ οὕτως om. Z || 131 ante καρδίας om. τῆς Z | ἡμῶν om. Z | ἀποβαλλόμενοι] ἐκτιναζόμενοι Z || 132 τῶν M τὸ Z | post λειτουργεῖν add. καὶ Z || 133 σμικρὰν] μικρὰν Z | post σμικρὰν om. καὶ Z | ἡμῖν om. Z | ante ποιεῖν add. ἕκαστος Z | τὰ τε] καὶ τὰ Z || 134 μὴ ὀκνήσωμεν τοῦ φυλάττειν αὐτὰ σῶα καὶ om. Z | post ἀπαραχάρακτα add. φυλάττειν Z | post γινομένων add. καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐφραίνεται καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ δοξάζουσιν Z | μόνον] γὰρ Z | τοῖς ἀποικομένοις] τοὺς ἀποικομένους Z || 135 post ὠφελοῦμεν add. καὶ μόνον Z | ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς Z | ἐποίησας M ἐποίησας Z || 136 ἄψευδεῖς M ἄψευδές Z | ἐστι om. Z | post λεγόμενον add. εἶχον γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτο διαλεχθῆναι ὑμῖν τινα, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηκύναι τὸν λόγον ἐάσω αὐτὰ Z | post ὁ δὲ add. μέγας Z | ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν om. Z | εἰς τὴν θείαν μυσταγωγίαν] ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱεουργίᾳ Z || 137 ἐμπρώτοις οὕτως om. Z | προσενεγκόντων] προσενεγκάντων Z | δι’ ὧν M δι’ οὓς Z || 138 post προσήνεγκαν add. ὥστε οἱ προσφέροντές τι τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον εὐεργετοῦσι, καὶ οὕτως τοὺς ἀποικομένους Z || 140 post ἐκ add. τῆς Z | ἀκριβῶς om. Z | εὐπειθεῖς] εὐπειθεῖν S₁S₃ || 141 τούτου χάριν ταῦτα om. Z || 142 ἐν om. Z | ἀτελεῖ M εὐτελεῖ Z || 143 ἀναπέμποντες] ἀναπέμπον S₁ ἀναπέμπομεν S₃ | νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν] ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν HS₁S₂

brothers I cannot disobey them. Persuade them, then, to desist from begging me and take him.” And when this was being said, the face of the brother shone like a sweet-smelling rose. And after the brothers had received reassurance from this that God had forgiven his sin, they were all filled with the divine mysteries. And they buried him with many psalms and hymns and afterwards partook of food, and having recovered a little, they offered the Lord a great thanksgiving.

Having heard this, my beloved brothers, let us shake off from our heart all doubt as to whether one should do good on behalf of those who have fallen asleep and let us not hesitate to pray, to perform all-night vigils, to perform services, to make a small distribution according to our means, and let us not hesitate to keep the last will of the departed safe and unadulterated. For when this is done we help not only the departed but even more ourselves, for Scripture says: “As you have done it will be for you.” And what is said is true⁹. But our father among the saints Basil says firstly thus in the divine initiation: “Remember, Lord, those who have made offerings,” and then he adds: “for whom they have offered.”¹⁰

This we who are lowlier than any human being and dumber than fish and wilder than animals have gathered accurately not from ourselves, far be it, but from divine Scripture, and we have not said this to teach the obedient and father-loving ones, but we have set out a pitiful reminder for all in simple and unadorned words, sending up praise and thanks to the all-powerful God now and always and forever. Amen.

By the same monk Anastasius, a speech about our brothers who have departed or fallen asleep, which shows that doing good on their behalf is exceedingly good and profitable and pleasing to God, and especially the divine and mystical services that are performed on their behalf in the most holy churches of God.

Since, beloved, after the fall human nature is always of such a kind that it slips easily, either willingly or also against its will, as having developed such a habit, it does not cease to sin. Being impelled by innumerable passions to act thus from young age until old age, it is certainly the case that by necessity we are all being tossed about. The creator of everything, our wise God, who cares for this human nature gave us the law, then the prophets, and finally sent out his only-begotten Son to bear and sanctify this flesh of ours, and to pull us all back from the fall of sin through him, and to restore us to the ancient beauty. Yet we who are indifferent and negligent as regards the good, and who are always assiduously inclined to sin, pervert his commandment and do not cease to sin, but sin in word and deed and thought and intention, and not only do we sin unwillingly but also willingly, and not only do we fall into some small and irrelevant and venial sins, but also into exceedingly

⁹ Z has here additionally ‘for I could tell you some things about that, but because the speech is long I will omit them’.

¹⁰ Z has here additionally ‘so that those who offer something to God about those who have fallen asleep firstly benefit themselves and then the departed ones’.

- οὐ μόνον ἀκουσίως ἀμαρτάνομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκουσίως, καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς μικρά τινα καὶ οὐδαμινὰ καὶ εὐτελεῖ περιπίπτομεν ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς λίαν αἰσχρὰ καὶ δεινὰ, σκοτούμενοι τὸν λογισμόν
- 15 ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις βασκαίνοντος διαβόλου. Ὁ δὲ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν πάντων πραγματευόμενος νόμον τέθηκε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ εὐαγγέλια, τοῦ αἰεὶ μετανοεῖν ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας μέχρι ἐσχάτης ἀναπνοῆς, οὕτως ἰδὼν· “Γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε,” τουτέστιν, μετανοεῖτε καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθε, “ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποῖα ὥρα ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται.” Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ὁ κύριος ὥσανει ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῦτο λέγει· “Ἐτοιμος ἔσῃ αἰεὶ ὅτι ὁ θάνατος μετὰ σοῦ ἐστίν.” Καὶ πρώην
- 20 μὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἀπεφώνησε λέγων· “Ἐν ᾧ ἂν τις τελευτῶν εὐρεθῇ, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ πράττων εἴτε φαῦλα, ἐν αὐτοῖς κατατάσσεται.” Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπικυρῶν καὶ ἐπανορθούμενος ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξεφώνησε λέγων· “Μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.” Τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος θέλων ἡμᾶς αἰεὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεσθαι, τὸ ἀποφέρον πάντας εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. Πάλιν δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐκ πονηρᾶς καὶ βεβήλου συμπαθείας αἰεὶ κυλινδουμένους εἰς τὰ αἰσχρὰ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγει· “Οὐ
- 25 βούλομαι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ὥς ἐπιστρέψαι καὶ ζῆν αὐτὸν μετανοοῦντα.” κήδεταί γὰρ αἰεὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως. Καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ Πέτρῳ φησὶν· “Ὅσάκις ἂν ἀμάρτη ὁ ἀδελφός σου εἰς σέ, ἅφες αὐτῷ.” Τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰρηκότος· “Κύριε, ἕως ἐπτάκις ἂν ἀμάρτη ἀφήσω αὐτῷ,” ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ κύριος· “Ὅν λέγω σοὶ ἕως ἐπτάκις ἀλλ’ ἕως ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά.” Ὁ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν· καλὸν μὲν τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμβῇ πεσεῖν μυριάκις, μὴ ἀπογνῶς, ἀλλὰ
- 30 πρόσδραμε τῇ μετανοίᾳ· φιλόπαιδος γὰρ ἐστίν ὁ θεός. Καὶ ἐὰν οὕτως εὐρήσῃ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντας, εἰ καὶ θάνατος καταλάβῃ, ἐὰν εὐγνώμονας ἐπιτρόπους καταλείψωμεν πατέρας ἢ ἀδελφοὺς ἢ φίλους ἢ τινες ἑτέρους τῶν κατὰ θεὸν πολιτευσαμένων, καὶ ἀγωνίσωνται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, δύναται μετὰ θεὸν ἀφανίσαι τὰ ἐλαττώματα ἡμῶν, εἰ οὐκ εἰσι μεγάλα καὶ ἀποτρόπαια. Ἀλλὰ καλὸν ἡμᾶς, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, μετανοεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν πλημμελώμεν· “τῶν γὰρ σπειρόντων ἐστί,” φησί, “καὶ τὸ θερίσαι.”
- 35 Ὅτι δὲ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον γινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποικοιμένων δεκτὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα εἰσι, παντὶ που δῆλον. Τέσσαρα γὰρ καλὰ ποιεῖ ὁ ἀγαθὸν τι πράττων ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων· πρῶτον γὰρ καὶ ἐξαίρετον, θεραπεύειν τὸν θεὸν δι’ οὗ τὸ καλὸν ἐργάζεται· δεύτερον ὠφελεῖ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν ὥς τὸ καλὸν ποιών· τρίτον καταλιμπάνει καὶ ἑτέροις ὑπόδειγμα ἵνα πολλοὶ βλέποντες καὶ ζηλοῦντες καὶ τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντες ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ὠφελήσωσιν· τὸ δὲ τέταρτον ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀνέσει εὐρίσκεται ὁ
- 40 κεκοιμημένος δι’ οὗ καὶ ἡ εὐποιΐα γίνεται. Καὶ πόθεν δῆλον, ἄκουσε συνετῶς ὁ ἀκροατής· οὐ γὰρ καὶ κομψευμένους λόγους ρητορικοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν σύστασιν ἀπὸ παλαιμύθων παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀκούσης, ἀλλὰ ἀλήθειαν καὶ γινώσκον θεοῦ.
- Ἐλεγε γὰρ ὁ ἐν ἀγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐλεήμων, ὅτι Κύπρεός τις ἐκρατήθη εἰς τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ μαθόντες οἱ συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν συναχμαλώτων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ,
- 45 ἐποίησαν τὰ μνημόσυνα αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἐστὶν ἔθος χριστιανοῖς. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τέσσαρας ἐξελθὼν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας κατέλαβεν τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ – οὐκ ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ τελευτήσας καθὼς εἶπον οἱ συναχμαλωτοὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἕτερος ὅμοιος αὐτοῦ ἦν – καὶ ἠρώτησε τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὧν ἐποίησαν ἑκάστῳ ἐνιαυτῷ μνημόσυνα περὶ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι, ὅτι “κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμῶν, τέκνον, ποιοῦντες τὰ μνημόσυνά σου, τάσδε τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ
- 50 ἐδυσωποῦμεν τὸν φιλόπαιδον κύριον Ἰλίων γενέσθαι εἰς σέ.” Ὁ δὲ διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς μεθ’ ὅρκων πολλῶν λέγων, ὅτι “ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἃς λέγετε ὅτι ἐποιεῖτε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μνημόσυνα καὶ εὐποιΐας, ἤρχετό τις λευκοφόρος καὶ ἀπέλυσέν με ἀοράτως ἐκ τῶν σιδήρων καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς, καὶ διεκίνουν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, ὅπου ἤθελον, μηδενός με κωλύοντος ἢ γνωρίζοντος, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν ἐν χαρᾷ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσει πολλῇ, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον πάλιν ἠύρισκόμην ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, φορῶν τὰ σίδηρα.” Καὶ
- 55 ἐκ τούτου μανθάνομεν ὅτι πολλὴν ἄνεσιν εὐρίσκουσιν οἱ κεκοιμημένοι ὑπὲρ τῶν γινομένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λειτουργιῶν καὶ φωταψιῶν καὶ δεήσεων καὶ διαδόσεων.

21 κατὰττεται M || 24 βεβήλους M || 26 ἀμάρτη ὁ ἀμάρτητο M || 34 σπειρόντων M || 36 α’ πρῶτον M || 37 β’ δεύτερον M || 38 γ’ τρίτον M | ὑπόδειγμα M || 39 δ’ τὸ δὲ τέταρτον M || 40 ἄκουσε sic

17 Mt 26:41 || 18 cf. Mt. 24:43 || 19 in this form not in the Bible || 20–21 not in the Bible || 22 Mt 4:17 || 24–25 cf. Ez 23:11 || 26–28 cf. Mt 18:21–22 || 34 cf. Gal. 6:7–8 || 43–47 see note 26

shameful and terrible ones, since our thoughts are darkened by the devil who always envies the good works. But our Lord Jesus Christ who procures the salvation of all gave as law his Gospels, so that we may always repent from our first years until our last breath, speaking thus: "Watch and pray," that is, repent and struggle, "because you do not know at which hour the thief comes." And elsewhere the Lord says this as if in both ways: "Always be prepared because death is with you." And earlier he announced this through the prophet: "Wherein one is found when one dies, either doing good or bad things, there one will be placed." Confirming and correcting this, Christ proclaimed: "Repent for the kingdom of heaven has approached." The Lord said this because he wishes that we always do the good, which brings all to the eternal life. And again he says through the prophet because of those who are always wallowing in shameful things because of their evil and foul inclination: "I do not wish the death of the sinner but that he may turn and live repenting." For God always cares for the human nature. And Christ says to Peter: "How many times your brother sins against you, forgive him." And when the Apostle said: "Lord, if my brother sins against me up to seven times, I will forgive him," the Lord answered: "I do not say to you, up to seven times but up to seventy times seven times." And what he says is this: It is good not to fall, but if it happens that you fall innumerable times, do not despair, but turn to repentance, for God is merciful. And when he sees us acting thus, even if death seizes us, when we leave behind as diligent executors of our will fathers or brothers or friends or some others of those who live a godly life, and they struggle on our behalf, they can wipe out our faults after God, if they are not great and awful. But, my beloved brothers, it is good to repent for our failings, for it is said: "Those who sow will also reap." And that what happens after death on behalf of the departed is accepted and profitable, is obvious to all. For he who does a good work on behalf of those who have fallen asleep does four good things. Firstly and especially, he venerates God through whom the good is being done; secondly, he profits his own soul as doing the good; thirdly, he leaves behind an example for the others, too, so that many see and emulate it and do the same, thereby profiting themselves and others; and fourthly, the one who has fallen asleep for whom the good works are done experiences great relief. And from where this is evident, the listener may hear wisely, for you will not hear from us subtle rhetorical speeches, which are based on old stories, but the truth and knowledge of God.

For our father John the Almsgiver who is among the saints said that a man from Cyprus was deported to the Persians and when his relatives learnt about his death from his fellow-captives, they had him commemorated as it is customary for Christians. And after four years he returned from captivity and arrived at his home. For the one who had died was not this one as his fellow-captives had said but another one who looked like him. And he asked his parents about the three days on which they had had him commemorated in each year, and they told him: "We had you commemorated according to our means and entreated the merciful Lord these three days of the year that he be kind to you." And he told them under many oaths: "On these three days of the year on which you say that you had me commemorated and did good works on my behalf, there came one who was dressed in white and invisibly released me from the chains and the prison, and the whole day I moved where I wished, and nobody hindered or recognised me, but I was in great joy and happiness, and on the following day I again found myself in the prison, bearing the chains." For from this we learn that those who have fallen asleep find great relief through the services and illuminations and prayers and distributions that are performed on their behalf.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἐν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· “Ἀσθενεῖ τις ἐν ὑμῖν προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ προσευξάσθωσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ εὐχὴ τῆς πίστεως αὐτῶν σώσει τὸν κάμνοντα, καὶ ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας αὐτοῦ.”

60 Οὐκ ἐκ ταύτης δὲ μόνον τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ἡ προσευχὴ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποικώς ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρωτόθρονος Πέτρος δέσμιος ὢν ἐν φρουρᾷ ὑπὸ ἀσφάλειαν πολλήν, εὐχῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γινομένης, ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου θεοῦ λυθεὶς καὶ ἐκβληθεὶς τῶν χειρῶν Ἡρώδου διέφυγε. Καὶ οἱ σωματικοὶ κίνδυνοι καὶ θάνατοι καὶ αἱ τούτων ἀντίρροποι εὐποῖαι ὡς οἴμαι τοῖς ψυχικοῖς ἐγκλήμασι

65 παρεικάζονται.

Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος καὶ Βασίλειος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκώλυσαν τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτα ὡς ἀνόνητα ὄντα καὶ μὴ προσδεχόμενα παρὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεσφράγισαν καὶ ἐκύρωσαν καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων ἰδίων μᾶλλον προσέταξαν ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας γίνεσθαι, ὡς ὠφέλιμα αὐτὰ ὄντα πάνυ καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐσπλαγχνίας αἷτια.

70 Καὶ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέας ὁ Κρήτης ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως πλατυτέως ἐξέθετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ ἄλλοι πατέρες πολλοί. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ πρωτομάρτυς Θέκλα μετὰ θάνατον Φαλκωνίλλας προσευξαμένη ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, μετέστησεν αὐτήν ἐκ τῆς κατεχούσης αὐτήν βάσανου πρὸς φωτεινότεραν καὶ ἀνωτέραν διαγωγὴν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς δι’ ἀποκαλύψεως ἐφανέρωσεν τὴν ἐαυτῆς μετάστασιν. Καὶ μὴ εἶπη τις ὅτι πρωτομάρτυς ἠῤῥατο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰσηκούσθη, ἀλλὰ

75 μανθανέτω περὶ τίνος ἠῤῥατο ἡ τοιαύτη, περὶ ἐλληνίδος καὶ ἀβαπτίστου καὶ ἁλλοτρίας οὔσης τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσευξαμένη ἡ πρωτομάρτυς περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐ διήμαρτεν τῆς αἰτήσεως. Ἀλλὰ καὶ Γρηγόριος πάπας Ῥώμης ὁ Διάλογος φησὶ ποτε ἔν τινι γεφύρᾳ ἐστὼς τὸ ταύτης κάλλος τερφθεὶς, καὶ εἰς νοὺν λαβὼν ὅτι κοινὸν φροντίζων Τραϊανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ταύτην πεποίηκε, προσηύξατο περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅπως τύχῃ ἀνέσεως ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν γέφυραν ἦν κατεσκεύασεν. Καὶ ἦλθεν τις πρὸς αὐτὸν φοβερὸς

80 τῷ εἶδει λέγων αὐτῷ· “Ἰδοὺ διὰ τὴν πολλήν σου αἵτησιν συγγνώμην τινὰ δίδωμι Τραϊανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Μὴ προσθῇς δὲ ἔτι ὑπὲρ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ εἰδωολάτρου προσευξάσθαι.” Καὶ εἰ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡμεῖς προσευχόμενοι ἢ λειτουργίας ποιοῦντες ἢ εὐποῖας τινὰς ἢ φωταψίας πρὸς θεὸν ὑπὲρ χριστιανῶν ὁμοφύλων τε καὶ ὁμοπίστων, ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις ὡς ἄνθρωποι ὄντες ὀλισθαίνομεν, οὐκ ἀκούσεται ἡμῖν ὁ θεός; Ναὶ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ὄντως ἀκούσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλης ἀνέσεως ἀξιώσει αὐτούς.

85 Εἰσὶν δὲ πολλαὶ καὶ ἄλλαι μαρτυρίαι ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἅστινας ἐάσαντες διὰ τὸν πολὺν ὄγκον τοῦ λόγου, τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γένομενον εἶπωμεν.

Φωκᾶς τις ὀνόματι ἐν κοινοβίῳ μεγάλῳ ὢν ἀπεστάλη οἰκονόμος εἰς προάστειον παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς μονῆς ἐκεῖνης, Ἀντωνίου τοῦνομα. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα, τουτέστιν τὸ οἰκονομεῖον τοῦ προαστείου, ἀκηδιάσας διὰ τινὰς ὑποθέσεις ὁ αὐτὸς Φωκᾶς, ὅποια συμβαίνει πόλλακις γίνεσθαι,

90 ἔγραψεν τῷ προλεχθέντι ἡγουμένῳ τὴν τοῦ οἰκονομείου παραίτησιν διαφόρως. Ὁ δὲ ἡγούμενος πόλλακις ὀχληθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προειρημένου Φωκᾶ καὶ μὴ ὑπακούων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγων αὐτῷ, ὅτι “οὐ συμφέρει σοὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖσε,” εἶασεν αὐτὸν μὴδ’ ὅπως ἀκούων τὴν τούτου παραίτησιν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ μὴ θέλων ἐσιώπησεν πρὸς μικρὸν καὶ μηχανευσάμενος γράφει πάλιν τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς μονῆς διὰ ξένου καὶ ἀγνωρίστου τινὸς ὡς δῆθεν, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ὄντων ἀδελφῶν

95 ὑπάρχει τὸ γράμμα, οὕτωςί λέγων· “Ὁ οἰκονόμος ἡμῶν, τίμιε πάτερ, μικρὸν τι νοσήσας εὐδοκίᾳ θεοῦ τοῦ τῇδε βίου μετανάστης γέγονεν, καὶ διὰ τὰ ἐπικείμενα ἡμῖν ἔργα τοῦ πατρός, μᾶλλον δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν ἵνα μάθης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἀδελφότης τὴν τοῦ οἰκονομείου μετάθεσιν, καὶ ἀποστείλετε ἡμῖν ἕτερον οἰκονόμον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ, ἡναγκάσθημεν τοῦ γράψαι ὑμῖν ταῦτα. Ἄπερ δεξάμενος σύ, σεβασμιώτατε πάτερ, καὶ ἀναγνοὺς κατενώπιον τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων,

100 τὸ συμφέρον τῇ μονῇ ποιήσαντες, ἐκλέξεσθε τὸν ἄξιον τῆς οἰκονομίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστείλετε

64 εὐποῖαις M

57–59 cf. Jc 5:14–15 || 66–69 The references are so vague that it is impossible to establish which texts the author had in mind || 70 This is most likely a reference to Andrew of Crete’s *Sermon on the Human Life and the Departed* (PG 97, 1268–1301). In this sermon, however, no mention is made of the cult of the dead || 71–81 see note 27

But the great Apostle James, too, the brother of the Lord, proclaimed in a loud voice: "Is anyone among you sick? Let him call the priests of the church and let them pray on his behalf, and the prayer of our faith will save the sick one and the Lord will raise him up from his sickness." And not from this sickness alone will the prayer of the priests raise him up but also if such a one has committed sins they will be forgiven him.

But the first-seated Peter, too, who was bound in prison with great security escaped, having been released by an angel of God and freed from the hands of Herod, when a prayer was said on his behalf. And the bodily dangers and deaths and the good deeds that compensate for them are as I believe analogous to the crimes of the soul.

Therefore, the great Athanasius and Basil and John Chrysostom, too, not only did not prevent them happening as being useless and not accepted by God but endorsed and confirmed them or rather commanded in their own writings that they be done with great zeal and care, as being exceedingly useful and causes for the mercy relating to God. And our father Andrew of Crete who is among the saints wrote more profusely about this topic, but also John of Damascus and many other fathers. For the first female martyr Thecla prayed after the death of Falconilla on her behalf and transported her from the torment that held her to a more resplendent and elevated life, for which reason she also revealed her transport to her mother through a revelation. And let no one say that the first female martyr prayed and was therefore heard, but let him learn for whom she prayed, for a heathen who was not baptised and was alien to God, and having prayed for her, the first martyr did not fail to be granted her request. But Gregory, too, the pope of Rome, the one of the Dialogues, said that once when he stood on a bridge and admired its beauty and remembered that the emperor Trajan had constructed it for the common weal, he prayed for him that his soul might attain relief because of the bridge that he had constructed, and someone with a frightening appearance came to him and said to him: "See, because of your prayer I bestow on the emperor Trajan a measure of forgiveness. Do not continue any more to pray for a man who was impious and a worshipper of idols." And if we thus pray or have services performed or do some good deeds or make illuminations for God on behalf of Christians who are of the same race and the same faith about cases where we often slip as human beings, will not God hear us? Yes, I say to you, he will truly hear us and also deem them worthy of great relief.

And there are many other testimonies from the distant past about this issue, which we will leave aside because of the great length of the speech, and speak about what has happened in our days¹¹.

Someone by the name of Phocas who lived in a great coenobium was sent as steward to an estate by the abbot of that monastery whose name was Anthony. When the same Phocas because of some issues got tired of this thing, that is, the stewardship, as it often happens, he frequently wrote to the aforementioned abbot that he wished to resign from the stewardship. And the abbot who was often pestered by the aforementioned Phocas did not listen to him but even foretold him: "It is not profitable for you to leave," and did not release him nor wished to hear in any way of this one's resignation. And he held his peace for a while much against his will, and employing a trick wrote again to the superior of the monastery through somebody who was a foreigner and unknown that the letter supposedly was from the brothers who were there, saying thus: "Through the good pleasure of God our steward, venerable father, has departed from this life after a brief illness. And because of the duties of the father that are incumbent on us, or rather because of the good itself we have been forced to write this to you that you may learn, our holy father and the whole brotherhood, about the change of the stewardship, and send us another steward in his stead. When you have received this, most venerable father, and read it in front of all brothers, and you have done what is profitable for the monastery, elect another one who is worthy of this stewardship and send him to us." When that divine man An-

¹¹ The Greek of the following story is barely coherent, which is reflected in the translation.

ἡμῖν.” Ταῦτα δεξάμενος ὁ θεῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ Ἀντώνιος, ὁ καὶ ἡγούμενος τῆς μονῆς ἐκείνης, πρῶτα
 μὲν ἐστέναξεν, εἶτα ἐδάκρυσεν, εἴθ’ οὕτως τὸ ξύλον κρούσαντες, ἦλθον πάντες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ
 ἀδελφοί, καὶ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν πάντων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγούμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν
 105 πεμφθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὡς ἐνόμιζον ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Εἶτα ἀναγνωσθείσης αὐτῆς
 κατενώπιον τῶν ἀδελφῶν πάντων, κατηνύγησαν ἅπαντες. Εἶτα εὐχὴν ποιήσαντες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς
 ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔθος, προσέταξεν ὁ πολλάκις μνημονευθεὶς ἀγιώτατος ἀνὴρ Ἀντώνιος, ὁ καὶ ἡγούμενος
 τῆς μονῆς ἐκείνης, κατατεθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς διπτύχοις. Οὗ γεναμένου ἀπεστάλη ἕτερος ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ
 110 εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνους τινὰς ἐλθόντος Φωκᾶ τοῦ προσποιήτως ἀποθανόντος ἐν
 τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, πάντας ἐξέπληξεν. Εἶτα ἀνακρίναντες αὐτὸν καὶ μαθόντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀληθές,
 καθὼς καὶ προλέλεκται μοι, προσέταξεν ὁ θεῖος ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος Ἀντώνιος ἐξεωθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν
 διπτύχων. Ὡμνυε δὲ ὁ προειρημένος Φωκᾶς, τὸν θεὸν τοῦ λόγου προβαλλόμενος μάρτυρα, τοῖς
 ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐξηγησαμένοις, ὅτι “ἂφ’ ἧς ἡμέρας τὸ πιττάκιόν μου ἐδέξατο ὁ ἡγούμενος καὶ ἀνέγνω
 αὐτὸ κατενώπιον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, εἶτα ἐκέλευσεν γραφῆναι με ἐν τοῖς διπτύχοις, καθὼς ἐσχάτως
 115 ἐρευνήσας εὔρον, μεχρι τῆς ἀπαλοιφῆς τῶν διπτύχων οὐ διέλιπόν ποτε αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἡμέραν
 μὲν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ὦν καὶ τελεία πληροφορία καὶ ἔξω παντὸς λογισμοῦ κοσμικοῦ, πάσας δὲ τὰς
 νύκτας ἐφανταζόμην ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ εὐφραϊνόμενος ἢ ἐν παραδείσοις ἢ ἐν παλατίῳ ἢ ἐν τραπέζαις
 ἢ ἐν ὀψικίοις τισίν, βασιλίσσαν ἐν πᾶσιν ὑποταττόμενος καὶ ὑπ’ αὐτῆς σφοδρῶς ἀγαπώμενος καὶ
 δοξαζόμενος, ὡς ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν πᾶσαν ἤμην ἐν τελείᾳ πληροφορίᾳ. Ὅτε δὲ τῆς μάρτιρος
 τῆς πνευματικῆς ἐξεώθη τὸ ὄνομά μου, εὐρέθην ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ὡς δῆθεν τὴν βασιλίσσαν ἐκείνην
 120 ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ὀψικεύων ὡς πρὸς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν. Καὶ φθάσαντες ἄντικρυς τοῦ ναοῦ
 τοῦ σωτήρος τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Χαλκῆς, τῆς σκάλας κοπεΐσης ἐν ἧ ἐπάτουν καβαλλικεύων καὶ
 κάτω ῥιφείσης, κατελθὼν τοῦ ἵππου ἐπᾶραι αὐτήν, ἔξυπνος γενόμενος ἄλλο οὔτε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ οὔτε
 ἐν τραπέζῃ οὔτε ἐν ὀψικίοις οὔτε βασιλίσσαν ποτε εἶδον ἢ ἐχάρη μου ἢ ψυχῇ, οὔτε ἐν νυκτὶ οὔτε ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ πληροφορίαν ἔχων ποτέ. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου αἰεὶ λέγειν μοι, ὅτι εἴθε ἐν ἄλλοδαπῇ χώρᾳ με ἀπελθεῖν
 125 καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἤμην ἂν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, παρὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῶν ὄλων, ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν· ἢ γὰρ
 τοιαύτη μοι πληροφορία ἤρκει μοι πρὸς σωτηρίαν.”

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες, ἀδελφοί μου ἀγαπητοί, μὴ ἀμελήσωμεν τοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων,
 εἰ δυνατόν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ὁμοφύλων, εἰ δὲ μὴ κἄν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν καὶ συγγενῶν
 καὶ φίλων ἡμῶν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς μᾶλλον πλεῖον ὠφελοῦμεν. Οὐκ ἐμὸν οὗτος ὁ λόγος,
 130 ἀλλ’ ἀποστολικὸς καὶ τῶν θείων πατέρων· λέγει γὰρ ὁ ἅγιος Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν τῇ πρὸς θεὸν
 αὐτοῦ θεῖα μυσταγωγίᾳ, ἐν ἧ καὶ ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος ἠντλησεν τὰ θεῖα καὶ μυστικά λόγια· “Μνήσθητι
 κύριε τῶν προσενεγκόντων.” Καὶ τότε ἐπιφέρει “καὶ δι’ οὓς προσήνεγκαν.” Καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τις οὕτως
 λέγων· “Εἰ γὰρ τις ἔλαιον λαβὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀλειψαί τινα ἀδυνατόν ἐστιν μὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἀλειψαί
 καὶ οὕτως τὸν ἀλειφόμενον.” Οὕτως δὴ μοι νόει καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα· ὁ γὰρ τὸν συγγενὴ αὐτοῦ ἢ τυχόν
 135 φίλον μετὰ θάνατον εὖ ποιῶν πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν εὖ ποιεῖ, καὶ οὕτως τὸν εὖ ποιοῦμενον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς
 πολλάκις ὁ καθεὶς πταίνοντες ἐν τινι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, προσλαμβάνομεν ἑτέρους ἡμῶν προσφιλεῖς ὧν
 πολλάκις ἐπταίσαμεν, πρὸς τὸ διαλλάξαι αὐτοὺς εἰς ἡμᾶς. Καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ πολλάκις μὴ βουλόμενοι
 συγχωρῆσαι ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτου πταίσματος μηδὲ διαλλαγῆναι ἡμᾶς, τὴν ἀγάπην ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ τὴν
 παράκλησιν τῶν παρακαλούντων διαλλάσσουσι καὶ συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν. Καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄνθρωποι
 140 δέχονται τῶν παρακαλούντων τὴν δέησιν καὶ συγχωροῦσιν ἡμῖν κἄν λίαν σκληρύνωνται, οὕτως
 καὶ ὁ θεός. Δέχεται γὰρ ἀναμφιβόλως τοὺς παρακαλοῦντας, καὶ ἀποδέχεται τὴν τούτων γνώμην
 καὶ σπουδὴν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τότε τοῖς ἀποιομένοις ἀνταμείβεται κατὰ τὴν τούτων παράκλησιν –
 φησὶν γὰρ ὁ Χριστός· “Εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς πονηροὶ ὄντες οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν,
 πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος δώσει ὑμῖν” – καὶ μάλιστα βλέπων ἡμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἀγάπην
 145 καὶ συμπάθειαν τῶν συγγενῶν ἡμῶν κοπιῶντας καὶ ἀγωνιζομένους. Εἰ δὲ τις καλῶς ἐκλάβοι τό·
 “ὃν τρόπον ἐποίησας ἔστω σοι”, δύναται γινῶναι σαφῶς καὶ ἀληθινῶς ὅτι εἴτε καλῶς ἐποίησέν

134 συγγενὴν Μ

thony, who was also abbot of that monastery, received this he first sighed and then cried, and afterwards they sounded the board and all brothers came to the church, and when all of them had come to the church the abbot commanded that there be read the letter, which as they thought had been sent to them by the brothers. And when it then had been read in front of all brothers, they all felt compunction. Then they said a prayer on his behalf as it was their custom, and the aforementioned most holy man Anthony, the abbot of that monastery, commanded that he be entered into the diptychs. When this had been done, another one was sent in his stead to his place. But when after some years Phocas, who had pretended to be dead, came to the monastery, everybody was astounded. When they had interrogated him and learnt from him what had really happened, as has been said before, that divine man Anthony commanded that he be cast out from the diptychs. And the aforementioned Phocas, invoking God as witness for his speech, swore to those who have told me this: "From the day on which the abbot received my letter and read it in front of the brothers and then commanded that I be entered into the diptychs, as I have found out when I finally inquired about it, until I was wiped out from the diptychs, I was constantly ever and always during the day in great joy and complete reassurance and free from every worldly thought, and all nights I imagined that I was rejoicing in a church or in a garden or in a palace or at tables or in some entourage, being subjected to an empress in all things and being greatly loved and glorified by her, so that I was for this reason in complete reassurance during the entire day. But when my name was cast out from the spiritual register, I found myself in that night as if accompanying that empress from the palace to the great church, and when we had arrived before the temple of the Saviour that is named Chalke, the ramp on which I stepped while being on horseback was broken and cast down, and as I was getting off the horse in order to lift it up, I woke up and henceforth never again have I been in a church or at a table or in an entourage or seen an empress nor has my soul rejoiced and been reassured either at night or during the day. For this reason, I always say: If only I had gone away to a foreign land and were dead to human beings but alive to the God of all. For that reassurance was sufficient for my salvation."

Having heard this, my beloved brothers, let us not neglect to do good works for those who have fallen asleep, if possible for all that belong to the same race but if not at least for our fathers and brothers and relatives and friends. For when we do this, we rather profit ourselves. This word is not mine but of the Apostles and the divine fathers. For the holy James, the Apostle, says in his divine initiation to God, from which the great Basil, too, drew his divine and mystical words: "Remember, Lord, those who have made offerings", and then he adds: "And for whom they have made offerings." And another one says thus: "If someone takes oil in order to anoint somebody he inevitably first anoints himself, and then the one who is anointed." Thus imagine it to be the case here, too. For he who does something beneficial for his relative or perhaps friend after death, first of all does something beneficial for himself, and then for the one who has received the benefit. But we, too, often offend, each one of us, in something and then take others with us who are friends of those whom we often have offended in order that they reconcile them with us. And they themselves often do not wish to forgive us such an offence nor be reconciled with us, but when they accept the love and the entreaty of those that entreat them they make up and forgive. And as the human beings accept the entreaty and forgive us even if they are exceedingly hardened, thus also God. For he undoubtedly hears those who entreat him, first of all accepting their will and zeal and then rewarding the departed ones according to their entreaty, for Christ says: "If you who are evil know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will our Father in heaven give you," and especially when he sees how we toil and struggle out of love and affection for our relatives. But if someone understands correctly the word "As you have done so be it for you," he can learn clearly and truly that whether one of the departed has done well or whether he has been negligently disposed about these things, the same

τις τῶν ἀποικομένων, εἴτε ἀμελῶς περὶ αὐτῶν διετέθη, τοιαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ἄλλου πέπονθεν ἀναμιφιβόλως· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐνεργῶς ἱστορήσας ἐν τούτοις, εὗρον τὸν λόγον τρανῶς ἀληθεύοντα. Διὸ παρακαλῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μὴ ἀμελήσωμεν εὖ ποιεῖν
150 ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκοιμημένων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτων λελεγμένα ἱκανά. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἀεὶ ὀφείλομεν ἐξιλεοῦσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων πλημμελημάτων ἵνα μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐξαίφνης ὁ θάνατος εὐρήσει ἡμᾶς ἀνετοίμους, καὶ θρηνήσωμεν ἀνωφελῇ καὶ ἀνόνητα ὅταν οὐδὲν ὠφελῶμεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σπουδάσωμεν ὅση δύναμις, ἵνα εὖρη ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος γρηγοροῦντας καὶ τὰς λαμπάδας ἐτοίμους ἔχοντας, καὶ εἰσαγάγῃ ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν νυμφῶνα αὐτοῦ τὸν οὐράνιον, μετὰ τῶν
155 φρονίμων παρθένων δοξάζοντας καὶ εὐλογοῦντας αὐτὸν ἀενάως τε καὶ ἀδιαλείπτως ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.

he himself will suffer from another one without any doubt. For I have actively studied many people concerning these things and have found that the word is manifestly true. Therefore, I beg you all, brothers, each of us according to his means, that we do not neglect to do good works for our fathers and brothers who have fallen asleep. And what I have said about this issue is sufficient. But we must always propitiate God about our own misdeeds lest death come suddenly and find us unprepared and we cry pointlessly and uselessly, when we do not have any profit. But let us rather strive as much as we can that the Lord may find us awake and with lamps that are ready, and may lead us into his heavenly bridal chamber together with the prudent virgins, glorifying and praising him forever and unceasingly, because his is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

VINCENT NICOLINI

Empereurs et préfets du prétoire chez Jean le Lydien : les conditions du bon gouvernement

Abstract: John Lydus is generally thought of as a harsh critic of Justinian and his politics. While he may not have entirely supported Justinian and his actions, the focus of his political thought lies elsewhere. Far from focusing solely on the emperors, John interprets the recent history of the prefecture as a succession of good (Phocas and the master of offices Peter Patrician) and bad prefects (Marinos and John of Cappadocia). The bad prefects destroy the traditional values of the bureaucracy and bring chaos to the affairs of the prefecture. Only the good prefects who combine political virtues with love for letters can capably administer the institutions of the Roman State. For John, the main role of the emperors is therefore to foster the alliance between letters and government.

Dans son *Des magistratures de l'État romain*, Jean le Lydien fait l'histoire de la préfecture du prétoire et décrit les réformes qu'elle a subies à son époque¹. Face à ces réformes, Jean se montre au pire hostile, au mieux circonspect, raison pour laquelle certains ont vu en lui un dissident sur tous les fronts: il serait ainsi païen, partisan d'une constitution républicaine, et sa vision de Justinien serait très similaire à celle que Procope de Césarée développe dans l'*Histoire secrète*². Or, un examen approfondi de la vision politique de Jean montre que son objectif principal n'est pas de critiquer Justinien ou d'exposer les failles du régime impérial. En fait, sa vision politique est beaucoup moins axée sur la figure de l'empereur ou sur des questions constitutionnelles que sur les principes éthiques qui doivent guider l'action des gouvernants³. Ainsi, dans le livre III du *Des magistratures*, Jean dresse le récit des règnes d'Anastase et de Justinien et critique sévèrement les mauvais préfets (Marinos, Jean de Cappadoce), tout en louant les bons préfets (Zoticos, Phocas, auxquels il faut ajouter le maître des offices Pierre le Patrice)⁴. Le récit des deux règnes présente une grande unité discursive. Anastase et Justinien y sont décrits de façon très similaire et l'accent est mis sur les actions de leurs préfets du prétoire. Comme nous allons le montrer, il semble que, pour Jean, seuls peuvent bien gouverner les préfets du prétoire lettrés, alliant vertus politiques et amour du savoir. Lorsque ceux-ci sont écartés du pouvoir, des individus comme Marinos ou Jean de Cappadoce s'y installent et l'administration de l'État sombre dans la corruption et la décadence.

¹ M. MAAS, *John Lydus and the Roman Past*. London – New York 1992 ; Ch. PAZDERNIK, *Justinianic Ideology and the Power of the Past*, in : *Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. Maas. Cambridge 2005, 185–212 ; D. SVIATOSLAV, *John Lydus and His Contemporaries on Identities and Cultures of Sixth-Century Byzantium*. *DOP* 64 (2010) 27–42 ; IDEM, *John Lydus' Political Message and the Byzantine Idea of Imperial Rule*. *GRBS* 39 (2015) 1–24.

² A. KALDELLIS, *The Religion of Ioannes Lydos*. *Phoenix* 57 (2003) 300–316 ; IDEM, *Identifying Dissident Circles in Sixth-Century Byzantium: The Friendship of Prokopios and John Lydus*. *Florilegium* 21 (2004) 1–17 ; IDEM, *Republican Theory and Political Dissidence in Ioannes Lydos*. *BMGS* 29 (2005) 1–16. Dans une optique similaire, on l'a parfois classé parmi les représentants de l'historiographie sénatoriale : A. CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*. London 1985, 243–248 ; SVIATOSLAV, *John Lydus' Political Message* 18.

³ Voir par exemple, pour le livre I du *Des magistratures*, M. DUBUISSON, *Jean le Lydien et le pouvoir personnel à Rome*. *Cahiers du centre Gustave Glotz* 2 (1991) 55–72.

⁴ C. KELLY, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*. Cambridge (Mass.) 2004, 51–63.

LES RÈGNES D'ANASTASE ET DE JUSTINIEN

Dans le troisième livre du *Des magistratures de l'État romain*⁵, probablement écrit vers le milieu des années 550, Jean le Lydien revient sur sa carrière et énonce les causes du déclin de la préfecture du prétoire⁶. L'histoire récente de cette institution est pour lui le lieu d'une lutte entre *exceptores* et *scriniarii*. Ces derniers étaient membres de la branche financière de la préfecture du prétoire et Jean le Lydien ne les considérait pas comme de vrais membres de la bureaucratie impériale, puisqu'ils ne possédaient pas la formation rhétorique et juridique des *exceptores* et que leur intégration à la préfecture du prétoire était récente⁷. Permise depuis le règne de Zénon, mais appliquée sous le règne d'Anastase, l'accession à la préfecture du prétoire de membres des *scriniarii* est décriée par Jean le Lydien, qui interprète la situation comme un jeu à somme nulle, où la montée en puissance des *scriniarii* se fait au détriment du personnel de la préfecture du prétoire⁸. Cette opposition entre *exceptores* et *scriniarii* guide sa présentation des règnes d'Anastase et de Justinien.

Durant le règne d'Anastase, il y eut au moins, selon Jean le Lydien, deux préfets du prétoire issus des *scriniarii*, Polycarpe et Marinos⁹. Tous les préjudices occasionnés par les réformes fiscales sont imputés à ce dernier¹⁰. Par la nette séparation entre les actions d'Anastase et de Marinos, il est clair que Jean le Lydien jugeait que les mauvaises décisions relevaient de l'initiative du préfet du prétoire¹¹. Les réformes ne faisaient donc pas partie d'un programme de gouvernement initié par l'empereur, mais étaient plutôt le fait d'un administrateur sans vergogne, étranger par sa formation et ses origines à la bonne conduite du gouvernement et obsédé par l'argent et le pouvoir. Mépris des procédures et du personnel de la préfecture du prétoire et extorsion : telle était la façon de gouverner de Marinos selon Jean le Lydien¹². À l'empereur Anastase, bien qu'il soit tenu pour responsable de la nomination de Marinos, seule l'âpreté au gain est reprochée¹³. Jean le Lydien dénonce tout de même

⁵ Sur le *Des magistratures* et la préfecture du prétoire, voir : T. F. CARNEY, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies, Viewed from Within*. Lawrence 1971 ; R. MOROSI, *L'officium del prefetto del pretorio nel VI secolo*. *Romanobarbarica* 2 (1977) 104–148 ; A. BANDY, *Ioannes Lydos. On Powers or The Magistracies of the Roman State*. Philadelphia 1983 ; J. CAIMI, *Burocrazia et diritto nel De Magistratibus di Giovanni Lido*. Milan 1984 ; C. KELLY, *John Lydus and the Eastern Praetorian Prefecture in the Sixth Century AD*. *BZ* 98 (2006) 431–458. Pour une bibliographie complète, voir M. DUBUISSON et J. SCHAMP, *Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures de l'État romain (Collection des Universités de France, Série grecque. Collection Budé 1)*. Paris 2006, I.1, édition de laquelle sont reprises, sauf indications contraires, les citations grecques et les traductions présentes dans ce texte.

⁶ Sur la carrière de Jean le Lydien, l'exposé le plus complet est M. DUBUISSON – J. SCHAMP, *Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures* I.1, xiii–lxxv. Voir aussi E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*. Tome II : De la disparition de l'Empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien (476–565). Paris – Bruxelles – Amsterdam 1949, 729–734 ; CAIMI, *Burocrazia* 7–84 ; R. KASTER, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1988, 306–309 ; MAAS, *John Lydus* 24–31 ; KELLY, *Ruling* 11–17.

⁷ Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III 35 (86–87 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Voir A. H. M. JONES, *The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades)*. *JRS* 39 (1949) 52 ; KELLY, *Ruling* 30–31.

⁸ Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III 36 (87–88 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁹ *PLRE* II 726–728 (Marinus 7). On peut trouver un portrait plutôt favorable de ce dernier dans Pseudo Zacharias, vii, 9a, ed. G. GREATREX, trad. R. R. PHENIX, C. B. HORN *et alii*, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zacharias. Church and War in Late Antiquity*. Liverpool 2011, 265. Marinos y est décrit comme un homme travailleur et brillant, cherchant constamment des solutions aux problèmes qui se posaient.

¹⁰ Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III 49 (103–104 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Sur les réformes fiscales d'Anastase et leurs conséquences voir STEIN, *Bas-Empire* II 192–210 ; F. HAARER, *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*. Cambridge 2006, 193–206 ; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I: Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*. Stuttgart 2009, 118–137.

¹¹ CAIMI, *Burocrazia* 216.

¹² Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III 50 (104–105 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

¹³ Le portrait très clément d'Anastase dressé par Jean le Lydien semble dithyrambique si on le compare à d'autres sources. Ainsi, Jean d'Antioche, fr. 243, ed. S. MARIEV, *Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt (CFHB 47)*. Berlin 2008, 462–463 développe un portrait très hostile à Anastase, critiquant le fait qu'il a dégradé toutes les bonnes pratiques de gouvernement et dénonçant son avidité et sa violence envers les provinciaux.

les conséquences des réformes fiscales sur la situation économique des cités de province et se fait l'écho des critiques populaires dans la capitale, transmettant des vers élégiaques qu'il aurait aperçus sur le mur de l'hippodrome¹⁴. Mais, davantage que les effets sociaux ou économiques des réformes sur les provinciaux, ce sont les conséquences financières pour les employés de la préfecture que Jean le Lydien fustige¹⁵.

Anastase se serait toutefois rendu compte du déshonneur qu'il aurait infligé à la préfecture en nommant Marinos. Pour se rattraper, il aurait tout fait pour favoriser les hommes de lettres. En effet, ils étaient à ce moment nombreux, selon Jean, à accéder à la magistrature¹⁶. Leur présence à la tête de la préfecture bénéficiait à tous les hommes de lettres dans la fonction publique :

À l'heure où les hommes formés à la littérature s'échangeaient eux-mêmes la magistrature de main à main, voici qu'ils donnent à leurs suivants issus des rangs de ceux que l'on appelle les *Augustales*, surtout ceux qui brillaient dans la pratique des lettres, et en fait aussi des tachygraphes, le droit de se présenter en qualité d'orateurs, de prononcer des discours, d'exhiber en séance publique la préparation qu'ils avaient en matière de lettres et d'obtenir de la sorte des émoluments non négligeables.¹⁷

Jean le Lydien a lui-même bénéficié de cette situation sous la préfecture de Zoticos, qui, en plus de l'avoir intégré au personnel de la préfecture du prétoire, l'a rétribué généreusement pour le panégyrique qu'il lui a écrit en guise de remerciement¹⁸. Anastase aurait même voulu donner un statut particulier aux professeurs de lettres, mais les conflits entre ceux-ci l'en auraient empêché¹⁹. Par conséquent, même s'il a initié certaines tendances, comme l'accession des *scrinarii* à la préfecture, tendances qui allaient s'affirmer durant le règne de Justinien et la préfecture de Jean de Cappadoce, Anastase est dépeint favorablement par Jean le Lydien. Son règne reste celui de l'unité entre les lettrés et le gouvernement²⁰.

Sur le plan politique, de nombreux éléments séparaient Anastase et Justinien. Le premier avait été élu empereur en étant sélectionné par l'impératrice Ariadne et le Sénat et avait occupé le poste important de silentiaire avant son élection²¹. Le second était l'héritier de Justin I^{er}, empereur dont l'élection, qui s'était déroulée dans le désordre, semble avoir mécontenté une partie de l'élite séné-

¹⁴ Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures III 46, 4 (100–101 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Sur ces vers voir Ch. BEGASS, Kaiserkritik in Konstantinopel. Ein Spottepigramm auf Kaiser Anastasius bei Johannes Lydus und in der Anthologia Palatina. *Mill* 14 (2017) 103–150, qui estime que Jean en est lui-même l'auteur.

¹⁵ Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures III 49, 3–5 (104 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

¹⁶ Ibid., III 50, 6 (104–105 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Jean le Lydien se contredit quelque peu puisqu'il mentionne (III 36, 1, 87–88 DUBUISSON et SCHAMP) que suite à la préfecture de Marinos, il n'y avait pratiquement que des *scrinarii* qui accédaient à cette magistrature. Son affirmation est sans doute ici volontairement exagérée.

¹⁷ Ibid., III 50, 6 (104–105 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « ἵσχυσε δ' ὁμοῦς ὑπὲρ δικαίου παρακαλῶν. αὐτῶν οὖν τῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἀμοιβὰδὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαμβάνοντων, παραδίδωσιν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων Αὐγουσταλίων, οἱ μάλιστα τοῖς λόγοις ἐνέπρεπον, καὶ μὴν καὶ ταχυνγράφων τοῖς ἀκολούθοις παρίεναι καὶ λόγους παραδίδοναι καὶ ἀκροάσει δημοσίαις ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις παρασκευήν, γερῶν τε οὐ μικρὸν τυγχάνειν. »

¹⁸ Ibid., III 27, 1–2 (33–34 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). La carrière de Jean s'est d'ailleurs développée de façon très rapide durant le règne d'Anastase. Jean affirme lui-même que la rapidité de son ascension était inhabituelle.

¹⁹ Ibid., III 47, 1 (101–102 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

²⁰ Le règne d'Anastase est d'ailleurs généralement considéré comme économiquement et politiquement très favorable aux élites économiques de l'Empire. Voir en particulier P. SARRIS, *Economy and Society in the Age of Justinian*. Oxford 2006, 200–201. Pour un survol de la production littéraire lors du règne d'Anastase voir F. NICKS, *Literary Culture in the Reign of Anastasius I*, in : *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity*, ed. S. A. Mitchell – G. Greatrex. London 2000, 183–204.

²¹ *PLRE* II 78–80 (Anastasius 4). Son élection est rapportée dans Constantin Porphyrogénète, *Livre des Cérémonies* I 92 (ed. J. REISKE, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae* [CSHB]. Bonn 1829, I 417–425).

toriale²². Il n'est donc pas surprenant que Justinien eût tendance à s'entourer de gens aux origines modestes ou, du moins, qui n'appartenaient pas à l'élite politique²³. Parmi ces gens, on trouve les préfets du prétoire Jean de Cappadoce et Pierre Barsymès ainsi que le questeur Junillus, tous méprisés et fustigés par les membres de l'élite²⁴.

Bien qu'il ne mâche pas ses mots pour critiquer les réformes fiscales et administratives entreprises lors du règne de Justinien et qu'il juge que celles-ci ont entraîné la ruine de la préfecture du prétoire, Jean le Lydien évite d'égratigner la figure de l'empereur²⁵. Comme il se montrait indulgent à l'égard d'Anastase, Jean le Lydien tend à absoudre Justinien, préférant mettre la faute sur son préfet du prétoire Jean de Cappadoce²⁶. Les nombreuses faveurs qu'il a obtenues de la part de Justinien ont certainement contribué à forger chez lui une image positive de ce dernier. Il suggère ainsi que Justinien visait à pallier les effets négatifs des réformes sur sa carrière en l'invitant à prononcer un panégyrique devant « des gens d'élite qui ont le souci constant, même au sein du malheur, de cultiver la littérature.²⁷ » La commande d'un récit de la guerre contre la Perse, qu'elle ait réellement abouti ou non, montre aussi qu'il était dans les bonnes grâces de l'empereur. C'est sur l'initiative de ce dernier qu'il a pu décrocher un poste de professeur payé par le trésor impérial. De la même façon qu'Anastase avait tenté de compenser les effets négatifs des réformes administratives sur le personnel de la préfecture en favorisant les lettrés, Justinien encourageait Jean à poursuivre ses activités littéraires et intellectuelles malgré les inconvénients que les réformes de Jean de Cappadoce faisaient peser sur sa carrière. Justinien est au final décrit comme un « homme de savoir » (σοφός), capable d'utiliser les livres pour forger ses politiques²⁸. Lors de la cérémonie de retraite de Jean, le préfet du prétoire Héphaistos loue Justinien en ces termes :

C'est que l'empereur est, outre les prérogatives qui sont les siennes, aussi un amoureux des belles-lettres, privilège dont le temps a gratifié nos contemporains, en manière telle que, dans sa majesté, le maître de l'État confère à tout le reste du personnel un surcroît d'illustration²⁹.

L'idée que l'empereur devait maintenir l'alliance entre les lettres et le gouvernement et que son amour des belles-lettres se diffusait dans la préfecture semblait donc largement partagée au sein de la bureaucratie impériale.

On peut certes mettre l'attitude de Jean de Lydien à l'égard de Justinien sur le compte de la prudence, voire de la flatterie. Certains estiment que, pour éviter les risques politiques, il cachait ses cri-

²² Le caractère chaotique de l'élection est bien décrit par Pierre le Patrice : Ibid., I 93 (I 426–432 REISKE). Sur l'élection de Justin I, voir A. A. VASILIEV, Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great. Cambridge 1950, 68–81 ; B. CROKE, Justinian under Justin: Reconfiguring a Reign. *BZ* 100.1 (2007) 16–18. Sur les rapports conflictuels entre Justinien et l'élite sénatoriale voir SARRIS, *Economy and Society* 205.

²³ J. MOORHEAD, Justinian. London – New York 1994, 31–32 ; H. LEPPIN, Justinian, Das christliche Experiment. Stuttgart 2011, 123 sur les raisons qui poussent Justinien à s'appuyer sur des individus comme Jean de Cappadoce. Pour l'idéologie impériale de Justinien voir en général M. MAAS, Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation. *DOP* 40 (1986) 17–31 ; Ch. PAZDERNIK, Justinianic Ideology and the Power of the Past, in : Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian, ed. M. Maas. Cambridge 2005, 185–212.

²⁴ Sur Pierre Barsymès : Procope de Césarée, Histoire secrète XXII (ed. J. HAURY – G. WIRTH, Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia III : Historia quae dicitur arcana. Leipzig 1962, 133–141). Sur Junillus : Ibid. XX 17 (127 HAURY).

²⁵ Si bien que B. RUBIN, Das Zeitalter Justinians, I. Berlin 1960, 168–169 a pu le qualifier de « Jasager ».

²⁶ MAAS, John Lydus 79–82. Son attitude va tout à l'opposé de celle de Procope dans l'*Histoire secrète*. Voir aussi, sur la façon dont Jean le Lydien préfère accuser les préfets plutôt que les empereurs, BEGASS, *Kaiserkritik* 139–143.

²⁷ Jean le Lydien, Des Magistratures III 28, 4 (78 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

²⁸ Ibid., II 28, 2 (78 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

²⁹ Ibid., III 30, 9 (78 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « ἔστι γὰρ διὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις πλεονεκτήμασι καὶ φιλόλογος ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο καλῶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιηκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅπως ἂν ἡ τοῦ προστατοῦντος σεμνότης καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν ἅπασαν τάξιν ἐπὶ τι φέροι λαμπρότερον. »

tiques dans des allusions rhétoriques obliques, que le lecteur attentif devait lui-même reconstruire³⁰. Mais la ressemblance entre ses visions de Justinien et d'Anastase est frappante. Il les présente dans des termes très similaires et leurs actions sont décrites selon le même schéma. Jean n'avait d'ailleurs plus aucune raison de se retenir de critiquer Anastase au moment où il écrivait son traité. Quant à Justinien, il est exagéré de dire qu'il visait à le défendre face à ses détracteurs³¹. Malgré les faveurs qu'il avait reçues de lui, il avait plusieurs raisons de le critiquer. En plus de son appui à Jean de Cappadoce, Jean le Lydien pouvait reprocher à Justinien l'attribution de la préfecture du prétoire à Pierre Barsymès, qui faisait de la nomination d'individus issus du « monde financier » la règle plutôt que l'exception³². Banquier peu estimé par l'élite, préfet du prétoire entre 543 et 546, puis de 555 à au moins 562, Pierre Barsymès plutôt que ce dernier aurait employé les mêmes techniques que Jean de Cappadoce pour garnir les coffres des finances impériales³³. Procope de Césarée le présente comme un successeur du Cappadocien et le décrit comme un fourbe impitoyable, utilisant n'importe quel prétexte pour piller les ressources des habitants de l'Empire³⁴. Il y a fort à parier que, à l'image de Procope de Césarée, Jean ne voyait pas de différences entre les deux individus et qu'il considérait que les préjudices qu'ils causaient à l'État étaient les mêmes³⁵. Mais Justinien avait aussi nommé des préfets du prétoire appréciés de Jean, tels que Phocas, Héphaistos et, on peut le présumer, Bassos³⁶. Jean portait aussi en haute estime le maître des offices Pierre le Patrice, que Justinien avait gardé en poste pendant presque vingt-cinq ans (c. 539–c. 565)³⁷. Ce faisant, bien qu'il n'ait sans doute pas été un admirateur de Justinien, il ne devait pas pour autant avoir une image entièrement négative de ce dernier.

Globalement, Jean ne semble donc pas avoir eu de griefs personnels contre Anastase et Justinien. Sous le règne du premier, il avait bénéficié d'un début de carrière fulgurant; sous le règne du second, il avait obtenu des privilèges qui lui avaient permis de se consacrer à ses activités littéraires et intellectuelles. Il s'abstient de tenir les deux empereurs pour responsables des dégâts et des inconvénients causés par les réformes fiscales et administratives entreprises sous leur règne. Bien qu'ils ne soient pas dépourvus de défauts, Anastase et Justinien agissent avec une certaine bienveillance. Le blâme principal que Jean leur adresse est celui de mal choisir leurs ministres et de se laisser manipuler par ces derniers.

JEAN DE CAPPADOCE

Tous ses malheurs, c'est au préfet du prétoire Jean de Cappadoce que Jean le Lydien les attribue. Comme c'était le cas avec Marinos, c'est un individu issu des *scriniarii* qui venait perturber le fonctionnement de la préfecture du prétoire³⁸. Le profil de Jean de Cappadoce ne cadrerait pas avec celui que l'on attendait d'un membre important de la bureaucratie impériale, encore moins d'un détenteur

³⁰ KALDELLIS, Identifying Dissident Circles 4–5. Cf. CAMERON, Procopius 244, « John's elaborate attempts to absolve the emperor of blame serve only to draw attention to it ».

³¹ Comme l'affirme CAIMI, Burocrazia 254–257.

³² *PLRE* III 999–1001.

³³ P. MARAVAL, Justinien. Le rêve d'un empire chrétien universel. Paris 2016, 301–302.

³⁴ Procope de Césarée, Histoire secrète XXII (133–141 HAURY – WIRTH).

³⁵ Puisque le texte s'arrête abruptement après l'éloge de Phocas, il n'est pas impossible que Jean le Lydien continuait sa narration des faits jusqu'aux années 550.

³⁶ Sur Phocas, voir ci-bas 11–13. Sur Héphaistos (préfet du prétoire 551–552), dont Jean vante la noblesse, Jean le Lydien, Des Magistratures III 30, 4 (80 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Quant à Bassos (préfet du prétoire 548), Procope le place, dans l'Histoire secrète XXI 6, 7 (129 HAURY – WIRTH) parmi les préfets justes, aux côtés de Phocas. On peut penser que Jean le Lydien avait de lui une opinion similaire.

³⁷ Sur Pierre le Patrice, voir ci-bas p. 14.

³⁸ Jean le Lydien, Des Magistratures III 57, 2–3 (112–113 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

d'un office aussi cardinal que la préfecture du prétoire. Il est probable qu'il n'avait pas reçu l'éducation typique des membres de la bureaucratie impériale. Selon Procope de Césarée, qui exagère certainement, Jean de Cappadoce n'avait jamais entendu parler d'éducation et savait à peine lire³⁹.

Dans la longue diatribe qu'il lui consacre, Jean le Lydien ne cesse de rappeler l'origine ethnique de Jean de Cappadoce et de lui attribuer les pires crimes, ainsi qu'à la « meute de Cappadociens » qu'il a réunie autour de lui⁴⁰. Il accuse aussi le Cappadocien d'avoir pillé sans vergogne les ressources de la population et de l'État et d'avoir mené un train de vie débridé⁴¹. Ses réformes fiscales ont semé la pauvreté parmi les provinciaux, qui affluaient en masse à Constantinople. Ne respectant ni la tradition ni les lois, bafouant les règles de la préfecture, Jean de Cappadoce « mettait sens dessus dessous le gouvernement », si bien que son passage au pouvoir s'apparentait à une « pirato-magistrature » (λησταρχία)⁴².

En plus des réformes fiscales, Jean de Cappadoce avait procédé à des réformes administratives et procédurales qui engendraient une réduction considérable des effectifs de la préfecture⁴³. Les réformes procédurales rendaient désuètes certaines tâches exécutées par le personnel possédant des compétences en droit comme Jean le Lydien⁴⁴. Bien que ces mesures semblent avoir été efficaces, quoique temporairement, pour enrayer la corruption et alléger la procédure administrative, Jean le Lydien, comme le fait remarquer Michael Maas, « could not see beyond the habits of administrative routine to the advantage gained for the empire as a whole.⁴⁵ » Il n'est toutefois pas certain que les réformes aient nui à la carrière de Jean, dans la mesure où celles-ci ont peut-être poussé vers la sortie des fonctionnaires ayant de meilleures sources de revenus ou ne pouvant plus soutenir les impératifs financiers d'une vie à Constantinople⁴⁶.

Les bureaucrates lettrés de la préfecture du prétoire, très attachés à la tradition, ne devaient pas, à l'image de Jean le Lydien, voir d'un bon œil les changements au sein de la structure administrative de l'État. Pour que les réformes puissent être menées à terme, Jean de Cappadoce devait donc aussi s'attaquer au monopole que ces bureaucrates détenaient sur la conduite des affaires de la préfecture.

Comme l'a montré Shane Bjornlie, au moins deux mesures de Jean de Cappadoce pouvaient être perçues par les contemporains comme une attaque idéologique contre la bureaucratie en place : la préférence pour les *scriniarii* et l'abandon du latin⁴⁷. Peut-être parce qu'il se savait méprisé, Jean de Cappadoce avait contourné la bureaucratie traditionnelle en s'entourant d'hommes, principalement des *scriniarii*, qui lui étaient directement redevables. En faisant cela, il visait probablement à secouer les structures de la bureaucratie et à imposer des individus qui ne possédaient pas le même attachement à la tradition et à l'éducation (*paideia*); ils seraient donc davantage loyaux envers l'empereur

³⁹ Procope de Césarée, *Guerres* I 24, 12 (ed. J. HAURY – G. WIRTH., *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia* I : *Bella* I–IV. Leipzig 1963, 125). Sur l'éducation comme marqueur social voir KASTER, *Guardians* 15–31.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, III 58, 6 (115 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III 59–65 (116–125 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁴² *Ibid.*, III 72, 1 (134 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Un autre objectif des réformes de Jean de Cappadoce semble avoir été, selon W. BRANDES, *Der Nika-Aufstand, Senatorenfamilien und Justinians Bauprogramm*, in : *Chlodwigs Welt: Organisation von Herrschaft um 500*, ed. S. Patzold – M. Meier. Stuttgart 2014, 239–268, d'organiser la ruine de l'élite sénatoriale. Il y avait donc une forte dimension politique aux programmes de réformes fiscales et administratives des années 530.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, II 15 (19–21 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) ; III 65–66 (124–126 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP). Cf. BANDY, *Ioannes Lydos xviii–xix*. Sur les réformes administratives de Jean de Cappadoce voir STEIN, *Bas-Empire* II 437–441 ; KELLY, *Ruling* 71–81 ; SARRIS, *Economy and Society* 208–217.

⁴⁴ Voir R. SCOTT, *John Lydos on some Procedural Changes*. *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 441–451.

⁴⁵ MAAS, *John Lydos* 22.

⁴⁶ KELLY, *Ruling* 85–87.

⁴⁷ S. BJORNIE, *Politics and Tradition between Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople. A Study of Cassiodorus and the Variae, 527–554*. Cambridge 2013, 62–67.

qu'envers la culture bureaucratique⁴⁸. Les actions de Jean de Cappadoce ont toute l'apparence d'être exécutées dans le but de faire sauter les verrous du champ politique en remettant en cause le monopole de l'élite bureaucratique. En tout cas, le jugement de Jean le Lydien est sans équivoque :

Parce que les affaires publiques de l'espèce avaient à tous égards connu la fin dans les conditions qu'a mentionnées mon traité et que, désormais, à la différence d'autrefois, la Fortune faisait grise mine aux gens munis d'une formation en lettres, je pris le service en grippe et je m'adonnai entièrement à mes livres.⁴⁹

L'autre mesure de Jean de Cappadoce, l'imposition du grec dans l'administration, avait peut-être aussi pour but d'éroder la position de la bureaucratie traditionnelle, en entamant le monopole qu'elle détenait sur le savoir légal et les techniques administratives. Jean le Lydien était très attaché au latin, qu'il voyait comme une composante essentielle de l'empire et de l'administration de celui-ci. Il cite ainsi un oracle prédisant que « leur Fortune abandonnera les Romains lorsqu'ils abandonneront leur langue maternelle. » Tout de suite après, il identifie l'accomplissement de cet oracle avec la préfecture de Cyrus, un poète renommé ne connaissant, selon lui, rien d'autre que la poésie, qui « se risqua à transgresser l'usage ancien et à promulguer ses décrets en langue grecque.⁵⁰ »

Si le grec était de plus en plus utilisé dans l'administration impériale depuis au moins le règne de Théodose II, le latin n'était pas abandonné. En effet, la langue latine, loin d'être désuète, possédait encore un prestige littéraire important à Constantinople durant l'époque de Justinien, ce qui montre que la mesure ne répondait pas à un changement culturel⁵¹. Les discussions des conciles étaient d'ailleurs encore rapportées en latin. Le questeur Junillus a quant à lui écrit son œuvre, probablement commandée par Justinien, en latin⁵². Il n'y a donc ni une indifférence culturelle à l'égard de cette langue ni un déclin généralisé de son usage⁵³. Tribonien et Jean de Cappadoce se seraient d'ailleurs opposés sur la question de l'usage du latin dans les lois, la vision du deuxième l'emportant sur celle du premier⁵⁴. Ce n'était donc pas une politique linguistique que mettait en œuvre Jean de Cappadoce et il y a fort à parier qu'il visait davantage à remettre en cause la valeur de la connaissance du latin dans la bureaucratie impériale. C'est en tout cas ce que Jean le Lydien suggère lorsqu'il affirme que Jean de Cappadoce a écarté le latin pour permettre à des individus qui ne le connaissaient pas d'exécuter certaines tâches administratives⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ P. LAMMA, Giovanni di Cappadocia. *Aevum* 21 (1947) 84–85 ; BJORNIE, Politics and Tradition 65.

⁴⁹ Jean le Lydien, Des Magistratures III 28, 3 (78 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « τῶν οὖν κοινῶν τοιούτων ἀποτελεσθέντων ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁποῖον ὁ λόγος ἐμνημόνευσεν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς λογικοῖς <οὐχ>, ὡς τὸ πρὶν, τῆς Τύχης ἀπαρεσκομένης, ἐμίσησα τὴν στρατείαν, ὅλον ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐκδούς. »

⁵⁰ Ibid., II 12 (16 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁵¹ BJORNIE, Politics and Tradition 64–65. Sur la question du rapport entre le grec et le latin du IV^e au VII^e siècle voir G. DAGRON, Aux origines de la civilisation byzantine : langue de culture et langue d'état. *Revue historique* 241 (1969) 23–56, et J. SCHAMP, Pour une étude des milieux latins de Constantinople, in : Autour de Michel Lejeune, ed. F. Biville et I. Boehm. Lyon 2009, 255–272. Pour la production littéraire latine à Constantinople durant l'époque de Justinien voir G. CAVALLI, La circolazione libraria nell'età di Giustiniano, in : L'imperatore Giustiniano. Storia e Mito. Giornate di studio a Ravenna 14–16 ottobre 1976, ed. G. G. Archi. Milan 1978, 203–217 ; Av. CAMERON, Old and New Rome: Roman Studies in Sixth Century Constantinople, in : Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of Peter Brown, ed. P. Rousseau – M. Papoutsakis. Farnham-Burlington 2009, 22–29 pour une liste de locuteurs et d'auteurs latins à Constantinople au VI^e siècle.

⁵² Qui plus est, selon Procope, il connaissait à peine le grec. Cf. Histoire secrète XX 17 (127 HAURY – WIRTH).

⁵³ Voir D. SVIATOSLAV, John Lydus' Knowledge of Latin and Language Politics in Sixth-Century Byzantium. *BZ* 111 (2018) 55–70, avec bibliographie. Il affirme que la latin était vu par Jean le Lydien et certains de ses contemporains comme un dialecte du grec. Cf. SCHAMP, Pour une étude.

⁵⁴ E. STEIN, Deux questeurs de Justinien et l'emploi des langues dans ses nouvelles. *Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l'Académie de Belgique* 23 (1937) 359–371 ; SCHAMP, Pour une étude 263–269.

⁵⁵ Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures III 68 (128–129 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

Les réformes de Jean de Cappadoce rendaient superflue l'expertise chèrement acquise des bureaucrates comme Jean le Lydien. Elles mettaient en péril sa vision d'une bureaucratie de lettrés, fins connaisseurs du latin et de la tradition. On peut difficilement s'empêcher de voir un certain corporatisme dans la présentation des faits de Jean le Lydien. Il défend les prérogatives de son bureau et refuse que celui-ci ne perde de son importance. Mais, pour lui, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une lutte pour traiter des dossiers rapportant de l'argent. Ne se limitant pas seulement à leurs conséquences sur sa situation financière, l'opposition de Jean aux réformes était en bonne partie de nature idéologique. Sans ses bureaucrates lettrés, formés à la culture classique, la préfecture perdait son âme :

[...] à l'origine, tous les assistants des bureaux de l'année en cours attachés à la magistrature qui était alors la première brillaient par l'ampleur de leur culture, mais c'était pour leur maîtrise de la langue latine qu'ils s'efforçaient d'avoir la supériorité: c'était un besoin pour eux, en raison des nécessités.⁵⁶

L'abandon de cette culture et le remplacement des *exceptores* lettrés par des *scriniarii* ignorants ne pouvaient qu'engendrer corruption et décadence.

Ainsi, pour Jean, les réformes ne sont pas le résultat d'un programme politique et idéologique imputable à l'empereur, mais sont initiées par des préfets du prétoire incompetents et fourbes. Un individu vil et calculateur comme Jean de Cappadoce, étranger aux lettres et par là peu enclin à se conformer aux vertus politiques érigées en idéal au sein de la bureaucratie impériale, était destiné à s'engager dans une vague de réformes destructrices et à mépriser la tradition. Pour contrer ce fléau, le remède est simple: l'empereur doit choisir les bons préfets.

LES BONS PRÉFETS

La préfecture de Phocas, qui remplace temporairement Jean de Cappadoce suite à la révolte Nika, constitue pour Jean le Lydien une brève éclaircie dans un ciel sombre. Le préfet du prétoire de 532 est présenté comme l'antithèse du Cappadocien. Évidemment, en raison du destin de Phocas, contraint au suicide en 545, ce portrait n'est pas exempt de polémiques cachées⁵⁷. Jean le Lydien vise donc aussi à défendre la mémoire du préfet face à ses détracteurs, mais les qualités qu'il met en avant permettent d'apprécier sa vision du bon gouvernant.

Dans la narration de Jean, Phocas arrive pour contrebalancer les maux causés par la préfecture de Jean de Cappadoce. Issu d'une famille renommée, il se démarque parmi les silencieux. Phocas ne recherchait pas le pouvoir, si bien que l'empereur dût le convaincre « de prendre en charge l'administration publique et de saisir à bras le corps la barre du gouvernement entier que le poids des maux faisait sombrer vers l'abîme.⁵⁸ » Pour Jean, il représente donc le remède au chaos que Jean de Cappadoce a semé au sein de la préfecture.

⁵⁶ Ibid. III 27, 3 (76 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁵⁷ Pour la carrière de Phocas, voir *PLRE* II 881–82 (Phocas 5). Sur le panégyrique de Phocas, voir CAIMI, *Burocrazia* 257–272 ; MAAS, John Lydus 67–70. M. DUBUISSON – J. SCHAMP, Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures de l'État romain*, II clxxxix–cciii. Sur le suicide de Phocas : Pseudo-Denys de Tel-Mahre, *Chronicle*, Part III, ed. W. WITAKOWSKI. Liverpool 1996, 71, texte qui reprend la deuxième partie de l'Histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Éphèse.

⁵⁸ Jean le Lydien, *Des magistratures* III 76, 1 (139 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « [...] τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ἀναδέξασθαι φροντίδα καὶ διῆδναι τὸν οἶακα βυθιζομένης ἤδη τοῖς κακοῖς τῆς ὅλης πολιτείας. » Il s'agit ici de la vertu de renoncement au pouvoir, très visible au temps du principat. Voir U. HUTTNER, *Recusatio Imperii: Ein politisches Ritual zwischen Ethik und Taktik*. Hildesheim 2004.

En outre, au lieu de dilapider sa fortune dans des excès de toutes sortes, Phocas en fait usage pour aider ceux dans le besoin. Il mène une vie d'ascète pour consacrer le plus d'argent possible à la libération de prisonniers de guerre. Il n'hésite pas non plus à faire un don considérable pour participer aux travaux de reconstruction de Sainte-Sophie⁵⁹. Mais en plus d'être noble, prodigue et juste, Phocas avait un grand intérêt pour les lettres, n'hésitant pas à récompenser les lettrés qui partageaient avec lui leurs connaissances⁶⁰. Sous son passage à la préfecture, l'alliance entre lettres et gouvernement est relancée:

Et, dans les affaires, ce fut un joyeux vacarme; des profits honnêtes et admissibles pour la loi s'ensuivaient pour ceux qui la servaient; le Temple de justice avait rouvert ses portes; des orateurs y faisaient briller leur discours; la production de livres et l'émulation rendaient au gouvernement toute la richesse de son teint.⁶¹

La vie intellectuelle, malmenée par Jean de Cappadoce et les *scriniarii*, retrouve donc toute sa splendeur sous la gouverne de Phocas. Les lettres reprennent la place qui leur incombe au sein de la bureaucratie impériale. Par ses vertus, Phocas répare ainsi les méfaits de son prédécesseur et remet sur les rails les affaires de l'État. C'est donc autant par ses vertus politiques que par son amour du savoir et de la vie intellectuelle qu'il sauvegarde la préfecture du prétoire et, par extension, l'État.

Phocas n'est pas le seul dirigeant que Jean le Lydien présente sous un beau jour. Il n'a que des mots flatteurs pour le maître des offices Pierre le Patrice⁶², bien qu'il dirigeât un bureau en rivalité avec la préfecture du prétoire dans la conduite du gouvernement. Sa fidélité à Justinien ne semble pas non plus être un problème pour Jean le Lydien, ce qui montre encore une fois que la contestation du pouvoir n'était pas sa préoccupation politique principale. Apprécié de ses contemporains, qui vantaient son éloquence et sa justice⁶³, Pierre le Patrice est érigé en véritable gouvernant idéal par Jean le Lydien. Ce dernier souligne son respect et sa connaissance des lois, affirmant qu'il était peu enclin à manœuvrer en dehors de celles-ci. Sa qualité de « savant constamment dédié aux livres » (σοφὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῖς βιβλίοις προσανέχων) lui inspire le respect des traditions et lui permet de restaurer la grandeur de Rome, mise à mal « par l'incompétence de ses prédécesseurs » (ἀβελτερίᾳ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ)⁶⁴. Le déclin des institutions n'est donc pas un processus historique irréversible; leur destin peut changer si les bons gouvernants accèdent au pouvoir. Tout comme Phocas, Pierre le Patrice a la capacité de renverser le cours des choses et de réparer les dégâts causés par des gouvernants vils et incompetents. Mais, bien plus que ses compétences administratives, c'est son érudition qui fait de lui

⁵⁹ Ibid., III 76, 8 (140 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁶⁰ Ibid., III 73, 4–6 (136–137 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁶¹ Ibid., III 76, 10 (140–141 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τοῖς πραττομένοις χαρίεις καὶ κέρδη σόφρονα καὶ φίλα τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσιν ἠκολούθει καὶ τὸ Τέμενος τῆς Δίκης ἀνέσγει καὶ ῥήτορες τοῖς λόγοις ἐνέπρεπον καὶ βιβλίων προαγωγαὶ καὶ φιλονεικία ἐφ' ὅλον τὸ χρῶμα ἐπανήει τοῦ πολιτεύματος. »

⁶² Pierre le Patrice a occupé la fonction de maître des offices entre 539 et 565, peut-être par intermittence. Le maître des offices s'occupe des cérémonies du palais et du maintien de l'étiquette. Il est aussi le responsable des affaires étrangères. Cf. R. DELMAIRE, Les institutions du Bas-Empire romain, de Constantin à Justinien. I : Les institutions civiles palatines. Paris 1995, 82–85. Sur Pierre le Patrice cf. P. T. ANTONOPOULOS, Petrus Patricius. Some Aspects of his Life and Career, in : From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium. Proceedings of the Byzantinological Symposium in the 16th International Eirene Conference, ed. V. Vavrinek. Prague 1985, 49–53 ; IDEM, Πέτρος Πατρίκιος. Ὁ Βυζαντινὸς διπλωμάτης, ἀξιωματοῦχος καὶ συγγραφεὺς / Peter the Patrician: the Byzantine Diplomat, Official and Author. Athènes 1990. Voir aussi T. BANCHICH, The Lost History of Peter the Patrician. London 2014, 1–3, 17–22, pour l'ensemble des témoignages concernant Pierre le Patrice.

⁶³ Menandre le Protecteur, fr. 6.1 et fr. 9.1 (ed. R. BLOCKLEY, The History of Menander the Guardsman. Liverpool 1985, 54–87 et 96–103). Procope, Histoire secrète XXIV 22–23 (150 HAURY – WIRTH) est plus mitigé, soulignant sa douceur et sa justice, mais dénonçant aussi son côté voleur et son avarice.

⁶⁴ Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures II 26, 3 (32 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

un gouvernant modèle. Pierre le Patrice passait ses nuits le nez dans les livres et rivalisait de savoir même avec les professeurs de littérature, qui « redoutaient de faire sa rencontre ».⁶⁵ Peut-être Jean se projetait-il dans cet homme issu des provinces et formé à la profession d'avocat, qui avait réussi à accéder à un des postes les plus importants du gouvernement impérial.

Pour Jean le Lydien, il ne fait ainsi pas de doutes que ceux qui exercent le pouvoir doivent être des lettrés qui ont en haute estime la vie intellectuelle. Les vertus politiques et l'amour des lettres sont inséparables. Cette alliance entre les lettres et l'exercice du pouvoir est encore plus marquée dans le discours que prononce le préfet du prétoire Héphaïstos lors de la cérémonie de retraite de Jean⁶⁶. Le passage vaut la peine d'être cité en entier :

Jean, le grand-lettré (tel était en effet le titre qu'il affectionne, plus que les signes de reconnaissance liés aux récompenses qui lui reviennent), bien qu'il possédât déjà les avantages les plus beaux, nous voulons dire la formation et les lettres, a montré ses qualités au point de susciter l'admiration non seulement pour lui-même, mais aussi pour beaucoup d'autres qui sont bien les produits de son enseignement. Mais il avait, à ce qu'il semble, considéré que ce serait bien peu que de s'illustrer seulement dans les activités que lui donnaient les belles-lettres (pourrait-on penser pourtant qu'il fût rien de plus important?): il s'engagea aussi dans les affaires de l'État⁶⁷.

Ces cérémonies sont un lieu privilégié d'affirmations des valeurs d'un groupe, où celui-ci, comme le dit Pierre Bourdieu, « se célèbre à travers un de ses membres.⁶⁸ » À travers l'évocation du cas singulier, c'est donc toute la figure du fonctionnaire idéal qui est construite et toutes les valeurs qu'il incarne qui sont universalisées. Ainsi, la formation (παιδεία) et les lettres sont vues comme des critères d'appartenance au groupe. Elles ne sont pas seulement présentées comme des compétences garantes d'un exercice approprié du métier, comme Jean le Lydien conçoit parfois la connaissance du latin, mais comme des valeurs à travers lesquelles se reconnaissent les membres de la bureaucratie impériale. Cette cérémonie et le discours du préfet du prétoire, à travers l'exaltation de certains principes, affirment l'appartenance de Jean le Lydien au groupe et aux idéaux qui le constituent. Au sein de son ouvrage, ce passage est tout à fait cohérent avec ceux où Jean glorifie les bons gouvernants. Il y a donc une totale correspondance entre les valeurs célébrées par le groupe et celles que Jean met en avant dans sa description des personnages et des événements.

CONCLUSION

Suite à cet exposé, nous sommes en mesure de mieux apprécier la vision politique de Jean le Lydien. Bien loin de vouloir simplement critiquer Justinien ou de remettre en cause le régime impérial dans son ensemble, il s'attache à montrer que le bon gouvernement est l'affaire de préfets du prétoire ou de maîtres des offices alliant vertus politiques et amour du savoir. Le rôle de l'empereur est de mettre en place les conditions dans lesquelles ceux-ci pourront exercer leur pouvoir. Il doit maintenir l'alliance entre l'administration et les lettres en favorisant les individus formés à la culture classique.

⁶⁵ Ibid., II 26, 3–4 (32–33 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP).

⁶⁶ KELLY, Ruling 18–20.

⁶⁷ Jean le Lydien, Des magistratures III 30, 5–6 (80–81 DUBUISSON – SCHAMP) : « Ἰωάννης μὲν ὁ λογιώτατος (τούτῳ γὰρ χαίρει τῷ προσρήματι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων αὐτῷ γερῶν προσγενομένοις γνωρίσμασιν) ἤδη φθάσας τοῖς ἀπάντων ἑαυτὸν καλλίστοις, παιδείᾳ τε καὶ λόγοις φαιμέν, τοιοῦτον ἀπέδειξεν, ὥς οὐκ αὐτὸν θαυμάζεσθαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτέρους, οἳ δὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας ἔργον γεγόνασιν· μικρὸν δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, εἶναι νενομικῶς εἰ μόνοις κοσμοῖτο τοῖς ἐκ λόγων ἐπιτηδεύμασιν (καίτοι γε τί ἂν τις τούτων ἡγήσοιτο μείζον) καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐνέμιξε πράγμασιν. »

⁶⁸ P. BOURDIEU, La noblesse d'État. Grandes écoles et esprit de corps. Paris 1989, 68.

Lorsque Jean critique Anastase ou Justinien, c'est surtout pour leur reprocher leur tendance à se laisser tromper par les mauvais préfets. Ces derniers sont présentés comme les réels architectes des réformes fiscales et administratives dévastatrices. Ainsi, sans dire qu'il appréciait Justinien, il semble que Jean ne voyait pas en lui la cause principale des infortunes de la préfecture du prétoire, voire de l'Empire.

Force est de constater que Jean ne concevait pas non plus le déclin de la préfecture du prétoire comme un processus historique irréversible. Si la préfecture a graduellement perdu de sa splendeur, malmenée par des individus vils et ignorants comme Marinos le Syrien ou Jean de Cappadoce, les bons préfets tels que Phocas ou Zoticos arrivent à enrayer son déclin. L'avènement de Phocas est ainsi présenté comme une renaissance, qui fait suite au mandat catastrophique de Jean de Cappadoce. De façon analogue, Pierre le Patrice est dépeint comme un dirigeant qui rayonne sur son bureau, au sein duquel les lettres occupent une place prépondérante. Ainsi, la bonne administration de l'État passe inévitablement par des gouvernants comme Phocas et Pierre le Patrice. Le pessimisme de Jean est donc lié au fait que, selon lui, les bons préfets gouvernent de moins en moins longtemps, alors que les mauvais préfets s'arrogent de plus en plus souvent la préfecture du prétoire. Jean n'estime pas faire face à des changements culturels ou institutionnels résultant de l'évolution historique et donc inéluctables; pour lui, il s'agit d'un combat pour le maintien d'une bureaucratie de lettrés, mise à mal par des parvenus comme Jean de Cappadoce ou Marinos le Syrien.

En ce sens, pour Jean, il fallait moins restaurer le passé que contenir les effets d'un développement plutôt récent au sein de la préfecture, celui de la domination des *scriniarii*⁶⁹. Du reste, le passé fournissait autant d'exemples de bons empereurs que de tyrans, de bons gouvernants que d'incompétents. À l'époque de Jean le Lydien, les bons gouvernants existaient toujours et, partant, les conditions du bon gouvernement pouvaient être réunies. À l'empereur de faire les bons choix.

⁶⁹ Pour la thèse de la restauration du passé, MAAS, John Lydus 99.

CHRISTOPHE ERISMANN

Cluster: Theodore the Stoudite on Traditions of Theological and Philosophical Thought

Introduction

This cluster results from research on ninth-century Byzantine thinking conducted at the University of Vienna under the auspices of the project granted by the European Research Council (ERC) “Reassessing Ninth-Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions” (9 SALT, grant agreement No. 648298). First drafts of the aforementioned papers were presented at the international conference “Theodore the Stoudite. Intellectual Context, Logic, and Theological Significance” which took place at the University of Vienna in 2016.

The iconophile thinker Theodore of Stoudios († 826) is, together with Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815) and the last iconoclast Patriarch, John the Grammarian, one of the major intellectual figures of the debate on image veneration revived by the reestablishment of iconoclasm as official policy by Emperor Leo V in 815. The following cluster of four articles questions Theodore’s relation to his intellectual past and to previous thinking, both theological (Patristic) and philosophical (Ancient and Late Ancient). Special focus is devoted to his engagement with Aristotelian philosophy, more particularly logic, as well as with Patristic Christological thought, as they are especially crucial sources for his work on images.

Christophe Erismann analyzes Theodore’s concept of “circumscription” (περιγραφή). The article demonstrates how Theodore modified the traditional patristic view of the concept, thanks to his knowledge of Aristotle’s *Categories*, in order to have at his disposal a conceptual tool that was better fitted to his own theory of images. Dirk Krausmüller explores the links that connect Theodore’s icon theology to Late Antique Christological discourse. The third paper, by Byron MacDougall, shows that the use of logical concepts by Theodore is not limited to polemical writings like the *Antirrhetici* but is a practice that also features prominently in Theodore’s orations for the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year. Finally, Ken Parry asks whether the label “original thinker” can be applied to Theodore, discussing Theodore’s debt to the earlier theological and philosophical tradition. The importance of the use of Aristotelian logic by Theodore is a well-known phenomenon, but its true extent in Theodore’s work has been underestimated.

I would like to thank the various anonymous reviewers for their careful, competent and insightful evaluation of the papers. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to the editorial team of the *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* for having encouraged, supported and facilitated the publication of this cluster of articles on Theodore the Stoudite.

CHRISTOPHE ERISMANN

“To be circumscribed belongs to the essence of man”¹

Theodore of Stoudios on Individuality, Circumscription and Corporeality

Abstract: The concept of “circumscription” (περιγραφή) plays a crucial role in the argument in favour of images developed by Theodore the Stoudite in his *Antirrhetici*. Being circumscribed is the condition of the possibility of depiction, and more generally a characteristic of any being in the sensible world. This concept is traditional, but Theodore redefines anew its meaning thanks to several unprecedented statements about the kind of entities involved in the process of circumscription. For him, it is neither essences nor bodies which are circumscribed but hypostases. Theodore reaches this conclusion by drawing on Aristotelian logic. The resulting understanding of circumscription contributes to ensuring the coherence of his theory of icons.

“Circumscription” (περιγραφή) is the key concept of Theodore the Stoudite’s well-argued defence of images. His views on the topic are set out above all in his *Antirrhetici adversus iconomachos*, three treatises written during the first years of the second period of iconoclasm, probably not very long after the council of 815². The range of the term’s application—mainly the question of Christ’s circumscribability—is the central conceptual battleground with the iconoclasts’ arguments, ultimately inspired by Constantine V’s *Peuseis*, which deny that Christ could be circumscribed³. Perhaps more surprisingly, “circumscription” is also a central notion for Theodore’s ontology of the sensible world, i.e. for his explanation of the constitution and mode of being of things. Being circumscribed is for Theodore a fundamental feature of all created entities, from angels to animals. What is created is by definition circumscribed. God is not circumscribed, all the rest of the world is. The point at which he disagrees with iconoclasts is the following: for Theodore, if Christ did really become incarnate, i.e. did really become a man, then he has to be circumscribed, like every other human being. It is due to his circumscription that Christ is depictable in icons. The three concepts—incarnation, circumscription, depictability—are, for the abbot of the Stoudios monastery, indissolubly linked. The main argument of Theodore, often formulated in his *Antirrhetici*, may be reconstructed as follows:

¹ Theodore of Stoudios, *Antirrhetici*, III.α.3. The complete sentence reads as follows: Εἰ τὸ ἀπερίγραφτον οὐσίας ἐστὶ Θεοῦ, τὸ δὲ περιγραφτὸν οὐσίας ἀνθρώπου, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δὲ ὁ Χριστός (italics mine). Theodore’s Greek text is quoted after PG 99. Translations are originally from C. ROTH, Crestwood NY 2001, or T. CATTOI, New York – Mahwah NJ 2014), but have often been modified.

² On Theodore’s life (759–†826), see PMBZ #7574/corr.; the introduction (“Theodoros Studites’ Leben und Werk”) to the edition of the Letters, in G. FATOUROS (ed.), *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*. Berlin 1992, I 3*–38*; and T. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759–826). Zwischen Dogma und Pragma*. Frankfurt 1998. On Theodore’s contribution to icon-theology, see among others: V. GRUMEL, L’iconologie de Saint Théodore Studite. *EO* 20 (1921) 257–68; T. SIDERIS, The Theological Position of the Iconophiles during the Iconoclastic Controversy. *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 17.3 (1973) 210–26; K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and ninth Centuries*. Leiden – New York – Köln, 1996; M. BRATU, Quelques aspects de la théorie de l’icône de S. Théodore Stoudite. *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 77.3 (2003) 323–49; T. TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite’s Defence of the Icons. Theology and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Byzantium*. Oxford 2018.

³ The *Peuseis* of Constantine V are partly quoted by Nicephorus in order to refute them. They have been collected and edited in H. HENNEPHOF, *Textus Byzantinos ad Iconomachiam Pertinentes in Usus Academicum*. Leiden 1969, 52–7. A previous edition was included in G. OSTROGORSKY, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Bilderstreites*. Breslau 1929, 8–11. Constantine V’s main argument goes along the lines: to circumscribe Christ and to characterise his person leads one to consider him only as a creature (κτίσμα) and to omit his divine nature.

What is circumscribed, is depictable;
 all human beings are circumscribed;
 Christ is a real human being,
 therefore, he is circumscribed;
 therefore, he is depictable.

For Theodore, to negate the circumscription of Christ and his consequent depictability implies negation of the reality of the incarnation, as it amounts to a negation of the humanity of Christ⁴.

Surprisingly enough, given the abundant secondary scholarly literature on Theodore of Stoudios, several aspects of the concept of circumscription have not yet been properly analysed⁵. For example, the most basic issue regarding circumscription, namely what is circumscribed, has not been clarified, even if some hypotheses have been tacitly assumed. Basically, circumscription is an act of delimitation, of seclusion, of separation from something else. Further, it is clear by definition that, as an act, circumscription implies at least two elements, namely something which will be circumscribed and something that circumscribes it. Let us take as an example a field in the countryside. In order to have some circumscription, you need a field, which, after the act of circumscription, will be delimited and as such separated from the rest of the land and, secondly, a fence which limits it. In ontology, it works the same way: you need some entity which will be secluded by some other element. What circumscribes is explicitly listed by Theodore of Stoudios (III.α.13, 396A) in a key passage about the question; he says that circumscription is realised by “comprehension, quantity, quality, position, places, times, shapes, and bodies”; I will later come back to this passage, which is an interesting testimony to Theodore’s culture of Aristotelian logic. In secondary literature, several kinds of things have been claimed to be circumscribed according to Theodore: essences (like humanity), bodies, and accidents. On the basis of Theodore’s writings, it is possible to dismiss these claims, and to establish that he has a clear position on the question, one at odds with the traditional patristic understanding of the concept. I will argue that the entity which, according to Theodore, is circumscribed is the hypostasis. Thanks to this clarification of the components of the circumscription, it will be possible to reconstruct the very precise understanding of the concept that Theodore upholds. In what follows, I will proceed in several steps. I will first present the traditional meaning of the concept of circumscription, as it was used by the Cappadocian Fathers, who are, on this question as on so many others, the main sources not only for the late patristic tradition but also for the ninth century. I will then describe the basic components of Theodore’s ontology⁶—i.e. the kinds of entities he accepts in his explanation of the ontological structure of beings. I will further analyse the concept of circumscription according to Theodore’s perspective and propose a new reconstruction of his position, emphasizing his reliance on Aristotelian thought; I will proceed in two steps discussing successively two questions: first what circumscribes and then what is circumscribed. On this basis, I will suggest an interpretation of his motivation to depart from the traditional understanding of the concept; and finally, I will discuss one corollary of his position, namely the distinction between individuality and circumscription, and draw some conclusions about Theodore’s philosophical and logical culture.

⁴ Antirrhethici III.α.38: “but if He is not circumscribed, neither is he truly man as well as truly God. But he is truly man, and therefore truly circumscribed”.

⁵ On Theodore on circumscription, see M. BRATU, Les notions de circonscriptible et d’incirconscriptible chez Saint Nicéphore de Constantinople et Saint Théodore Stoudite. *Studia Historica et Theologica* (2003) 509–525; K. PARRY, Depicting 99–113; T. TOLLESEN, St Theodore 60–91; B. DALEY, God Visible. Patristic Christology Reconsidered. Oxford 2018, 255–260.

⁶ By ontology, I mean the philosophical study of what exists, the enquiry about kinds of beings.

THE TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPT OF CIRCUMSCRIPTION

The concept of circumscription had already had a long history when Theodore tackled this issue. In theology, it was mainly used with a negative prefix to insist on the fact that the divine nature is not limited. For a more precise and technical meaning, related both to ontology and to the problem of individuality, and helpful to describe created entities, we have to go back to the Cappadocian Fathers. They are maybe not the only source for iconophile theologians on this question, but they are definitely a central one. The concept of circumscription is used in a famous text, a letter about the distinction between *ousia* and *hypostasis* which was for long considered to be *Letter 38* of Basil of Caesarea and is now largely but not unanimously considered to be by Gregory of Nyssa⁷ and referred to as his *Letter 35, To Peter his own brother on the divine ousia and hypostasis*. In this text we find the following statement:

Τοῦτο οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις, οὐχ ἡ ἀόριστος τῆς οὐσίας ἔννοια μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ σηματομένου στάσιν εὐρίσκουσα, ἀλλ’ ἡ τὸ κοινόν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινόμενων ἰδιωμάτων παριστῶσα καὶ περιγράφουσα (Epistula 38 [§ 3, 8–12 COURTONNE]).

(This therefore is the hypostasis: not the indefinite notion of the essence, which finds no firm basis because of the commonality of what is signified, but [the hypostasis is] what gives stability and circumscribes the common and uncircumscribed in this given thing by the manifest properties.)

The terminology which will be used during the ninth century—ἀπερίγραπτον, περιγράφουσα and ἰδιωμάτων—together with the conceptual scheme are present: an indefinite entity without sensible particular existence gains reality, individuality and circumscription when it is instantiated by a particular sensible and defined entity, this hypostasis. As a concept the essence is not realised in individuals and therefore not circumscribed. It is something indefinite, but when it is realised in a precise hypostasis, i.e. in this given individual (the grammatical structure of the expression of Gregory of Nyssa ἐν τῷ τινὶ πράγματι indeed reminds one of Aristotle’s ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος of *Cat.* 2a11–14, as a reference to a single individual). By circumscribing the essence, the hypostasis gives it a sensible existence.

As often, the transmission of ideas, concepts and terminology to the ninth century is not necessarily a direct one. In this case, an extremely probable intermediary step has to be mentioned, an anonymous Christological florilegium called the *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*. The *Doctrina Patrum* was compiled by Anastasius Apocrisarius, a disciple of Maximus the Confessor, in the second half of the seventh century⁸. Our oldest copy of the text is an eighth/ninth-century manuscript, today the Vaticanus Graecus 2200 (*Diktyon* 68831)⁹. In a section about the difference between nature and hypostasis, the florilegium quotes, with only slight modifications, Gregory’s text:

⁷ On the question of the attribution of the letter to Gregory, see, among others, R. HÜBNER, Gregor von Nyssa als Verfasser der sog. Ep. 38 des Basilios. Zum unterschiedlichen Verständnis der ousia bei den kappadozischen Brüdern, in: *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, ed. J. Fontaine – Ch. Kannengiesser. Paris 1972, 463–490; J. ZACHUBER, Nochmals: Der “38. Brief” des Basilios von Cäsarea als Werk des Gregor von Nyssa. *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 7 (2003) 73–90.

⁸ Cf. F. DIEKAMP, *Doctrina Patrum de incarnatione Verbi*. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhunderts. Münster 1907, repr. 1981. This florilegium quotes principally theological authorities, but also, interestingly, Alexandrian philosophers, such as Elias and Stephanus.—It is worth noting that the florilegium was used in ninth-century Byzantium, as attested by the writings of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople from 805 to 815. On Nicephorus’ use of the florilegium, see LXXIV.

⁹ On this manuscript, see S. LILLA, *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 2162–2254 (Codices Columnenses)*. Vatican 1985. This manuscript has been digitised and is accessible online: http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.2200.

Τὸ μὲν τῆς οὐσίας ὄνομα ἀόριστον ἡμῖν τινα παρίστησιν ἔννοιαν, μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῆς κοινότητος τοῦ σημαινομένου στάσιν εὐρίσκουσιν. τὸ δὲ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τὸ κοινόν τε καὶ ἀπερίγραφτον ἐν τῷ τινι πράγματι διὰ τῶν ἐπιφαινομένων ιδιωμάτων παρίστησί τε καὶ περιγράφει (35.9–13 DIEKAMP).

A further testimony will illustrate the diffusion of the Cappadocian understanding of the concept of circumscription, which was soon to become a standard view among Chalcedonian theologians. This testimony is given by an adversary of Chalcedonian Christology, John Philoponus, in his *Arbiter*, a treatise in which he discusses the terminology used in the antagonistic Chalcedonian and Miaphysite Christological explanations (the term “Arbiter” is glossed by Philoponus in the title of his book as “the examiner of the words of the two sides that contend against each other on the Incarnation of God the *Logos*”). The entire *Arbiter* is preserved in Syriac but only fragments survive in Greek in the already mentioned *Doctrina Patrum* and in John of Damascus’s treatise *On heresies*, as well as in the theological writings of the late twelfth-century historian Nicetas Choniates¹⁰, a fact which allows us to assume that the Greek text of the *Arbiter* was still available in Constantinople before 1204¹¹. The seventh chapter of the *Arbiter* is relevant for the notion of circumscription. Before presenting his own view, Philoponus starts with a summary of the traditional view on nature and hypostasis, from which he already distances himself. This text is quoted in Greek both by the *Doctrina Patrum*¹² and by John of Damascus in his supplement to the *Heresy* 83:

Φύσιν μὲν οὖν οἶται τὸν κοινὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς μετεχόντων οὐσίας, ὡς ἀνθρώπου παντὸς τὸ ζῶον λογικὸν θνητὸν νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων διενήνοχεν. Οὐσίαν δὲ καὶ φύσιν εἰς ταυτὸν ἄγει. Ὑπόστασιν δὲ ἡγουν πρόσωπον τὴν ιδιοσύστατον τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως ὑπαρξιν καί, ἴν’ οὕτως εἶπω, περιγραφὴν ἐξ ιδιοτήτων τινῶν συγκειμένην, καθ’ ἃς ἀλλήλων οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς κεκοινωνηκότες φύσεως διαφέρουσι καί, συντόμως εἰπεῖν, ἅπερ ἄτομα προσαγορεύειν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Περιπάτου φίλον, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν κοινῶν γενῶν τε καὶ εἰδῶν ἀποτελεωτὰ διαίρεσις (Liber de haeresibus, Haeres. 83 addit. [51.31–38 KOTTER]).

(On the one hand, nature is believed to be the common explanation of those things which share the same essence; for example, being a rational animal which is mortal and capable of understanding and knowing [is common] to every man, for in this, no man differs [from the others]. And so essence and nature amount to the same thing. On the other hand, hypostasis, that is to say, person, is the concrete individual existence of each nature, and, so to speak, a circumscription made up of certain properties, by which those who have the same nature in common differ [from each other]. To speak briefly, those which the followers of Aristotle usually call “individuals”, in which the division of common genera and species comes to an end.)

It seems clear that the text could be read in the following way: Ὑπόστασιν περιγραφὴν (τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως) ἐξ ιδιοτήτων τινῶν συγκειμένην. The hypostasis is the circumscription of the nature thanks to particular properties.

An understanding of circumscription like the one described by Gregory of Nyssa, which will be diffused thanks to its later re-use or incorporation in popular florilegia such as the *Doctrina Patrum*, will become standard. It describes the circumscription of the common essence in a particular

¹⁰ U. M. LANG, Niketas Choniates, A Neglected Witness to the Greek Text of John Philoponus’ *Arbiter*. *Journal of Theological Studies* 48.2 (1997) 540–548.

¹¹ U. M. LANG, John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century. A study and translation of the *Arbiter*. Leuven 2001, 22: “it can reasonably be assumed that the *Arbiter* in its original language was still available to Niketas, when in the late twelfth century he added further source material to his history of the anti-Chalcedonian party.”

¹² *Doctrina Patrum* (274, 6–16 DIEKAMP).

entity, the hypostasis, thanks to individualising properties. Theodore will keep the same ontological components (nature or essence, hypostases and particularizing properties); he will also endorse the metaphysical thesis of the realisation of the universal essence in the particular hypostases; but he will nevertheless change the scope of the concept of circumscription, so that it may better fit his theory of icons.

THEODORE’S ONTOLOGICAL LEXICON

Before discussing Theodore of Stoudios’s views on circumscription, it is necessary to render more precisely some points of his conceptual terminology. This terminology is not specific to Theodore and is traditional. It stems from the Aristotelian and Porphyrian logical tradition through its Christian adaptation and from (late) patristic Christology.

Theodore’s ontology admits several kinds of entities in order to explain how reality is structured and how beings are constituted¹³. Three kinds of beings are relevant for our purpose:

The first kind of entities are essences or natures, like man; they cause what an individual is, for example Paul is a human being since he has the essence man. Specific essences or natures express the common definition (ὅρος); thus man is, for example, defined as “animate, rational, mortal, and capable of understanding and knowing” (ζῶον λογικόν, θνητόν, νοῦ καὶ ἐπιστήμης δεκτικόν, III.α.34, 405B). Essences and natures are the species of the individuals placed under them, like man is the essence and the species for all existing human beings. As such, they are universal entities in the sense that they are common to several distinct individuals; this is intended by Theodore when he says, using a logical vocabulary, that “this [the definition of man] does not define just Peter, but also Paul and John and all those who belong to the same species” (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μόνον Πέτρον ὀρίζει· ἀλλὰ γὰρ Παῦλον καὶ Ἰωάννην, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος, III.α.34).

This leads us to the second kind of entities in Theodore’s ontology, hypostases (ὑποστάσεις) or individuals (ἄτομοι). The two terms are of different origin, the first one is typical, in this meaning, in the Christian tradition, whereas the second goes back to Aristotle. They refer to individuals, like Peter, Paul or this cat. Only individuals are endowed with independent existence, as for Theodore, universals exist only as instantiated (or realised) in individuals¹⁴. Theodore expresses this point in a very Aristotelian way¹⁵: “Universals have their existence in individuals: for example, humanity (ἀνθρωπότης) in Peter and Paul and the others of the same species. If the individuals did not exist, the universal humanity would be eliminated.”¹⁶ We cannot expect a clearer Aristotelian statement. Universals have no existence separated from individuals. It is worth noting that Theodore makes his own a well-known principle stating that “there is no such thing as a nature that is not hypostasized”, i.e. realised in a hypostasis: οὐκ ἔστιν φύσις ἀνυπόστατος. Theodore quotes this principle in III.α.22. This principle, originally formulated by the Monophysites is a *topos* of Christological discussions

¹³ In his writings Theodore sets out elements of a constituent ontology. A constituent ontology is based on the conviction that properties are in some sense constituents of the particulars that have (or instantiate) them; in its Byzantine Aristotelian version, it means that an individual is constituted of essential properties (i.e., its essence) and of accidental properties.

¹⁴ On Theodore on universals, see C. ERISMANN, Photius and Theodore the Studite on the humanity of Christ. A neglected Byzantine discussion on universals. *DOP* 71 (2017) 175–192.

¹⁵ Also noted by Ch. SCHÖNBORN, L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques. Paris 1986, 219: “Dans un sens aristotélicien saint Théodore refuse de voir dans la nature commune, dans l’idée d’humanité, la vraie réalité de l’homme comme le pense le platonisme. Les existences individuelles ne sont pas des diminutions de ‘l’homme véritable idéal’; au contraire, il n’y a d’humanité que dans les individus subsistants. A cause de cela, l’homme considéré seulement en sa nature commune est un être de raison.”

¹⁶ *Antirrhethici* III.α.16: τὰ γὰρ καθόλου ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει· οἷον, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἐν Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁμοειδέσι. Μὴ δὲ τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα, ἀνῆρηται ὁ καθόλου ἀνθρώπος.

since Leontius of Byzantium (*Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* 1277d–1280a2¹⁷). Its philosophical implication is that for every existing nature, there is at least one individual instantiating it, i.e. a member of this species¹⁸.

Following Cappadocian teaching, Theodore of Stoudios affirms the unity of essence for all the members of the same species and places the difference between them not at the level of the essence—which is one and the same—but at that of the hypostases which are numerous: “Members of the same species are one in essence but hypostatically differentiated one from another: there is this one and there is that one” (III.α.21). Difference between individuals occurs at the level of hypostases. The difference between the individuals of the same species is constituted by the third kind of entities admitted by Theodore.

The third kind of entities are the accidental properties; they are called hypostatic properties or hypostatic idioms, as they belong to a given hypostasis. They include all the accidental properties possessed by an individual, and play a key role in Theodore’s ontology as they are the explanation of the individuality of individuals. Individuals of a same species—which are called ὁμοειδῆς ἄτομοι—are not distinguished by the essence, which is common to all the members of the species, but by accidental properties, which are proper to a given individual. Theodore follows here an explanation of individuality codified by Porphyry¹⁹. According to this pattern, every individual possesses a unique bundle of non-essential properties, the same collection of which cannot be found in any other individual. It is this unique bundle of properties which makes one individual distinct from other individuals of the same species, as the essence—the specific universal—is common to all the members of the species. The bundle is unique and particular, whereas the properties that compose it may be universal. Speaking of Peter, Theodore says, in a Porphyrian tone²⁰: “insofar as he adds along with the common definition certain properties, such as being hook-nosed or snub-nosed, having curly hair, a good complexion, bright eyes or whatever else characterizes his particular appearance, he is distinguished from the other individuals of the same species” (*Antirrhети* III.α.34)²¹. It is not clear whether Theodore thinks like Porphyry that the bundle of properties is unique or whether he considers each property as particular.

Theodore seems to use a rather limited list of hypostatic idioms, since when he describes an individual, he carefully limits his enumeration to depictable properties, like physical traits. The most

¹⁷ Leontius of Byzantium 132.26–134.3 (ed. B. DALEY. *Leontius of Byzantium. Complete Works*. Oxford 2017).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the significance of this axiom for the debate about the ontological status of universals, see C. ERISMANN *Non est natura sine persona*: the issue of uninstantiated universals from late Antiquity to the early Middle Ages, in: *Methods and Methodologies: Aristotelian Logic East and West, 500–1500*, ed. M. Cameron – J. Marenbon (*Investigating Medieval Philosophy* 2). Leiden 2010, 75–91.

¹⁹ The key text is the following: “Socrates is said to be an individual, and so are *this* white thing, and *this* person approaching, and the son of Sophroniscus (should Socrates be his only son). Such items are called individuals because each is constituted of proper features the assemblage of which will never be found the same in anything else—the proper features of Socrates will never be found in any other of the particulars. On the other hand, the proper features of man (I mean, of the common man) will be found the same in several items—or rather, in all particular men in so far as they are men” (*Eisagoge* 7.19–27 [Busse], transl. BARNES 8).

²⁰ Cf. *Eisagoge*, 8.13–16 (BUSSE), transl. BARNES 9: “One item is said to differ properly from a diverse item when it differs from it by an inseparable accident—inseparable accidents are, for example, blue-eyedness or hook-nosedness or even a hardened scar from a wound.”

²¹ The Greek of this passage contains two difficulties. The first one relates to the meaning of οὖλον, translated by the expression “curly hair” by both C. Roth and T. Cattoi, even if Theodore speaks only of οὖλον (and not for example of οὖλα κόμῃ). It seems possible that οὖλον may be caused by an error in the transmission of the text, i.e. a change in Porphyry’s expression in the aforementioned passage of οὐλή, as Porphyry speaks of “a hardened scar from a wound” (οὐλή ἐκ τραύματος ἐνσκιρθεῖσα). The second difficulty concerns the exact meaning of the adjective εὐόμματος, which is respectively translated as “keen-sighted” (LSJ), “having both eyes” in opposition to μονόφθαλμος (Lampe) or “schönäugig”, i.e. “having beautiful eyes” (LBG). Porphyry’s example is γλαυκότης, the blueness (of the eyes).

striking absence is relations (like “being the son of”), which are very often used when it comes to characterising a given individual. Profession (“being a doctor”) or intellectual capacities (“knowing grammar”) are not mentioned either²². This seems to indicate that he focuses on one of the various dimensions of the problem of individuality. For him, individuality is fundamentally understood as distinction, as separation from the other human beings or from the other members of the species. Individuality is the distinction of each and every individual from all other individuals, including those belonging to the same species. The high frequency of Greek verbs expressing the idea of differentiating of, separating from or distinguishing from—like διακρίνω or διαστέλλω—which Theodore uses, makes this clear from the lexical point of view; and there is no need to say that such an idea of differentiating is also behind the concept of περιγραφή, of circumscription. Circumscription is a way to separate something from other things, but which things and how?

WHAT CIRCUMSCRIBES?

In a highly significant passage, Theodore offers a list of the various kinds of circumscription:

“There are many species of circumscription (εἶδη περιγραφῆς)—comprehension (κατάληψις), quantity (ποσότης), quality (ποιότης), position (θέσις), places (τόποι), times (χρόνοι), shapes (σχήματα), bodies (σώματα)—all of which are denied in the case of God, for divinity has none of these” (III.α.13, 396A).

This passage allows several precisions regarding the concept of circumscription, but at the same time it raises a conceptual difficulty related to the concept of circumscription. Theodore lists here various ways of being circumscribed. One can, for example, be circumscribed by a body, if one is a corporeal entity, like a human being, or not, if one is an incorporeal entity like God.

As the concept of circumscription is traditional, we need first to establish what the proper contribution of Theodore to the understanding of the concept is and what has already been stated by his predecessors or contemporaries. As we have seen, the idea of circumscription is traditional in patristic discourse. Now, to determine precisely the peculiarity of Theodore’s position, we need to compare him with authors sharing his main concern—the defence of images—and who use the concept of circumscription in the same kind of perspective. The two closest comparanda are certainly John of Damascus and Nicephorus of Constantinople.

John of Damascus offers a definition of circumscription in his treatise *De fide orthodoxa*:

“Now, to be circumscribed means to be determined by place, time, or comprehension, while to be contained by none of these is to be uncircumscribed. So the divinity alone is uncircumscribed, who is without beginning and without end, who embraces all things and is grasped by no comprehension at all. [...] The angel, however, is circumscribed by time, because he had a beginning of being; and by place, even though it be spiritually, as we have said before; and by comprehension, because their natures are to some extent known to each other and because they are completely defined by the Creator; bodies (τὰ σώματα) are also circumscribed by beginning (ἀρχῇ), end (τέλει), corporeal place (τόπῳ σωματικῷ) and comprehension (καταλήψει).” (De fide orthodoxa I.13 [39.42–50 KOTTER])

²² For a discussion of a far more extensive list of hypostatic idioms also given by a ninth-century author, see C. ERISMANN, Meletius Monachus on individuality: a ninth-century Byzantine medical reading of Porphyry’s Logic. *BZ* 110.1 (2017) 37–60.

Nicephorus (*PG* 100, 356B–357A) follows John and mentions four kinds of circumscription, by place, time, beginning and comprehension²³. He explains the last one by adding that being circumscribed by comprehension is that which is understood by thought and knowledge (διανοία καὶ γνώσει, 356D). For Nicephorus, this mode is the one by which the angels mutually know their nature. He clearly states that the list is complete and that what is not circumscribed by one of these kinds of circumscription is not circumscribable.

So, if we summarize the three accounts of circumscription, we have the following list of circumscribing items:

John of Damascus	Nicephorus	Theodore
Comprehension	comprehension	comprehension
Time	time	times
Beginning	beginning	
End		
Place	place	places
corporeal place		quantity
		quality
		position
		shapes
		bodies

It clearly appears that Theodore integrates the traditional elements. *Beginning* and *end* are not listed as such, but it is not difficult to see them as subsumed under *times*. The same goes for *corporeal place* under *place*. So we can clearly see that Theodore added five elements to his list of the species of circumscription, namely, quantity (ποσότης), quality (ποιότης), position (θέσις), shapes (σχήματα) and bodies (σώματα).

The main difficulty for a correct assessment of Theodore's passage consists in the proper evaluation of the terms added. First, one should note that Theodore speaks of *species* (εἶδη) of circumscription. The term εἶδος is technical and is used in classification of the various subdivisions of a given genus²⁴. This immediately places the passage in the field of logic. There is a general agreement in secondary literature that some of the terms listed in the passage are related to Aristotle's *Categories*. I would like to claim that, in fact, all the terms added by Theodore are related to the Aristotelian treatise, being either a category—i.e. one of the ten highest genera of things or beings (τῶν ὄντων, *Cat.* 1a20) or a subdivision of one of them²⁵.

²³ On Nicephorus on circumscription, see P. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford 1958, 206–213.

²⁴ Theodore knows well this technical sense of the term εἶδος, which is attested in the following passage: “εἶδος is said of what is distinguished from genus [i.e. the species]: for example, man in general (ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος)”, *Antirrhetici* III.δ.13, 433C.

²⁵ Places and times are indeed related to the *Categories* as well. At first glance, places (τόποι) indeed remind one of the category of where (ποῦ) and times of the category of when (πότε). But they could also be related to the category of quantity. In a passage about delimitation—exactly the topic Theodore is discussing!—Aristotle says in the *Categories*: *Cat.* 5a: “Similarly in the case of a body (ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος) one could find a common limit (κοινὸν ὅρον)—a line or a surface—at which the parts of the body join together. Time (χρόνος) also and place (τόπος) are of this kind. For present time joins on to both past time and future time. Place, again, is one of the continuous quantities. For the parts of a body occupy some place, and they join together at a common limit. So the parts of the place occupied by the various parts of the body, themselves join together at

Quantity (ποσότης) is Aristotle’s second category, which is also referred to as ποσόν.

Quality (ποιότης) is Aristotle’s third category, also called ποιόν.

Position²⁶ (θέσις) is a species of the fourth category, the category of relatives (πρός τι)²⁷. Aristotle says in *Categories* 6b3–6 that: “The following, too, and their like, are among relatives: state, condition, perception, knowledge, *position*” (ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν πρὸς τι οἶον ἔξις, διάθεσις, αἴσθησις, ἐπιστήμη, θέσις·)²⁸. He explains a bit later that “A state is called a state of something, knowledge knowledge of something, *position position of something*, and the rest similarly.” (6b6 for καὶ ἡ θέσις τινὸς θέσις). Theodore probably chooses this precise species of relatives as it is depictable, as opposed to several other species of relations, like friendship, filiation, paternity or brotherhood.

Shapes (σχήματα) also come from the *Categories*. Σχήμα is, together with form, the fourth species of quality as stated by Aristotle in *Categories* 10a11–10a16:

“A fourth kind of quality is shape and the external form of each thing, and in addition straightness and curvedness and anything like these. For in virtue of each of these a thing is said to be qualified somehow; because it is a triangle or square it is said to be qualified somehow, and because it is straight or curved. And in virtue of its form each thing is said to be qualified somehow.”

In his commentary on the *Categories*, Ammonius mentions shape together with form as the last of the four pairs of species of quality: τέταρτον σχῆμα καὶ μορφήν (81.7). “Bear in mind that Aristotle provides us with four species of quality: 1. State and condition; 2. Capacity and incapacity; 3. Affective quality and affection; 4. Figure and shape.”

The insistence on qualities—expressed by a double occurrence in the list—is easy to explain by Theodore’s concern with depictability. Qualities are the most easily depicted properties.

Bodies (σώματα) have been mentioned by John of Damascus but as something which is circumscribed, and not as something which circumscribes, so this element constitutes a real addition by Theodore. Body is not as such a concept of the *Categories* but it belongs to its interpretative context. One should never forget that a Byzantine reader of logic, when thinking about essence or *ousia*, would immediately have in mind the famous division of *ousia* better known by the appellation of Porphyry’s tree²⁹. The first division which occurs is the division of *ousia* between body (σῶμα) and incorporeal (ἀσώματον). This scheme is frequently represented in manuscripts according to the following outline:

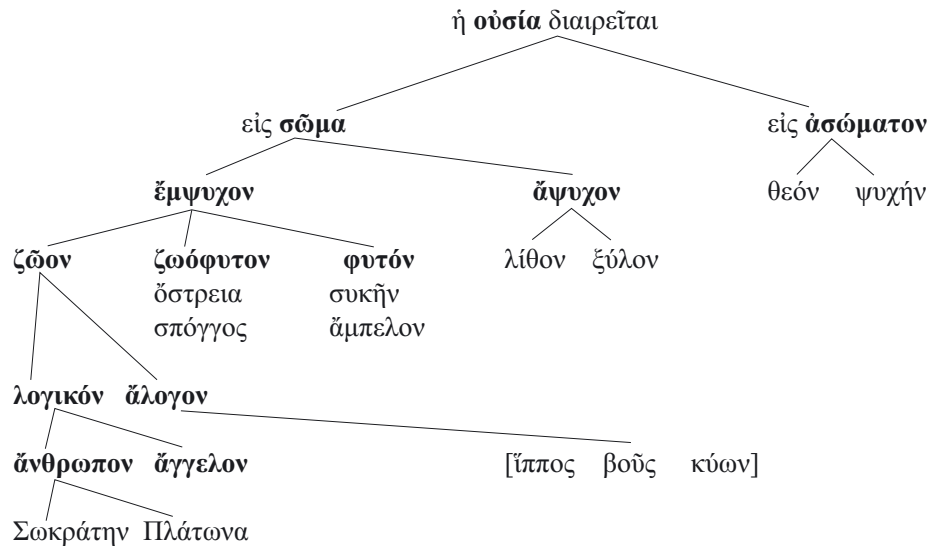
the same limit at which the parts of the body do. Thus place also is a continuous quantity, since its parts join together at one common limit.”

²⁶ Theodore gives the following examples in III.α.13: “He ... stood, sat, and lay down.”

²⁷ So T. TOLLEFSEN’s comment that “However, relation (πρός τι, σχέσις) is among important items that are missing”, p. 38, has to be nuanced as relatives (πρός τι) are mentioned through one of their species.

²⁸ It is also listed by the commentators, like Olympiodorus (in cat. 99.21–23) and Elias (in cat. 202.11–13) in their lists of the ten species of relatives (τὰ εἶδη τῶν πρὸς τι).

²⁹ Here is the famous text by Porphyry which is the basis of the diagram: “Essence is itself a genus. Under it is body, and under body animate body, under which is animal; under animal is rational animal, under which is man; and under man are Socrates and Plato and particular men. Of these items, essence is the most general and is only a genus, while man is the most special and is only a species. Body is a species of essence and a genus of animate body. Animate body is a species of body and a genus of animal. Again, animal is a species of animate body and a genus of rational animal. Rational animal is a species of animal and a genus of man. Man is a species of rational animal, but not a genus of particular men—only a species” (4.21–32 [BUSSE], transl. BARNES 6, slightly modified).



Σῶμα is one of the species of *ousia*. So we have to keep this in mind when we come across the concept in Theodore's writings. A body is indeed an organised set of accidental properties—mainly quantities and qualities—but being a body, in a more general characterisation, is also one of the most generic characteristics of beings for the entire Aristotelian tradition. As Porphyry says, “Body is a species of essence and a genus of animate body”. Being a body is part of the essence of all existing things except God. From his mention of the two opposite couples rational/irrational and animate/inanimate (ἐν τε λογικοῖς καὶ ἀλόγοις· ἐν ἐμψύχοις καὶ ἄψύχοις) in I.12 it is obvious that Theodore knows the Porphyrian structure.

The fact that body is listed among the kinds of circumscription is interesting, because it states that body is not something which *is* circumscribed, but something which circumscribes. So bodies could not be the thing which is circumscribed. This is an important point to which we will come back.

It means that we obtain the following presence of Aristotle's categories in Theodore's list of circumscribing elements:

Aristotle	Theodore
Essence (<i>ousia</i>)	Body (species of essence)
Quantity	Quantity
Quality	Quality + shapes (species of quality)
Relatives	Position
Where	Places
When	Times

We should also have a look at what Theodore chose not to mention in his list, i.e. the four last categories (Categories 1b25–2a4): the seventh, posture or being in a position (κεῖσθαι); the eighth, having (ἔχειν); the ninth, acting or doing (ποιεῖν); and the tenth, being acted upon or being affected (πάσχειν). We can claim that the category of κεῖσθαι is covered by the mention of position, which though being among relatives is also linked to it. Not mentioning the category of having is easy to explain, it may not be a circumscription. Having is related to an external object. The same reasoning goes for acting and suffering, which cannot express a circumscription; they are interactions with something or someone else. They require already existing entities. So Theodore's list includes all

the categories which could contribute to the delimitation of an entity. An entity is delimited or circumscribed by its body, which contains qualitative properties (shapes, colours, etc.) and quantitative properties (size, weight, etc.), the position of this body, and its spatio-temporal dimensions.

By this characterisation of circumscription Theodore gave a definitely Aristotelian flavour to the concept, using all the applicable categories.

The passage nevertheless presents a difficulty. The way in which it is phrased raises the question whether circumscription is a unique phenomenon or a multiple one, i.e. if one given object is circumscribed once but by several properties, or if every property among the properties listed below causes a (partial) circumscription. It seems reasonable to think that circumscription is done once by several properties. For the properties listed by Theodore are mutually inclusive, and it is not possible to have one without having the other. For example, if a given entity has a body and is circumscribed through it, it is clear that this entity has also a place, a posture, at least all the qualities and quantities of its body.

WHAT IS CIRCUMSCRIBED?

Theodore has a precise view on the question. He presents it notably as follows:

“The same applies to the case of Christ. It is not because of the fact that He is simply man, along with being God, that Christ can be portrayed; but rather because He is differentiated by his hypostatic properties from all others individuals of the same species. He is crucified and has a certain appearance. Therefore, Christ is circumscribed in respect to hypostasis (καθ’ ὑπόστασιν), but he is uncircumscribed in his divinity or with respect to the natures of which he is composed” (Antirrhetici III.α.34).

This fundamental passage contains both a *pars destruens* and a *pars construens*. I start with the negation. Theodore says that the natures of which Christ is composed are not circumscribed. A part of this statement is obvious, as Christ’s divine essence is not circumscribed, since divinity is by definition not circumscribable. This is often claimed both by iconoclasts and by Theodore (cf. Antirrhetici III.α.3: “uncircumscribability belongs to God’s essence”). The more innovative part of the statement is the clear negation of the circumscription of Christ’s human nature. As nature and essence are the same thing, it means that Theodore explicitly rejects the traditional understanding of circumscription according to which the nature or essence is circumscribed in the hypostasis. So the essence or the nature is not what is circumscribed³⁰. Christ is circumscribed in respect to his hypostasis. The entity which, according to Theodore, is circumscribed is the hypostasis.

This is confirmed in several other passages in which we find similar statements.

In *Antirrhetici* III.α.17, Theodore equates hypostasis and circumscription: “when I say ‘man’, I mean the common essence. When I add ‘a’, I mean *the hypostasis*: that is the self-subsisting existence of that which is signified, and (so to speak) *the circumscription by certain properties* through which those who share the same nature differ one from another, like for example, Peter and Paul” (italics mine).

In III.α.24 he states clearly: “but if it is true [that he assumed humanity], as we confess, then the *hypostasis of Christ is circumscribed* (περιγραπτὴ ἡ Χριστοῦ ὑπόστασις), not according to the divinity, which no one ever saw, but according to the humanity which is considered in an individual manner

³⁰ This point has been well noted by T. TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore* 37: “Theodore says that ‘nature’ as such is not circumscribed” but without further comment.

in the hypostasis.” He states clearly that it is the hypostasis which is circumscribed; this is possible because this hypostasis is also the hypostasis of a man, an instantiation of the human nature. A purely divine hypostasis would indeed not be circumscribable.

Why did Theodore choose such a metaphysical view? And further, if our claim that this represents a rupture with the authoritative patristic view is correct, why did he introduce such a break? Why did he not follow the tradition and several of his influential predecessors and admit that the hypostasis circumscribes the nature or essence? The answer is clear: this would be of no help for his icon-theology and would not sustain his refutation of the iconoclasts’ arguments. In order to be coherent, his theory of icons needs a different view of circumscription than the traditional one. We have to remember that circumscription is what allows representation for Theodore. Circumscription is the condition of the possibility of depictability. Something can be represented only if it has been previously circumscribed. Or what is represented in an icon according to Theodore? Not the essence but the hypostasis. Theodore is crystal clear on this point (Antirrhети III.α.34, 405AB): “In the case of anyone represented pictorially it is not the nature but the hypostasis which is represented” (Παντὸς εἰκονιζομένου, οὐχ ἡ φύσις, ἀλλ’ ἡ ὑπόστασις). Theodore develops this point, displaying his logical culture in the process: “For example, Peter is not portrayed insofar as he is animate, rational, mortal, and capable of understanding and knowing; for this does not define only Peter, but also Paul and John, and all of the same species. But insofar as he adds along with the common definition certain properties, such as being hook-nosed or snub-nosed, having curly hair, a good complexion, bright eyes or whatever else characterises his particular appearance, he is distinguished from the other individuals of the same species” (III.α.34, 405BC). This text shows well that it is not Peter’s essence—i.e. the set of essential properties common to all human beings, like rationality and mortality—which is represented, but the properties which constitute his hypostasis and distinguish him from all the other men. So, if circumscription is the condition for the depiction and if the entity which is represented is the hypostasis, then it has to be the hypostasis which is circumscribed. A circumscribed essence would not help, as it is not the essence which is depicted. Theodore claims circumscription for the entity which is represented, the hypostasis.

Now that we know what circumscribes and what is circumscribed, it is possible to clarify one further aspect of Theodore’s view on circumscription, the distinction between individuality and circumscription.

INDIVIDUALITY AS A CONDITION FOR CIRCUMSCRIPTION

If it is the hypostasis that is circumscribed, then it is clear that Theodore distinguishes individuality and circumscription, as the hypostasis is by definition individual. So if what is circumscribed is already individual “before” circumscription, then circumscription is not a kind of individualisation. But there is more; not only does Theodore establish a clear distinction between individuality and circumscription³¹, but he also states an equally clear link of what follows from what. Individuality for Theodore is the condition of circumscription. It is because an entity—the hypostasis—is individual that it is circumscribed. In III.α.36, Theodore states that a universal entity is, by definition, not circumscribable: “Every moving creature is not the species, as defined in general—for it is invisible, formless, shapeless and therefore uncircumscribable—but is rather the individual which naturally consists of properties.” A species, or a genus, as a universal entity is not visible—as is well known,

³¹ TOLLEFSEN, St Theodore 65, considers individuation and circumscription as two ways to describe the same thing (“the problem of individuation or, in other words, of circumscription”). I think that we have to distinguish the two, as the first is a *conditio sine qua non* of the second.

I see this horse, but never equinity as such—, nor perceptible or endowed with what circumscribes like forms and shapes.

They are different steps of the process. The essence is realised in a hypostasis, and on this basis thanks to the hypostasis it is possible to say that it is circumscribed. The sequence of what follows from what is not chronological, as the two elements appear simultaneously, but metaphysical. First an essence has to be realised in a hypostasis, i.e. in an individual characterised by his hypostatic properties (τοῖς ὑποστατικοῖς ιδιώμασι κεχακτηρισμένος, Antirrheticī III.α.20, 400AB). This is the metaphysical condition for circumscription. Then, “because” the hypostasis is constituted, circumscription can occur. Theodore formulates it about Christ as follows, but the principle is the same for other individuals:

“[Christ] is differentiated from all other men by his hypostatic properties; *and because of this*, he is circumscribed” (Antirrheticī III.α.19; italics are mine).

That causality is at play is clear—καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιγραφόμενος—, it is because Christ, as hypostasis, is distinct from all the other members of the species, that he can be circumscribed. Individuality is the condition for circumscription. Theodore states this explicitly when he says “Therefore, although he assumed the universal [human] nature, yet he assumed it as considered in an individual; for this reason, the possibility of circumscription exists (ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ τὸ περιγράφεσθαι πέφυκε)” (III.α.17).

So, the essence or nature is realised in a hypostasis which is individual, i.e. distinct from others of the same species, due to its properties. Only then, the hypostasis is circumscribed in its body and by the other properties which circumscribes it.

The theoretical advantage of Theodore’s solution is real, as it allows one to work with two different sets of properties, one for the explanation of the individuality of the individual and another for his circumscription and its depictability. The second set is responsible for the appearance of the individual and is mainly related to his body. It is mostly composed of physical traits and dispositions of the body (with some spatio-temporal properties which are indeed related to the place of the individual’s body at a given place at a given time). Theodore equates circumscription and tangibility (τὸ ψηλαφητόν III.α.12). For him the circumscription is fundamentally related to the possession of a body. Only bodily creatures are circumscribed—the body may be immaterial like for angels, but this is only a very special case.

On the other hand, it is problematic to link individuality to physical characteristics, as they are changing. One of the problems with an explanation of individuality through accidental properties is the identity of the individual through time. Socrates with ten kilos more or less should still be Socrates. In order to avoid the problem, preference is usually given to stable—not to say inseparable—accidental properties, like the shape of the nose, the colour of the eyes and, on occasion, scars, as they will accompany the individual during his entire life. For circumscription, on the other hand, there is no problem if the properties change. It is fine to admit that the representation of the young Christ does not look the same as a thirty-year old Christ.

The icon represents, as was already well noted by the iconoclast John the Grammarian³², only a part of the properties of an individual; it includes the properties involved in circumscription. Several

³² See J. GOUILLARD, Fragments inédits d’un antirrhétique de Jean le Grammairien. *REB* 24 (1966) 171–181, and, for a diplomatic edition, A. EVDOKIMOVA, An Anonymous Treatise against the Iconoclastic Patriarch John the Grammarian. *Scrinium* 7 (2011) 144–168. John states that the accidents which make this individual particular and distinguish him from the other members of the same species are in no way to be comprehended in a visual way. His justification is that neither his ancestry, nor his fatherland, his profession, his acquaintances, nor his praiseworthy or dishonourable conduct can be made known by any device whatsoever except that of discourse so that it is impossible truly to distinguish a given human being through likenesses (ff. 202^v–203^r).

properties are not depicted, for we have seen that essential properties are not depicted as, in addition to being extremely difficult to represent (how do you depict rationality?), they are part of the common essence and are not proper to this individual. Several immaterial properties are not depicted as well—like some kinds of relations, being the son of Peter for example, place of birth, family origin, some intellectual capacities, knowledge, experiences, deeds—even if these properties are crucial in constituting the individuality of the individual. But as the two aspects of the question are separated, this is no problem for Theodore, who clearly distinguishes between being a hypostasis, i.e. an individual, and being circumscribed. As the fact that Peter is a hypostasis and the fact that Peter is circumscribed are two separated—though correlated—ontological facts, they do not have to be explained by the same causes.

CONCLUSION

Theodore of Stoudios inherits a traditional concept, which he finds partly inadequate for the problem he has to solve. His main concern is to safeguard the legitimacy of the representation of existent sensible creatures. In order to ensure the maximal coherence of his theory of icons, he decided to apply the concept of circumscription not to essence, but to hypostasis, i.e. to what is depicted. In order to do this, he felt the need to give a more precise account of the concept. He did so by drawing on his logical education. His understanding of circumscription implies, as we have seen, several logical tools: the Aristotelian doctrine of the ten categories, the structure of Porphyry's tree, the distinction between universals and particulars (here often in the form of the distinction between essence or nature and hypostasis), and the Porphyrian explanation of individuality through accidental properties. Here as well³³, Theodore uses his logical culture to strengthen his theological view on icons³⁴.

³³ Other examples of the use of logic are the understanding of the prototype and the image as Aristotelian relatives and the use of the Aristotelian doctrine of homonyms in the case of Christ and the image of Christ; on Theodore and Aristotelian logic, see K. PARRY, Aristotle and the Icon: The Use of the Categories by Byzantine Iconophile Writers, in: Aristotle's Categories in the Byzantine, Arabic and Latin Traditions, ed. S. Ebbesen – J. Marenbon – P. Thom. Copenhagen 2013, 35–57; T. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS, Aristotle and Byzantine Iconoclasm. *GRBS* 53 (2013) 763–90; C. ERISMANN Venerating Likeness: Byzantine Iconophile Thinkers on Aristotelian Relatives and their Simultaneity. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 24/3 (2016) 405–425, and C. ERISMANN, The depicted man. On a fortunate ninth century byzantine afterlife of the Aristotelian logical doctrine of homonyms, *GRBS* 59 (2019) 311–339.

³⁴ This paper was written under the auspices of the research project “Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions” (9 SALT) generously granted by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 648298). I am especially indebted to the two anonymous reviewers of the *JÖB* for their insightful remarks. I would also like to thank Byron MacDougall, Christian Gastgeber and Dirk Krausmüller for their comments.

DIRK KRAUSMÜLLER

On the Relation between the Late Antique and Byzantine Christological Discourses

*Observations about Theodore the Stoudite's Third Antirrheticus**

Abstract: In his *Third Antirrheticus* Theodore the Stoudite made use of older texts. An important source of inspiration was an excerpt from John Philoponus' treatise *Arbiter* that was included in the *Doctrina Patrum*, together with glosses by an unknown Chalcedonian theologian. In one argument Theodore follows the Chalcedonian glossator in rejecting Philoponus' view that hypostatic idioms only distinguish from each other members of the same species. Yet in another argument he reproduces a definition of hypostasis that had been formulated by Philoponus in order to explain what he means by a certain human being. As a result he can no longer uphold the difference between hypostasis on the one hand and certain human being or individual on the other, which was the mainstay of his icon theology.

At the heart of the iconoclast controversy was the question whether the devotion shown to images of Christ was idolatry or a legitimate expression of the Christian faith. Yet neither iconoclasts nor iconophiles contented themselves with debating religious practice. They also sought to disqualify their adversaries by presenting them as followers of Late Antique heretics. According to iconoclast authors the belief that the incarnated Word could be represented through images necessarily resulted in a Nestorian Christology whereas iconophiles accused their opponents of holding Monophysite views. Thus one can ask: how much did the iconoclasts and iconophiles of the eighth and ninth centuries know about Late Antique Christological speculation? were they conversant with the ways in which the formula of Chalcedon had been explained and defended against attacks? These questions are of great importance. If we can answer them we can get a much better understanding of the Byzantine theological discourse. The present article focuses on the *Third Antirrheticus* of Theodore the Stoudite, which contains arguments that seek to relate the debate about icons to the controversies about the incarnation.

* * *

Theodore the Stoudite (759–826) is undoubtedly one of the most impressive figures in Byzantine history. Scion of a family of high-ranking bureaucrats he received a sound grammatical and rhetorical education. Later he became caught up in the coenobitic revival of the late eighth century and decided not to follow in his father's footsteps but to become a monk¹. When the Second Iconoclasm broke out, Theodore, by then an abbot, became one of the leaders of the iconophile faction. In letters and treatises he developed a theological model that could justify the veneration of images of Christ². In

* This article is part of the Project "Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions" (9 SALT) that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 648298).

¹ On Theodore's biography see Th. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) zwischen Dogma und Pragma (BBS 4)*. Berlin 1998. On his activity as abbot and spiritual father see R. CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite. The Ordering of Holiness (Oxford Theological Monographs)*. Oxford 2002.

² There exists a rich secondary literature on Theodore's icon theology. See V. GRUMEL, *L'iconologie de saint Théodore Stoudite*. *EO* 20 (1921) 257–268; P. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image-Worship in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford 1958, 191–194; J. MEYENDORFF, *L'image du Christ d'après Théodore Stou-*

order to make his case he had to show first of all that Christ was depictable. He did so by claiming that the human nature of Christ was endowed with individual characteristics, which could be perceived by the senses. Such a theory had to be formulated with great care since otherwise it might result in a heretical position. The problem is aptly summarised by Tollefsen: “Theodore must show exactly how human nature exists in a particularised way in Christ, without achieving a hypostatic status of its own.”³ If it was not solved, Theodore’s icon theology could be denounced as Nestorian. Theodore’s take on this “problème épineux” was to distinguish between individualisation and hypostatisation⁴. He averred that endowment with hypostatic idioms in itself did not constitute a hypostasis and that the individualised human nature could therefore be assumed into the one hypostasis of the divine Word⁵.

Theodore did not create this argument from scratch. It is already found in Late Antique theological texts. His indebtedness to tradition has long been recognised. There is agreement that Theodore adopted the concept of a composite or common hypostasis from his Chalcedonian forebears. Yet it is not so easy to establish which texts were available to him. Bratu, for example, suggests that he adopted Leontius of Byzantium’s concept of *enhypostaton*⁶. This hypothesis, however, must be rejected since in his treatise *Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos* Leontius makes it clear that the flesh as *enhypostaton* is not individualised⁷. It was only in the seventh century that individual characteristics were attributed to the *enhypostaton*⁸. Since Theodore never refers to the concept we do not know whether he was familiar with it at all⁹. We are on firmer ground when we can identify outright quotations from earlier Christological writings. Study of the contexts in which these quotations originally appeared reveals that Theodore knew different models and that he chose the one that he considered most suitable. He did not, however, always succeed in integrating existing arguments into his own conceptual framework.

The relevant passages are found in the first section of Theodore’s *Third Antirrheticus*, which bears the title “about the depiction on images of Christ in the body” (περὶ τῆς ἐν σώματι εἰκονογραφίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ)¹⁰. The first to be discussed starts with the summary of an iconoclast argument, which Theodore then refutes.

dite, in: *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l’Antiquité et du Moyen Age*. Paris 1968, 115–117; IDEM, *Le Christ dans la théologie byzantine*. Paris 1969, 253–263; C. SCOUTERIS, *La personne du Verbe Incarnée*, in: Nicée II, 787–1987. Douze siècles d’images religieuses, ed. F. Boespflug – N. Lossky. Paris 1978, 121–133; Ch. SCHÖNBORN, *L’icône du Christ. Fondements théologiques*. Paris 1986, 217–234; H. G. THÜMMEL, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit. Arbeiten zur Auseinandersetzung über die Ikone und ihre Begründung vornehmlich im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert*. Würzburg 1991, 46–51, 110–114; K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*. Leiden – New York – Cologne 1996; M. BRATU, *Quelques aspects de la théorie de l’icône de S. Théodore Stoudite*. *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 77 (2003), 323–349; G. TSIGARAS, *Ἡ εἰκονολογία τοῦ Θεοδώρου Στουδίτη*. Salonika 2011; Ch. ERISMANN, *Venerating Likeness: Byzantine Iconophile Thinkers on Aristotelian Relatives and their Simultaneity*. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 24 (2016) 405–425; T. Th. TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite’s Defence of the Icons. Theology and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Byzantium (Oxford Early Christian Studies)*. Oxford 2018.

³ TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite* 87–88.

⁴ See BRATU, *Quelques aspects* 337.

⁵ See MEYENDORFF, *L’image du Christ* 116; IDEM, *Le Christ* 253, 257; SCHÖNBORN, *L’icône du Christ* 220–221; SCOUTERIS, *La personne* 131; THÜMMEL, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit* 47; BRATU, *Quelques aspects* 335–337.

⁶ See BRATU, *Quelques aspects* 337. See also TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite* 73.

⁷ See D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Making sense of the formula of Chalcedon: the Cappadocians and Aristotle in Leontius of Byzantium’s Contra Nestorianos et Eutychianos*. *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011) 484–513.

⁸ See B. GLEED, *The Development of the Term ἐνυπόστατος from Origen to John of Damascus (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae 113)*. Leiden – Boston 2012, 144–145.

⁹ On the same problem in another context, see PARRY, *Depicting the Word* 109.

¹⁰ *Antirrheticus* III, 1 (PG 99, 389C–416C). The remaining parts of the *Third Antirrheticus* (PG 99, 417A–436A) are devoted to other aspects of Theodore’s icon theology, such as the question of veneration. Theodore’s other works are equally irrelevant

Ἀντίθεσις ὡς ἐκ τῶν Εἰκονομάχων· Εἰ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑποστάσει ἀνείληφε τὴν ἀνθρωπεῖαν φύσιν ὁ Λόγος· ἐπειδὴ αὕτη ἀόρατος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, εἰ σχηματισθεῖ διὰ περιγραφῆς ἕτερον πρόσωπον εἰσκριθήσεται τῇ Χριστοῦ ὑποστάσει· τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἄτοπον· καὶ τῆς Νεστορίου αἰρέσεως σύμμαχον, δυνάδα προσώπων ἐν Χριστῷ πρεσβεύειν¹¹.

(Objection as from the iconoclasts: If the Word has assumed the human nature into his own hypostasis, since he [sc. the World] is invisible and lacking in shape, if he were given shape by circumscription, another person would be introduced into the hypostasis of Christ. But this is absurd and supportive of the Nestorian heresy, to advocate a duality of persons in Christ¹².)

The purpose of this argument is to prove that Christ cannot be depicted. It is averred that acceptance of such a possibility would result in a Nestorian position, that is, it would amount to acceptance of two separate, human and divine, hypostases in the incarnated Word. Disqualifying a new theological position by comparing it with teachings that had been condemned in the past was a time-honoured practice¹³. What is more startling is the fact that the argument is at odds with Chalcedonian orthodoxy. The iconoclasts' claim that the shape of the humanity must be dissolved because the divinity has no shape is highly problematic. It directly contradicts the creed of Chalcedon, which asserts that the hypostasis of the incarnated Word contains the properties of the human and divine natures without confusion. If one took the argument at face value, one would have to conclude that it reflects an extreme Monophysite position¹⁴. It can, of course, not be excluded that Theodore manufactured the argument. However, one should not dismiss the possibility that it was formulated by an iconoclast author. After all, Emperor Constantine V had also reasoned in a manner that laid him open to accusations of Monophysitism¹⁵.

It is evident that this argument could be knocked down with a feather by anyone who had an inkling of Chalcedonian theology. Indeed, Theodore makes short work of it in his response.

Πρὸς τοῦτο λύσις· Εἰ τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν σάρκα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου ἰδίαν ἔχειν ὑπόστασιν ἔφαμεν, εἶχεν ἂν τὸ εἶκος ὁ λόγος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δόξαν, τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν κοινὴν γενέσθαι τῶν δύο φύσεων ὑπόστασιν ὁμολογοῦμεν, ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑποστήσασαν, μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοειδῶν ἀφοριζόντων αὐτὴν ἰδιωμάτων, εἰκότως τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν ἀπερίγραπτον μὲν φαίμεν κατὰ τὴν τῆς θεότητος φύσιν· περιγεγραμμένην δὲ κατὰ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐσίαν· οὐκ ἐν ἰδιοσυστάτῳ καὶ ἰδιοπεριγράφῳ προσώπῳ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἐσχηκῶσαν· ὡς ἂν μὴ εἴη φύσις ἀνυπόστατος· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει) ὡς ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένην καὶ περιγραφομένην.¹⁶

to the issue. He sets out various aspects of his icon theology in his letters, ed. G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae (CFHB, Series Berolinensis 31)*. Berlin, I 1990, II 1992. See *Ep.* 57 (I 164–168 FATOUROS), *Ep.* 409 (II 568–570 FATOUROS), *Ep.* 428 (II 599–600 FATOUROS), *Ep.* 499 (II 737–738 FATOUROS), *Ep.* 528 (II 788–791 FATOUROS), *Ep.* 546 (II 825–827 FATOUROS). The hypostatic idioms of the human nature are mentioned in *Ep.* 380 (II 514 FATOUROS), without further discussion of their ontological status. The same applies to the *Second Antirrheticus* (PG 99, 352–388), the *Refutation of the Iconoclast Poems* (PG 99, 436–477), the *Problemata* (PG 99, 477–485), and the *Seven Chapters* (PG 99, 485–497). The only exception is *Antirrheticus I*, 3 (PG 99, 332B–334A), for which see note 34.

¹¹ *Antirrheticus III*, 1, 22 (PG 99, 400C2–9).

¹² Translation by Th. CATTOI, *Theodore the Studite: Writings on Iconoclasm (Ancient Christian Writers 69)*. New York – Mahwah, NJ 2015, 95, with modifications.

¹³ On this phenomenon in general, see M. F. WILES, *Archetypal Heresy: Arianism through the Centuries*. Oxford 1996.

¹⁴ See PARRY, *Depicting the Word* 101; TSIGARAS, *Ἡ εἰκονολογία* 202–203.

¹⁵ See L. BRUBAKER – J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History*. Cambridge 2010, 180, 192.

¹⁶ *Antirrheticus III*, 1, 22 (PG 99, 400C10–D11).

(Solution for this: If the flesh that has been assumed by the Word had its own hypostasis this would be a valid argument. But since *according to ecclesiastical doctrine we confess that the hypostasis of the Word has become the common hypostasis of the two natures, which hypostasises in itself the human nature together with the idioms that separate it from the other members of the same species*, we naturally call the same hypostasis of the Word not circumscribed as regards the nature of the divinity, but circumscribed as regards our substance, which is not in a person that has *its own constitution and circumscription* beside the hypostasis of the Word, but has gained its existence in it, so that the nature may not be without hypostasis, and is contemplated in it as in an individual and is circumscribed¹⁷.)

In his refutation of the iconoclast position Theodore appeals to the concept of the common hypostasis of the Word, which contains both the divine and the human nature. He avers that in this common hypostasis the properties of the two natures, circumscription and non-circumscription, remain unmixed. This is entirely in keeping with the Chalcedonian position as it had been defined in the fifth and sixth centuries. Indeed, Theodore takes care to exclude a potential Nestorian reading of his argument. He avers that the human nature is not a separate hypostasis but has its existence within the divine Word. In this context he introduces an element that has no counterpart in the iconoclast argument. Alongside the common human nature he mentions the characteristic idioms that mark out the individual and that are also assumed into the common hypostasis, so that the human nature is fully individualised, just as the divine nature is. It is not difficult to see why Theodore included this element. If one wished to prove that Christ's human nature could be represented through images, insisting on the fact that it was circumscribed was not enough. It also needed to have individual characteristics such as a particular shape of the nose.

Theodore's argument is not without precedent. This becomes evident when we turn to the *Doctrina Patrum*, a Chalcedonian handbook of theology from the late seventh or early eighth century¹⁸. There we find a passage from a Monophysite text dating to the middle of the sixth century, the Christological treatise *Arbiter* of the Alexandrian philosopher-theologian John Philoponus, together with a gloss by an anonymous Chalcedonian author that seeks to refute Philoponus' argument¹⁹.

John Philoponus:

Προδιατιθήσθω δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο, ὥς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδὲ τὸν τυχόντα χρόνον χωρὶς τῆς πρὸς τὸν Λόγον ἐνώσεως τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὑπέστη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρόδου καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λόγον ἀνείληφεν ἔνωσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνυπόστατον εἶναι φαμεν τὴν φύσιν ἐκείνην, εἴπερ *ἰδιοσύστατον* εἶχε παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ *ἰδιοπερίγραφον* τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἰδιώμασί τισι παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν φύσιν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων διακρινομένην.²⁰

¹⁷ My translation. Cf. CATTOI, Theodore 95–96.

¹⁸ *Doctrina Patrum* (ed. F. DIEKAMP – B. PHANOURGAKES – E. CHRYSOS, *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi. Ein griechisches Florilegium aus der Wende des siebenten und achten Jahrhunderts*. Münster 1981). See the introduction to the edition, lxxx–lxxxvii, where Anastasius of Sinai is proposed as author. See also J. STIGLMAYER, *Der Verfasser der Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*. *BZ* 18 (1909) 14–40, who attributes the work to Anastasius Apocrisiarius, a companion of Maximus the Confessor. See also P. ALLEN – B. NEIL, *Maximus the Confessor and his Companions: Documents from Exile (Oxford Early Christian Texts)*. Oxford 2002, 172–175. In the Georgian translation the author is identified as John of Damascus, see D. CHENGUÉLIA, *Les témoignages choisis dans le Dogmatikon d'Arsen d'Iqaltho. Une traduction géorgienne de la Doctrina Patrum*. *Le Muséon* 124 (2011) 59–75.

¹⁹ In its entirety the *Arbiter* has come down to us only in Syriac translation. The Syriac text has been discussed and translated into English by U. M. LANG, *John Philoponus and the Controversies over Chalcedon in the Sixth Century. A Study and Translation of the Arbiter (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 47)*. Leuven 2001.

²⁰ *Doctrina Patrum* 36 (280, 24–281, 1 DIEKAMP – PHANOURGAKES – CHRYSOS). This quotation can also be found in John of Damascus, *Liber de haeresibus* 83 addit. (ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos III [Patristische Texte*

(Together with the other points let us also make this preliminary distinction, that, even if the human element of Christ definitely did not gain hypostasis outside the union with the Word even for the smallest amount of time, but received the union with the Word simultaneously with the beginning of its coming to be, we nevertheless say that this nature is not without hypostasis, if indeed it had an existence *with its own constitution and circumscription beside the other human beings* that is separated from all other human beings through some idioms beside the common nature.)

Chalcedonian glossator:

Ἐπισκεπτέον ὥς, ἐν ὅσῳ λέγει ὁ σοφὸς μὴ προϋφεστάναι τῆς ἐνώσεως τὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἀνθρώπινον, παρυφεστάναι λέγει τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἰδιοσυστάτως μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν, ἰδίαν αὐτῷ διδοὺς ὑπόστασιν. ἢ δὲ ἐκκλησία οὐχ οὕτως δοξάζει, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν κοινὴν γενέσθαι τῶν δύο φύσεων ὑπόστασιν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑποστήσασαν μετὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ὁμοειδῶν ἀφορίζόντων αὐτὴν ἰδιωμάτων, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο σώζεται τὸ μὴ εἶναι φύσιν ἀνυπόστατον ἐν τῇ τὴν προσληφθεῖσαν φύσιν τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ἐπιγράφεσθαι ὑπόστασιν.²¹

(One must observe that, when the sage says that the human element of the Lord does not exist prior to the union, he says that this same thing has a hypostasis apart in a constitution of its own, giving it a hypostasis of its own. *The church, however, does not believe that it is thus, but that the hypostasis of the Word has become a common hypostasis of the two natures, having hypostasised in itself the human nature together with the idioms that separate it from the other members of the same species*, and in this way it is made sure that there is no nature without a hypostasis, namely through the fact that the assumed nature is attributed to the hypostasis of the Word.)

The similarity of these two passages with Theodore's statement is striking. The exposé of the doctrine of the church in the Chalcedonian gloss reappears in Theodore's text without change. Moreover, the two technical terms ἰδιοσύστατος and ἰδιοπερίγραφος, which are mentioned in the *Arbiter*, are also used by Theodore²². This suggests strongly that Theodore adopted his conceptual framework from the *Doctrina Patrum*, and that he then modified it by adding the elements of circumscription and non-circumscription in order to be able to refute the iconoclast argument²³.

Philoponus' statement and the Chalcedonian gloss are highly significant because they consider the individual characteristics of Christ's humanity. In theological texts from the sixth century these characteristics are usually neglected. For a Monophysite author such as Patriarch Severus of Antioch they were simply an irrelevancy²⁴. Chalcedonian authors found themselves in a more difficult position. Unlike the Monophysites, they applied to the incarnation the distinction between nature and hypostasis that the Cappadocians had introduced into the Trinitarian discourse. This had an unwelcome consequence. According to the Cappadocians, the accession of characteristic idioms to a nature automatically resulted in a hypostasis. Whoever accepted the presence of characteristic idioms in

und Studien 22]. Berlin – New York 1975, 54, 136–142). Note, however, that section 36 may not have been part of the original text. See DIEKAMP – PHANOURGAKES – CHRYSOS, *Doctrina Patrum*, xxxv–xxix, and CHENGUÉLIA, *Les témoignages*, 74–75. For an English translation of the Syriac translation of the passage see LANG, *Arbiter* 192–193, with commentary on pages 66–67.

²¹ *Doctrina Patrum* 36 (280, 3–12 DIEKAMP – PHANOURGAKES – CHRYSOS).

²² According to the database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* the composite adjective ἰδιοπερίγραφος only occurs in Philoponus' treatise (in the excerpt in John of Damascus' *Liber de haeresibus*).

²³ That Theodore had access to the *Doctrina Patrum* is not surprising. The florilegium was also used by Patriarch Nicephorus, see DIEKAMP – PHANOURGAKES – CHRYSOS, *Doctrina Patrum*, lxxiv.

²⁴ Severus did not distinguish between natural and hypostatic idioms, referring to both with the same term "property", see J. LEBON, *La christologie du monophysisme syrien*, in: *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. A. Grillmeier – H. Bacht. Würzburg 1951, I, 552.

Christ's human nature thus also seemed to accept the existence of a second, human hypostasis. These problems first surface in the early sixth century in John of Caesarea's *Apologia Concilii Chalcedonensis*. John declares that the human nature does not possess a hypostasis of its own but has gained concrete existence in the hypostasis of the divine Word. Then he explains that this is so because the human nature has no characteristic idioms of its own²⁵. Accordingly, the human nature is individualised only through its union with the divine nature, which already existed as a hypostasis because it possessed the characteristic idiom of generacy²⁶. The same view is held by two theologians of the later sixth century, the priest Pamphilus and Patriarch Anastasius of Antioch²⁷.

By contrast, Philoponus accepts that the human nature has a hypostasis of its own, which is constituted through a set of characteristic idioms²⁸. Coming from a Monophysite this is a rather surprising statement. One would have expected to hear it from a Nestorian. This does, of course, not mean that Philoponus had Nestorian leanings. Like Severus before him, he consistently defines the incarnated Word as one single nature and he furthermore rejects the notion that the human element might have had a separate existence before it was united with the divine Word. This raises the question: how can he then attribute a hypostasis to the human element? Here we need to consider that the terms “with its own constitution”, ἰδιοσύστατος, and “with its own circumscription”, ἰδιοπερίγραφος, apply only to the relationship between the human element and other human individuals but not to the relationship between the human element and the divine Word. From this argument we can see that for Philoponus, hypostases have their place within the framework of species of which they are instantiations. This is not necessarily a Nestorian position. It is simply a logical consequence of the Cappadocian definition of hypostasis. Characteristic idioms, which establish hypostases, can only be determined through distinction from common natural idioms. This is evidently only possible within one and the same species. Word and flesh, however, belong to different species and can therefore not meaningfully be distinguished from each other through comparison of the hypostatic idioms that separate them from other divine and human beings. Thus one can conclude that the two hypostases of Word and flesh cause no separation between the divine and human element in the incarnated Word. Leontius of Byzantium, a contemporary of Philoponus, expressed a similar view in his treatise *Solutiones*, although his argument was, of course, couched in Chalcedonian terms: he speaks of a human nature and not of a human element within the incarnated Word²⁹.

The Chalcedonian glossator rejects this view. He takes the term “with a constitution of its own”, ἰδιοσύστατος, to refer to the relationship between Christ's humanity and divinity. Therefore he has to come to the conclusion that Philoponus introduces two hypostases, which are separate from each other. As a consequence he can discount Philoponus' argument that the human element did not exist before its union with the divine Word. For him this argument changes nothing because even after the union there would be a duality of hypostases. As he expresses it, the human element would then constitute a “hypostasis apart”, παρῑπύστασις, within the hypostasis of the Word.

At this point the question arises: how does the Chalcedonian glossator avoid such a scenario? Unlike John of Caesarea, Pamphilus and Anastasius of Antioch, he accepts the existence of hypostatic

²⁵ John of Caesarea, *Apologia concilii Chalcedonensis* (ed. M. RICHARD, *Iohannis Caesariensis presbyteri et grammatici opera quae supersunt* [CCSG 1]. Turnhout – Leuven 1977, 55, 183–186).

²⁶ For a more detailed discussion see GLEED, *Development of the Term* 54.

²⁷ See Anastasius I of Antioch, *Treatise I*, 3 (ed. S. N. SAKKOS *Opera omnia genuina quae supersunt*. Salonika 1976, 52, 21–23); and Pamphilus, *Chapter 7* (ed. J. H. DECLERCK, *Pamphili Theologi Opus*, in: *Diversorum Postchalcedonensium Auctorum Collectanea I*, ed. J. H. deClerck and P. Allen [CCSG 19]. Turnhout 1989, 176, 82–88).

²⁸ See A. GRILLMEIER – Th. HAINTHALER, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche II.4: Die Kirche von Alexandrien*. Freiburg – Basel – Vienna 1990, 145.

²⁹ See D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *A Chalcedonian Conundrum: the Singularity of the Hypostasis of Christ*. *Scrinium* 10 (2014) 371–391, esp. 363.

idioms in the flesh. Therefore he must explain why such an entity does not constitute a fully-fledged hypostasis. His solution is to separate the notion of concrete existence from the presence of human characteristic idioms, and to speak of an assumption into the one hypostasis of Christ, which gives hypostasis to the human nature *and* to its characteristic idioms. This is a momentous step because it challenges the Cappadocian doctrine that endowment with characteristic idioms automatically turns a nature into a hypostasis. The same conceptual framework can be found in the writings of Maximus the Confessor³⁰. It was probably created because the solution proposed by the sixth-century theologians was considered unsatisfactory. In the new model hypostatic idioms do not constitute a hypostasis but their presence is nevertheless necessary because without them it is impossible for a nature to become hypostasis³¹. This view finds its clearest expression in a late text, Nicetas Byzantius' *Refutatio epistulae ab Armeniae principe missae*, where we read that the divine Word "individualised the human nature with the separating idioms in his own hypostasis", τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν μετὰ τῶν ἀφοριστικῶν ἰδιωμάτων ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὑποστάσει ἀτομώσας³².

When we now return to Theodore's *Third Antirrheticus* we can see that he adopts the position of the Chalcedonian glossator and rejects Philoponus' model. In his text Philoponus' "it (sc. the flesh) had an existence with its own constitution and circumscription beside the other human beings", ἰδιοσύστατον εἶχε παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἰδιοπερίγραφον τὴν ὑπαρξιν, becomes: "in a person that has its own constitution and circumscription beside the hypostasis of the Word", ἐν ἰδιοσυστάτῳ καὶ ἰδιοπεριγράφῳ προσώπῳ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Λόγου ὑπόστασιν. This raises the question: does Theodore use a term that would denote a nature that is endowed with characteristic idioms but does not yet possess concrete existence? In order to find an answer we need to consider his claim that the human nature is "contemplated in it (sc. the hypostasis of the Word) as in an individual", ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ τοῦ Λόγου ὑποστάσει) ὡς ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένη. This is a very condensed statement, which can be explicated as follows. The "individual" in which the human nature is seen is not identical with the hypostasis of the divine Word but is a different entity, which is then assumed into the hypostasis of the divine Word³³.

The discussion so far has shown that Theodore makes use of existing Christological arguments, which he adapts to the specific issue of icon worship. Such an approach, however, can only be successful if the source texts are understood correctly. That this is not always the case becomes obvious when we turn to an earlier part of the *Third Antirrheticus*, which responds to another iconoclast objection. According to Theodore, his adversaries argued that the flesh is not "a certain human being", ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος, but "the universal human being", ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος, and for this reason does not have individual characteristics, which could be depicted³⁴. The Christological aspect of this argument is not properly developed but one wonders whether it is not ultimately derived from the position of John of Caesarea, Pamphilus and Anastasius of Antioch.

In his refutation Theodore seeks to show that Christ's flesh can indeed be called "a certain human being", just as he can be called "individual".³⁵ One of his arguments takes the form of an interpreta-

³⁰ See Maximus the Confessor, Epistula 13 (PG 91, 556C6–D2).

³¹ On the conceptual problems arising from this model see J. ZACHHUBER, Universals in the Greek Church Fathers, in: Universals in Ancient Philosophy, ed. R. Chiaradonna – G. Galluzzo. Pisa 2013, 425–470, esp. 466–467.

³² Nicetas Byzantius, Refutatio epistulae ab Armeniae principe missae (PG 105, 636B5–9). The text dates to the late ninth century but the argument was undoubtedly adapted from an earlier source.

³³ See MEYENDORFF, Le Christ 257; SCHÖNBORN, L'icône du Christ 221; TOLLEFSEN, St Theodore the Studite 74.

³⁴ Antirrheticus III, 1, 15 (PG 99, 396C11–D5).

³⁵ This is a departure from his earlier position that the flesh is seen in an individual but is not "a certain human being" because otherwise it would be a separate hypostasis. See Antirrheticus I, 3 (PG 99, 332D9–333A1): Ψιλὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς οὐ γεγέννηται· μηδὲ γὰρ τῶν τινα ἀνθρώπων (read τὸν τινα ἄνθρωπον) ἀναλαβεῖν φαίη ἂν τις τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων, τὸν δὲ καθόλου, ἦτοι τὴν ὅλην φύσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένην. For the emendation see MEYENDORFF, Le Christ 253. Here Theo-

tion of Christ's words in John 8:40: "But now you seek to kill me, a human being who has told you the truth", νῦν δὲ ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτεῖναι, ἄνθρωπον ὃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα.

“Ἄνθρωπον” εἰπὼν, τὴν κοινὴν οὐσίαν δηλῶ. Προσθεῖς δὲ “τίς”, ὑπόστασιν τὴν ιδιοσύστατον τοῦ δηλουμένου ὑπαρξιν, καὶ ἵν’ οὕτως εἴπω, περιγραφὴν ἐξ ιδιωμάτων τινῶν συγκειμένην, καθ’ ἧς ἀλλήλων οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς κεκοινωνηκότες φύσεως διαφέρουσιν, οἷον Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος. Ὁ οὖν Χριστὸς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἰπὼν· “Νῦν ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτεῖναι”, εἰ “ἄνθρωπον” ἦν μόνον εἰρηκώς, εἶχεν ἂν τὸν καθόλου σημαίνει. Προσθεῖς δέ· “Ὅς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα”, τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἥτοι πρόσωπον πεφανέρωκε. Τὸ γὰρ “ὅς” ἄρθρον ἰσοδυναμεῖ τῷ “τίς” ὀνόματι. Οὐκοῦν εἰ καὶ τὴν καθόλου φύσιν ἀνέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένην, ἐφ’ ᾧ καὶ τὸ περιγράφεσθαι πέφυκε.³⁶

(When I say “human being” I indicate the common substance. When I add “a certain”, [sc. I indicate] hypostasis, the existence with its own constitution of that which is indicated, and so-to-speak a circumscription, which is composed from certain idioms, whereby those who share the same nature differ from each other, as for instance Peter and Paul. As Christ, then, said to the Jews: “Now you seek to kill me”, if he had merely said “a human being”, he might have intended to signify the universal “human being”, but when he added “who has told you the truth”, he manifested his own hypostasis or person, for the conjunction “who” has the same meaning as “a certain”. Thus, even if he assumed the universal nature, he assumed it as one that is contemplated in an individual, for this reason the possibility of circumscription exists.³⁷)

At the end of the passage Theodore states clearly that two stages must be distinguished in the incarnation: the human nature was first individualised and then given hypostasis through assumption into the preexisting hypostasis of the divine Word³⁸. By contrast, the argument that results in this conclusion is much less straightforward. Theodore starts by juxtaposing the universal human being with “a certain human being”. The latter part of this statement is borrowed from the section of the *Arbiter* that was included in the *Doctrina Patrum*.

Ὑπόστασιν δὲ ἡγουν πρόσωπον τὴν ιδιοσύστατον τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως ὑπαρξιν καί, ἵν’ οὕτως εἴπω, περιγραφὴν ἐξ ιδιοτήτων τινῶν συγκειμένην, καθ’ ἧς ἀλλήλων οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς κοινωνηκότες φύσεως διαφέρουσι.³⁹

(Hypostasis or person [sc. is] the existence with its own constitution of each nature and so-to-speak circumscription composed of properties, according to which [sc. properties] those who share the same nature differ from each other.)

This statement was not formulated by the Chalcedonian glossator but by Philoponus himself. Its appearance in Theodore's argument is rather surprising since Philoponus was a condemned heretic. It is possible that in his copy of the *Doctrina Patrum* no clear distinction was made between text and glosses. That Theodore should reproduce a definition of hypostasis in order to explain what he means

dore wishes to stress that the Word assumed the entire human nature and not just an individual, in order to make a soteriological point.

³⁶ Antirrheticus III, 1, 17 (PG 99, 397B6–C4).

³⁷ My translation. See also the translation in CATTOI, Theodore 94.

³⁸ See SCHÖNBORN, L'icône du Christ 220; PARRY, Depicting the Word 109.

³⁹ Doctrina Patrum (274, 10–13 DIEKAMP – PHANOURGAKES – CHRYSOS). John of Damascus, Liber de haeresibus 83 addit. (51, 34–36 KOTTER). For an English translation of the Syriac translation, see LANG, Arbiter 190, with commentary on pages 60–61.

by “a certain human being” is odd because in his conceptual framework the two concepts should not be identical. Especially striking is the appearance of the term *ἰδιοσύστατος*. When we analysed the previous argument we saw that Theodore rejected this term because it established independent existence. By contrast, he now accepts that “a certain human being” can be characterised in this way. When applied to the divinity, this would then establish a second, human, hypostasis in the incarnated Word. Such a conclusion can only be avoided when one accepts Philoponus’ theory, which Theodore has explicitly rejected. Theodore seems entirely unaware of the conceptual problem. He declares that by referring to himself as “a certain human being” Christ manifested his own hypostasis or person. In the context this can only refer to a human hypostasis, which is constituted through human characteristics. Here one would have expected Theodore to explain more clearly how the individualised humanity relates to the pre-existing hypostasis of the Word⁴⁰. Accordingly, the conclusion with its reference to the “individual” comes as a surprise. Indeed, the argument suggests that “a certain human being” is equivalent to “individual” and that the latter is therefore also *ἰδιοσύστατος* and hypostasis. One would like to know whether Theodore’s iconoclast adversaries were aware of this shortcoming and exploited it in their refutations.

In order to shore up his position Theodore creates a parallel between individual human beings and the incarnated Word. Such an argumentative strategy only works if both cases fall under the same general rule. Another response to the same iconoclast objection reveals that Theodore did not find it easy to set out such a conceptual framework.

Πρὸς τοῦτο λύσις· Εἰ σάρκα παραδόξως ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ὑποστάσει· ἀχαρακτηρίστον δέ, καθὼς φατε, ὡς τὸν τινὰ μὴ σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπέστη; τὰ γὰρ καθόλου ἐν τοῖς ἀτόμοις τὴν ὑπαρξιν ἔχει· οἶον, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἐν Πέτρῳ καὶ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὁμοειδέσι. Μὴ ὄντων δὲ τῶν καθ’ ἕκαστα, ἀνῆρηται ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος. Οὐκοῦν ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, εἴπερ μὴ ὡς ἐν τινὶ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑφειστώσα· καὶ λείπεται φαντασία αὐτὸν λέγειν σεσαρκῶσθαι· καθ’ ἣν οὐδὲ ψηλαφᾶσθαι δύναται· ἄν, οὐδὲ χρώμασι διαφόροις περιγράφεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ Μανιχαίων τὸ φρόνημα.⁴¹

(Solution for this: If Christ has assumed the flesh in his own hypostasis in a paradoxical manner, and it is without characteristics, as you say, insofar as it does not signify the particular but the universal human being, how *did it gain subsistence in him*? For universals have their existence in the individuals, as for example, *the humanity in Peter and Paul* and the other members of the same species. If there are no particular beings, the universal human being is eliminated. *Accordingly the humanity is not in Christ if it is not as in someone, having gained subsistence in him*, and all that is left to say is that he has become incarnate in an illusory fashion, according to which he could neither be touched nor be circumscribed in different colours. But such an opinion belongs to the Manicheans.⁴²)

This argument starts with a Christological statement. The universal human nature must have become “a certain human being” because otherwise it could not have gained hypostasis in the divine Word. Here the term *τις ἄνθρωπος* evidently denotes the individualised human nature that is not yet a separate hypostasis. Yet when we consider the argument as a whole matters are much less straightforward. Everything hinges on the general rule that universals gain “existence”, *ὑπαρξις*, in individuals. If one took existence to refer to an ontological state that precedes hypostasis one could argue

⁴⁰ Antirrheticus III, 1, 17 (PG 99, 397B6–C4).

⁴¹ The problem is not seen by SCHÖNBORN, *L’icône du Christ 220*, and TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite 89*.

⁴² See also the rather freer translation by CATTOI, *Theodore 93*.

that “individual” denotes individualised but not yet concrete and independent entities. It is, however, highly unlikely that ὑπαρξίς has such a meaning in this context⁴³. When Peter and Paul are given as examples, it is clear that Theodore uses ἄτομον interchangeably with hypostasis, even though it is synonymous with τις ἄνθρωπος. In order to set out a coherent argument Theodore would have had to create a strict parallel between the case of the ordinary human being and the case of the incarnated Word. Such a conceptual framework would have been available. It is, for example, found in the theological chapters of the Anonymus Rashed where a distinction is made between the “individuated nature”, ἀτομωθεῖσα φύσις, and the hypostasis of Peter⁴⁴. By not taking this step Theodore has considerably weakened his argument. Thus it is not surprising that the transition to the Christological application is awkward. The parallel phrases “the humanity in Peter”, ἡ ἀνθρωπότης ἐν Πέτρῳ, and “the humanity in Christ”, ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, give the impression that the two cases were strictly analogous. Yet this is evidently not the case because Christ, that is, the divine Word, is not a member of the human species. Theodore tries to square the circle in the remainder of the sentence that begins with οὐκ οὐν ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, “if it is not as in someone, having gained hypostasis in him”, εἴπερ μὴ ὡς ἐν τινὶ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὑφειστώσα. The second part, ἐν αὐτῷ ὑφειστώσα, expresses the Chalcedonian doctrine that the human nature gains subsistence through assumption into the divine Word. By contrast, the meaning of the phrase ἐν τινὶ takes up the term “a certain one”, ὁ τις, that Theodore has adopted from the iconoclastic argument. Here it must therefore again denote the human nature endowed with characteristic idioms that then gains hypostasis in the divine Word.

Analysis of another passage shows that Theodore was prepared to go much further than most Chalcedonian theologians of the sixth and seventh centuries in regarding the flesh as a fully-fledged ontological entity.

Ο καθόλου ἄνθρωπος προσηγορικὸν ὄνομα· ὁ δὲ τις, φέρε εἰπεῖν, Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, τὸ κύριον ἔχων, μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τῷ καθόλου ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος κέκληται· ἀλλὰ καθὼς μὲν κοινωνεῖ τοῖς ὁμοειδέσιν ἀτόμοις, ἄνθρωπος· καθ’ ὃ δὲ διαφέρει τῇ ὑποστάσει, Παῦλος. Εἰ οὖν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐνανθρωπίσθεις, μόνον θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος λέγοιτο παρὰ τῇ Γραφῇ, μόνην ἄρα τὴν καθόλου φύσιν ἡμῶν ἀνείληφεν· ἥτις μὴ ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένη, οὐδὲ ὑφίστασθαι προαποδέδεικται. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁ Γαβριὴλ πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον· “Συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ τέξεις υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.” Οὐκ ἄρα μόνῳ τῷ προσηγορικῷ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι κέκληται ὁ Χριστός· τὸ χωρίζον αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑποστατικοῖς ιδιώμασιν ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περιγραφτός.⁴⁵

(The universal “human being” is an appellative name whereas a certain one, for example, Peter and Paul, which has the proper name, is referred to, together with the proper name, also through the universal name. For Paul is also called “human being”, but regarding that which he shares with members of the same species he is called “human being”, whereas regarding that through which he differs in hypostasis, he is called “Paul”. If then Christ when incarnated were called only God and human being in Scripture, he would have assumed only the universal nature, which when not seen in an individual does not exist as has been proved before. But Gabriel indeed said

⁴³ The problem is not seen by SCHÖNBORN, *L’icône du Christ* 219 (note however his translation: “Le commun subsiste dans les individus”); THÜMMEL, *Bilderlehre und Bilderstreit* 47; MEYENDORFF, *L’image du Christ* 116; IDEM, *Le Christ* 253; TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite* 87–88. Cf. John Philoponus, *Commentary on De anima* (ed. M. HAYDUCK, *Ioannis Philoponi in Aristotelis de anima libros commentaria* [Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 15]. Berlin 1897, 307, 33–34): Τῶν καθόλου ἢ μὲν ὑπόστασις ἐν τοῖς καθ’ ἑκάστῃ ἐστίν.

⁴⁴ See Anonymus Rashed, *Argument 4* (ed. M. RASHED, *L’héritage aristotelicien. Textes inédits de l’Antiquité*. Paris 2007, 367, 29–31). On the use of the verb ἀτομῶ in philosophical texts, see RASHED, *L’héritage aristotelicien* 358–360.

⁴⁵ Antirrheticus III, 1, 18 (PG 99, 397C6–D9).

to the Virgin: “You will conceive in your womb, and give birth to a son and will call his name Jesus.” Therefore Christ is called not only with the appellative, but also with the proper name, which separates him from the other human beings through the hypostatic idioms, and is therefore circumscribed.⁴⁶⁾

In this passage Theodore repeats his claim that a nature could not gain hypostasis if it did not exist “in an individual”, ἐν ἀτόμῳ. This time, however, the focus is not on natural and hypostatic idioms but on appellative and proper names. Theodore’s starting point is the human species where he juxtaposes the appellative “human being”, which denotes the common nature, and proper names such as “Peter” and “Paul”, which denote individuals. In a second step he creates an analogy with the human element in the incarnated Word, juxtaposing the human nature with the proper name “Jesus”. This name then becomes the core of the individualised humanity. Of it are predicated all characteristics that separate the flesh from other human individuals. Accordingly “being seen in an individual”, ἐν ἀτόμῳ θεωρουμένη could be rephrased not only as “being seen in Peter”, ἐν Πέτρῳ θεωρουμένη, but also as “being seen in Jesus”, ἐν Ἰησοῦ θεωρουμένη. At this point a comparison with the Late Antique Christological discourse is instructive. Many theologians of the fifth to seventh centuries were not prepared to attribute the name “Jesus” exclusively to the flesh, for fear that such usage might give the impression that the incarnated Word were divided into two entities. For Monophysite authors it was clear that “Jesus” could only denote the divine Word. This view finds its most concise expression in Pseudo-Dionysius’ famous statement that in the incarnation the simple Jesus had become composite⁴⁷. Chalcedonian authors displayed the same discomfort. Leontius of Byzantium who criticises Theodore of Mopsuestia for distinguishing the human being Jesus from the divine Word refrains from using the name “Jesus” in his own arguments⁴⁸. This concern was not shared by Theodore, no doubt because Nestorianism was no longer a threat⁴⁹.

* * *

To conclude: in his *Third Antirrheticus* Theodore the Stoudite claimed that the flesh assumed by the Word was not the universal human nature but an individual or a certain human being, endowed with hypostatic idioms, which could be depicted on images. In order to avoid accusations of Nestorianism he declared that the hypostatic idioms of the flesh did not constitute a hypostasis of its own and that the flesh could therefore be assumed into the one hypostasis of the Word. When constructing his arguments he made use of older texts. An important source of inspiration was an excerpt from John Philoponus’ treatise *Arbiter* that was included in the *Doctrina Patrum*, together with glosses by an unknown Chalcedonian theologian. In one argument Theodore follows the Chalcedonian glossator in rejecting Philoponus’ view that hypostatic idioms only distinguish from each other members of the same species. Yet in another argument he reproduces a definition of hypostasis that had been formulated by Philoponus in order to explain what he means by a certain human being. As a result he can no longer uphold the difference between hypostasis on the one hand and certain human being or individual on the other, which was the mainstay of his icon theology. This is not the only

⁴⁶ The participle τὸ χωρίζον, despite being in the nominative, must refer back to τῷ κυρίῳ ὀνόματι. See also the translation in CATTOI, Theodore 94.

⁴⁷ Pseudo-Dionysius, De divinis nominibus, I, 4 (ed. B. R. SUCHLA, Corpus Dionysiacum I: De divinis nominibus [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 33]. Berlin – New York 2000, 113, 9).

⁴⁸ Leontius of Byzantium, Deprehensio et Triumphus super Nestorianos (492, 15–19 DALEY).

⁴⁹ See TOLLEFSEN, St Theodore the Studite 89–90. Meyendorff suggests that Theodore is indebted to the Antiochene School, see MEYENDORFF, L’image 116–117; IDEM, Le Christ 256.

conceptual problem that we encounter in the *Third Antirrheticus*. Theodore repeatedly declares that the flesh falls under the same general rule as ordinary human individuals. However, this equation is not reflected in his argument. In the case of the general rule and the human application, individual is identical with hypostasis whereas in the case of the flesh the two concepts are distinguished from one another. Theodore does not seem to have been aware of earlier Christological treatises where this problem was avoided. In general, one can say that he went much further in stressing the reality of the human individual Jesus than earlier Chalcedonian theologians.

BYRON MACDOUGALL

Aristotle at the Festival: The Orations of Theodore the Stoudite and Byzantine Logical Culture

Abstract: Theodore plays a prominent role in studies of the “Aristotelian turn” of the second period of Iconoclasm. Scholars have shown how Theodore and Patriarch Nikephoros drew on the Aristotelian tradition to defend icon veneration, especially in polemical treatises like Theodore’s *Third Antirrheticus*. This article turns to Theodore’s festal homilies to show not only how they can be usefully read against the *Antirrhetici* for Theodore’s Aristotelian defense of images, but also to show how Theodore’s interest in the logical tradition extended beyond its application to theological polemic.

The application of Aristotelian logic to theological disputes by ninth-century iconophiles is a major theme in Byzantine intellectual history. Starting with Paul Alexander, and now especially thanks to the work of Ken Parry, Thalia Anagnostopoulos, Christophe Erismann and others, several of the main features of this trend in iconophile thought are well-known: prominent iconophiles like Patriarch Nicephorus and Theodore the Stoudite drew upon Aristotle, especially the *Categories*, in order to strengthen their case for the veneration of images¹. In particular, the discussions regarding homonymy and the category of relation proved grist to the mills of Theodore and Nicephorus in their respective polemical *Antirrhetici* against iconoclasts, as well as in some of Theodore’s more theological letters². However, in the case of Theodore especially, his logical culture plays an important role across his writings, and is not limited to treatises and letters that are explicitly engaged in theological disputes. In what follows, I will turn to a body of texts that do not play a prominent role in scholarly narratives about the revival of Aristotelianism in this period, namely Theodore’s *Orations for the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year*³.

This study demonstrates the relevance of the Aristotelian logical tradition for Theodore’s homiletics in a series of three vignettes that address three different kinds of texts from the various strata that together formed the Byzantine logical curriculum: Aristotle’s *Organon* itself, the *Isagoge* or “Introduction” of Porphyry, and the Alexandrian Neoplatonic commentaries of Late Antiquity. The

¹ Paul Alexander famously described this as the “scholastic” period of iconophile discourse: see P. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford 1958, 188–189. For further discussion, see especially the following: K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*. Leiden 1996, 52–63, as well as IDEM, *Aristotle and the Icon: The Use of the Categories by Byzantine Iconophile Writers*, in: *Aristotle’s Categories in the Byzantine, Arabic and Latin Traditions*, ed. S. Ebbesen – J. Marenbon – P. Thom. Copenhagen 2013, 35–58; Th. ANAGNOSTOPOULOS, *Aristotle and Byzantine Iconoclasm*. *GRBS* 55 (2013) 763–790, and Ch. ERISMANN, *Venerating likeness: Byzantine iconophile thinkers on Aristotelian relatives and their simultaneity*. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 24.3 (2016) 405–425.

² See, for example, the discussion of Theodore’s *Letter* 492 in Ch. ERISMANN, *Theodore the Studite and Photius on the Humanity of Christ. A Neglected Byzantine Discussion on Universals in the Time of Iconoclasm*. *DOP* 71 (2017) 175–192, at 184; for *Letter* 528, see T. TOLLESEN, *St Theodore the Studite’s Defense of the Icons: Theology and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Byzantium*. Oxford 2018, 45–46.

³ For details and bibliography on Theodore’s orations, fourteen of which have been published and two of which remain unedited, see G. FATOUROS, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae I*. Berlin 1992, 25*–28*; see also R. CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite: the ordering of holiness*. Oxford 2002, 75–76. It seems that a collection of Theodore’s festal orations was made, as the *Lives* of Theodore refer to a πανηγυρική βιβλος; see FATOUROS, *Epistulae I*, 23*, n. 101. For Byzantine homilies in general, see the essays collected in M. CUNNINGHAM and P. ALLEN (eds.), *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*. Leiden 1998.

first example will explore territory familiar from Theodore's theological treatises, namely his use of the *Categories* in the defense of icons, but in this case we find him invoking Aristotelian doctrine at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. In the second example, we move to less familiar ground, and I argue that Theodore's language for the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist is informed by the language of the "five predicables" found in Porphyry's introduction to Aristotelian logic, the *Isagoge*. Finally, we turn to the last phase in the development of the logical curriculum: the tradition of prolegomena and commentaries on Aristotle by the Alexandrian Neoplatonists. We will trace the influence of these logical prolegomena on Theodore's homily for the feast of the Apostle Bartholomew to demonstrate the importance of these foundational texts, with their rich and rambling excursus on a variety of topics, in providing Theodore and his audience with a common store of philosophical culture. This exploration of Theodore's festal orations will highlight the importance of homilies like these for the history of intellectual culture. They do not belong to the kinds of texts that have received particular attention among students of Byzantine philosophy in accounts of the revival of Aristotelian teachings during the second period of Iconoclasm. However, homilies like Theodore's, which as liturgical texts have a public function that sets them apart from letters and treatises, offer a new window on the state of logical culture at the beginning of the ninth century.

HOMONYMY, ARISTOTELIAN "RELATIVES" AND THE *ORATIO IN ADORATIONEM CRUCIS*

One of the more rhetorically elevated passages in Theodore the Stoudite's *Oration on the Adoration of the Cross* is a description of the general joy shared by all creation as co-celebrants of the feast:

Δοκοῦσι μοι καὶ οἷσισι μὴ αἰσθησις, συνήδεσθαι τάχα· γῆ, φημί, ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον καρπὸν οἷα μήτηρ ἐκ λαγόνων δεδωκυῖα· πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ δρυμοῦ ὡς ὁμωνυμία τιμώμενα· ὁ ἀειλαμπῆς ἥλιος, σελήνη ἢ πολύφωτος, ἀστέρες οἱ μαρμαίροντες, αὐτὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ μέγας οὗτος καὶ πολύστροφος· ἐπεὶ περ πᾶσα ἡ διὰ τοῦ σταυρικοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον ἄμειψις.⁴

(It seems to me that perhaps even those beings without perception share together in the joy: the earth, I declare, which like a mother has brought forth such fruit from its womb; all the trees of the forest, as if honored through homonymy; the ever-shining sun, the all-luminous moon, the shimmering stars, this great heavenly globe itself, turning and turning on end, since through the passion of the cross all creation transforms in succession for the better.⁵)

The image of the "trees" (ξύλα) of the forest, honored "as if through homonymy" with the Holy Cross itself, which is sometimes referred to simply as ξύλον,⁶ opens a window onto another discursive plane of Theodore's thought. Within the context of Theodore's iconophile treatises, it is again the Cross, in this case referred to by the word *stauros*, that is employed as an example to demonstrate the Aristotelian concept of homonymy, which is famously the first subject discussed in the *Categories*.⁷ As mentioned above, Aristotle's treatment of homonymous terms would be one of two major doctrines from the *Categories* that came to be used by iconophiles like Theodore in order to provide philosophical support for their defense of the veneration of images. The other is the category of rela-

⁴ *In adorationem crucis* (PG 99, 693B10–C2).

⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

⁶ Cf. LAMPE s.v. ξύλον c.1.

⁷ Aristotle, *Categories* (1a1–5). For Theodore's use of the Cross to demonstrate homonymy, see e.g. *Antirrhethici* I.8 (PG 337B) and II.17 (PG 361A) as well as TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore* 122.

tion (πρός τι), and it too features in this homily, in a passage that nicely demonstrates how Aristotle could be put to use in the service of iconophile theology⁸.

In the passage in question, Theodore has been constructing an analogy between Biblical types and physical images of the True Cross on the one hand, and types and images of Christ and the saints on the other, in order to strengthen the case for the veneration of icons.

Ἐν τε ἐμψύχοις καὶ ἀψύχοις ἡ χριστοειδὴς εἰκὼν τερατουργεῖν εἴωθεν ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχουσα τὴν τε μορφήν καὶ τὸ εἶδος τοῦ ἀρχετύπου, καὶ τοσοῦτον ταυτιζομένη τῇ τε τιμῇ καὶ προσκυνήσει, ὅσον καὶ κατὰ τοῦνομα, παντὶ που δῆλον. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰ καὶ παρεκβα<τ>ικώτερον⁹, ἀλλ' ὅμως εἰς ἔλεγχον καὶ ἀνατροπὴν τῆς εἰκονομαχικῆς αἰρέσεως, ὡς ἀνατρεπούσης τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας Χριστοῦ μυστήριον. ὁ γὰρ ἀναιρῶν τὴν εἰκόνα, συναναιρεῖ δηλαδὴ καὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον, εἴπερ θάτερα τῶν ἅμα, καὶ τῶν πρὸς τι τοῖς νοῶν ἔχουσιν.¹⁰

(In the case of both animate and inanimate <types>, the image of Christ usually works miracles, as it bears within it both the shape and the appearance of its archetype, and it is to be identified with the latter both in honor and in veneration, to the degree that it is also identified with it in name, which is clear to everyone. And even if this discussion has gone on rather at length, nevertheless it is for the examination and refutation of the iconoclast heresy, as it rejects the mystery of Christ's economy. *For he who removes the image clearly also removes together with it its prototype, if indeed both belong, for those who have any sense at least, to those things which are simultaneous, and to the class of relatives.*)

Here Theodore is articulating a central thesis of what Christophe Erismann has termed “the relational explanation of images”¹¹. As Erismann describes, this refers to the adaptation, developed in Late Antiquity, of the Aristotelian category of “relation” in order to explain the ontological connection between an image and its archetype: an image is an image of an archetype, and an archetype is an archetype of an image. What makes this Aristotelian category useful for the iconophiles is that Aristotle explains how relations can have or lose their existence simultaneously: to get rid of one is to get rid of the other. Thus we can compare Theodore on the image and its prototype with the following famous passage from the *Categories*:

Δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τι ἅμα τῇ φύσει εἶναι. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν πλείστων ἀληθές ἐστι· ἅμα γὰρ διπλάσιόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμισυ, καὶ ἡμίσεως ὄντος διπλάσιόν ἐστιν, καὶ δούλου ὄντος δεσπότης ἐστίν· ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. καὶ συναναιρεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλληλα· μὴ γὰρ ὄντος διπλασίου οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμισυ, καὶ ἡμίσεως μὴ ὄντος οὐκ ἔστιν διπλάσιον.¹²

(Relatives seem to be simultaneous by nature. And in the case of most of them this is true. For double and half exist simultaneously, and if there is half then there is double, and if there is slave there is a master, and the others are similar to these. And these also remove one another from existence. For if there is no double there is no half, and if there is no half there is no double.)

⁸ For the prominent use by iconophiles of Aristotelian relatives and homonyms in the “logical turn”, see ERISMANN, *Venerating Likeness* 409, with previous scholarship, as well as IDEM, *Nicephorus I of Constantinople, Aristotelian Logic and the Cross*, in: *Aristotle in Byzantium*, ed. Knežević. Sebastian Press: Center for Hellenic Studies in Podgorica, *forthcoming*.

⁹ PG: παρεκβαλικώτερον.

¹⁰ *In adorationem crucis* (PG 697B10–C5).

¹¹ ERISMANN, *Venerating Likeness passim*.

¹² Aristotle, *Categories* (7b15–21).

This passage from the *Categories* is especially well known in studies on the use of Aristotle by iconophile thinkers during the Second Iconoclasm¹³. Together with Aristotle's discussion earlier on in the *Categories* of the concept of homonymy, the "relational explanation of images" is one of two key ideas that provide the philosophical foundation for the theological and polemical treatises of Theodore and Nicephorus, as mentioned above¹⁴. What is interesting about our passage, however, is the fact that this highly technical formulation of the "relational explanation of images" appears in a homily, before a monastic audience and performed in a liturgical context. Theodore himself declares that "who have any sense" would agree with his explication of the category of πρὸς τι, or "relation", and in doing so he constructs for himself an ideal homiletic audience that is already schooled in Aristotelian logic. That a wider monastic community should be expected to be familiar with the logical concepts alluded to by Theodore is of course not in itself surprising; the handbooks and compendia studied by Mossman Roueché for example attest to the kinds of vehicles of transmission that allowed basic logical ideas could be diffused across wide communities¹⁵. However, the presence of these ideas in Theodore's homilies and the public nature of homiletic performance remind us that logical culture was not limited exclusively to the classroom or theological polemic, but found a place in liturgical settings as well.

THE NATIVITY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE PROPERTIES AND ACCIDENTS OF PERSONHOOD

We turn now to Theodore's *Oration for the Nativity of John the Baptist*, which as the Migne editor suggests may have been delivered at the behest of his uncle Plato when their monastic community was still based at Sakkoudion¹⁶.

Theodore begins his praise of John by describing Mary's Visitation of Elizabeth. Mary, having just conceived Jesus, goes to visit her cousin Elizabeth, who herself is six months further along in her own pregnancy with John. When Mary enters the house she hails Elizabeth, and then, "when Elizabeth heard the greeting of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb; and Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit"¹⁷. Theodore in turn expounds upon John's miraculous ability to recognize the divinity of Christ:

Τὴν ὁρατικὴν ἔξιν οὐπω ἐνεργῶν τὸν ἀκουστικὸν ψόφον οὐπω εἰσδεχόμενος, τὸν φωνητικὸν φθόγγον οὐπω ἐκβοῶν, τὴν περιπατητικὴν κίνησιν οὐπω μετεληφῶς, τὸ γελαστικὸν ἰδίωμα οὐπω ἐπιτετηδευκώς ...¹⁸

(His sense of sight was not yet active, nor could he yet perceive any audible noise, nor produce any voiced sound, nor did he yet partake in ambulatory movement, nor had he attained the characteristic property of laughing ...¹⁹)

Theodore's main point here is that John, while still in the womb, was able to perceive the proximity of Christ when their pregnant mothers were visiting one another. What interests us here is the

¹³ See, for example, PARRY, Aristotle and the Icon 49, and ERISMANN, Venerating Likeness 406.

¹⁴ See above n. 8.

¹⁵ See, for example, M. ROUECHÉ, Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century. *JÖB* 23 (1974) 61–76, and IDEM, A Middle Byzantine Handbook on Logic Terminology. *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71–98.

¹⁶ *In nativitatem praecursoris* (PG 99, 748–757). For the performance context, see 748C3, where Theodore says that he is delivering the oration to fulfill a πατρικὸν ἐπίταγμα.

¹⁷ Luke 1:41. Translation taken from the Revised Standard Version.

¹⁸ *In nativitatem praecursoris* (PG 99, 756 C6–10).

¹⁹ For the phrase ὁρατικὴ ἔξις, see also Aristotle, *Categories* (12a25–12b25), a discussion of the type of opposition between "deprivation" (στέρησις) and "possession" (ἔξις), where blindness and sight are used as examples.

language he uses to refer to the ability to walk and to laugh, which John as a baby in the womb was still unable to do. The two adjectives περιπατητικός and γελαστικός, occurring as they do here in conjunction with one another and, especially, with the word ἰδίωμα (translated here as “characteristic property”), strongly suggest that they were informed by the lexicon of the logical tradition, namely discussions of definition and description as well as the five predicables of Porphyry’s *Isagoge*: genus, species, difference, property, and accident. The term γελαστικός, “capable of laughter”, is particularly familiar from Porphyry’s *Isagoge* as an example of the strictest sense of the term ἴδιον or “property”; that is, a property that belongs always to all members of a single species and to no other²⁰. Porphyry uses γελαστικόν as his example of such a property in the case of the species human, so that, to paraphrase his argument, “if it laughs it is man and if it is man it laughs”. Moreover, together with “capable of laughter”, Porphyry also mentions another concept that will enjoy a long history in the tradition, namely the characteristic of “walking on two feet”: just a couple of lines earlier in this same discussion of the meanings of ἴδιον, Porphyry defines the second of the four meanings as that “which is an accident of all the species, even if not of it alone, as in the case of being biped of man”:

Τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διαιροῦσι τετραχῶς ... καὶ ὁ παντὶ συμβέβηκεν τῷ εἶδει, εἰ καὶ μὴ μόνῳ, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ εἶναι δίποδι ... τέταρτον δὲ ἐφ’ οὗ συνδράμηκεν τὸ μόνῳ καὶ παντὶ καὶ ἀεὶ, ὡς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ γελαστικόν ... ταῦτα δὲ καὶ κυρίως ἰδιά φασιν, ὅτι καὶ ἀντιστρέφει· εἰ γὰρ ἵππος, χρεμετιστικόν, καὶ εἰ χρεμετιστικόν, ἵππος.²¹

(“Property” they divide in four ways ... [the second] is that which occurs as an accident for the entire species, even if not for it alone, as being a biped in the case of man ... The fourth is that where it occurs for the given species alone, for all of it, and for all time, as the capacity for laughter in the case of man ... And these they also call properties “in the proper sense”, because they convert: for if it is a horse, it neighs, and if it neighs, it is a horse.)

The fact that Porphyry invokes in this single discussion the two properties “being capable of laughter” (τὸ γελαστικόν) and “being a biped” (τὸ εἶναι δίποδι) will lead to the lasting association of the two as standard examples later in the tradition²². Their association features prominently in discussions of how a “description” (ὑπογραφή) of a species differs from a “definition” (ὀρισμός) of the same species, in that the former is formed from accidents, while the latter is formed from a genus and specific differences. The employment of the examples in such a context features frequently in the prolegomena to philosophy of the Alexandrians, and especially in their commentaries on the *Isagoge* itself. As a representative example we can adduce the following account of description from a lemma in David’s *Commentary on the Isagoge*²³:

Ὅρισμός τοίνυν ἐστὶ καὶ οὐχ ὑπογραφή, καθὼς ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ὑπογραφῆς δυνατόν αἰρουμένης μιᾶς φωνῆς τὴν ὑπογραφὴν σώζεσθαι, οἷον εἰ λέγεις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ζῶν ἐστὶ γελαστικόν ὀρθοπεριπατητικόν, σώζεται ἡ ὑπογραφή ζῶν γελαστικόν.²⁴

²⁰ Porphyry, *Isagoge* (ed. A. BUSSE, *Porphyrii Isagoge et in Aristotelis Categorias* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 4, 1], Berlin 1887, 12.17–18).

²¹ Porphyry, *Isagoge* (12.13–22 BUSSE).

²² See, for example, Elias, *Commentarium in Isagogen* (ed. A. BUSSE, *Eliae in Porphyrii Isagogen et Aristotelis Categorias commentaria* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18, 1], Berlin 1890, 102.11–13), where the two feature as examples of how properties and differences have in common the fact that they always co-subsist with their subjects.

²³ On Porphyry, *Isagoge* (3.20 BUSSE): ἡ τοῦ γένους ῥηθεῖσα ὑπογραφή.

²⁴ David, *Commentarium in Isagogen* (ed. A. BUSSE, *Davidis Prolegomena et in Porphyrii Isagogen Commentarium* [*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 18, 2], Berlin, 1904, 142.12–14).

(It is a definition therefore and not a description, since in the case of a description it is possible for one of the terms to be removed and for the description to remain valid, for example if you were to say “man is an animal capable of laughter and that walks upright”, the description “man is an animal capable of laughter” is still valid.)

That man can be described as an animal “capable of laughter and walking upright” also features in David’s first account of the difference between definition and description, where “upright-walking” and “capable of laughter” are joined by another accident that often appears in similar contexts, πλατυώνυχον, “having wide nails”:²⁵

Ἐλθωμεν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ εἰπωμεν τί διαφέρει ὁρισμὸς ὑπογραφῆς καὶ ὄρου καὶ ὑπογραφικοῦ ὁρισμοῦ ... ἡ δὲ ὑπογραφή ἀπὸ συμβεβηκότων λαμβάνεται καὶ τὰ παρεπόμενα τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ πράγματι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ δηλοῖ, οἷον ὡς ὅταν εἶπω “ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὀρθοπεριπατητικὸν γελαστικὸν πλατυώνυχον”.²⁶

(Let us come then to the second topic, and let us say how a definition differs from a description and a term and a descriptive definition ... A description is taken from accidents and that which is incidental to the thing in question, and it indicates that which is around its nature, as in when I say “man is upright-walking, capable of laughter, and has wide nails”.)

Here David refers to γελαστικόν (“capable of laughter”) as a συμβεβηκός (“accident”), whereas Theodore as we saw above calls it an ἰδίωμα. This very discrepancy in usage between Theodore and David (as well as between them and Porphyry, who calls γελαστικὸν an ἴδιον) itself reflects the tradition, since Porphyry’s ἴδιον came quickly to be identified with συμβεβηκός²⁷, and we moreover occasionally find the word ἰδίωμα used interchangeably with συμβεβηκός. Thus consider the following passage, taken from another commentary on Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, in which the word ἰδίωμα is used to gloss συμβεβηκός:

τί ἐστιν ἀριθμός; συναγωγή ἐν οὐσίᾳ διαφόρων συμβεβηκότων ἡγουν ἰδιωμάτων ὧν τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἂν ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ συνδράμη ποτέ.²⁸

(What is number? It is the collection of different accidents, that is characteristic properties, the sum of which could never occur together in anything else.)

Finally, one should note that in the passage from David’s *Commentary on Porphyry* quoted above, we find the word ὀρθοπεριπατητικόν, “walking upright”, whereas Porphyry and Elias have δίποδι or “biped”. However, it should be emphasized that David understands “walking upright” as an equivalent synonym for “biped”, as he explicitly contrasts the former with “walking on four feet”:

Ταῦτα γὰρ οὔτε παρόντα σώζουσιν οὔτε ἀπόντα φθείρουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· κἂν γὰρ μὴ ἐστιν ὀρθοπεριπατητικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ τετραποδίζει, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔχει ὄνυχας, οὐδὲν ἥττον ἄνθρωπός ἐστι.²⁹

²⁵ See, for example, David, *Commentarium in Isagogen* (131, 2 BUSSE).

²⁶ See, for example, David, *Prolegomena* (12, 19 BUSSE).

²⁷ See J. BRUMBERG-CHAUMONT, *Logico-grammatical Reflections about Individuality in Late Antiquity*, in: *Individuality in Late Antiquity*, ed. A. Torrance – J. Zachhuber. Farnham 2014, 63–90, at 76 on how Porphyry’s “properties” were consistently identified with “accidents” in the subsequent tradition.

²⁸ Pseudo-Elias, *Prolegomena* (ed. G. WESTERINK, Pseudo-Elias [Pseudo-David] *Lectures on Porphyry’s Isagoge*. Amsterdam 1967, 80.12–14). Pseudo-Elias is here echoing Porphyry’s famous “bundle of accidents”, see Porphyry, *Isagoge* (7.22–24 BUSSE).

²⁹ David, *Prolegomena* (13.4–5 BUSSE).

(For <accidents> neither preserve <the species> man when they are present nor destroy him in their absence. For even if man were not *orthoperipatetikon* but walked on four feet, and even if he didn't have fingernails, he would no less be man.)

The property of walking on two feet, whether delineated with Theodore's περιπατητικόν, David's ὀρθοπεριπατητικόν, or Porphyry's δίποδι, is a trait that is recognizable throughout the tradition as belonging to all mankind but as not defining the species. Thus to see Theodore's περιπατητικόν occur together with γελαστικόν, "capable of laughter", in a discussion of John's humanity suggests the abiding influence on Theodore of this tradition. I would finally highlight the fact that in his mini-catalogue of attributes that are characteristic of a human being, Theodore reserves for the final and climactic position the capacity for laughter, referring to it as τὸ γελαστικὸν ἰδίωμα, which is Porphyry's example of a property or ἴδιον in its fourth and most proper sense.

We find then that when Theodore's concern is to describe the basic physiological and psychological features of John's humanity, he naturally has recourse to those features—irrespective of whether they are termed "properties" or "accidents"—which the philosophical tradition singles out as paradigmatically associated with or particular to the species man.

THE FEAST OF BARTHOLOMEW AND THE PERFECTION OF THE SIXTH APOSTLE

For our final example we turn to Theodore's homily for the feast day of Apostle Bartholomew³⁰. In this case we are not interested in Theodore's application of the *Categories* to his iconophile theology, nor echoes of terminology associated with Porphyry's five predicables. Instead, in this homily we will be looking at a different moment in the Byzantine logical curriculum, in fact its very beginning. In the sequence of the course in logic established in the Neoplatonic School of late ancient Alexandria, the study of Aristotle was preceded by Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and Porphyry was himself preceded by a separate introduction, a set of prolegomena introducing both the study of philosophy and then the *Isagoge* itself³¹. Within the Byzantine tradition, the most familiar among these prolegomena are those that go under the names of David and Elias, students of Olympiodorus active in the Alexandrian school in the sixth century, which are very similar to one another in form and content, taking the form of a series of lectures³². Along with David and Elias, we should also include a similar and related commentary, the partially preserved set of lectures on Porphyry's *Isagoge* edited by Westerink and known as "Pseudo-Elias"³³. Thanks to their length and their discursive, even rambling treatment of a stereotyped series of questions to be addressed before studying Porphyry, these prolegomena are a mine of information on a variety of topics related, somewhat tenuously on occasion, to logic. Furthermore, due to the fact that they constitute, as it were, the introductions to the "introduction" to the logical curriculum, that is, to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, they were able to reach an audience that included even those who had limited exposure to the philosophical curriculum, as they would have first studied prolegomena like these. In what follows we will investigate a passage in the homily for

³⁰ See U. WESTERBERGH, Anastasius Bibliothecarius Sermo Theodori Studitae de Sancto Bartholomeo Apostolo: A Study (*Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 9). Uppsala 1963, 41–48.

³¹ Most of these Neoplatonic texts were edited in the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* series. The practice of writing *prolegomena* was not limited to philosophical studies but was common across different curricula; see especially J. MANSFIELD, *Prolegomena: Questions to be Settled Before the Study of an Author or a Text*. Leiden 1994.

³² For background and bibliography on David and Elias, see Ch. WILDBERG, *Three Neoplatonic Introductions to Philosophy: Ammonius, David and Elias. Hermathena* 149 (1990) 33–51.

³³ *Pseudo-Elias, Prolegomena* (ed. G. WESTERINK, *Pseudo-Elias [Pseudo-David] Lectures on Porphyry's Isagoge*. Amsterdam 1967).

Bartholomew that demonstrates the lasting influence on Theodore exercised by these introductions to the logical curriculum.

Theodore begins the encomium by stressing the dizzying magnitude of the task ahead of him, to praise not just a saint but one of the apostles themselves. This is beyond his oratorical skill, and he dwells on the significance of the number of the apostles:

Μὴ ὅτι τῆς θείας [δυοδεκάδος] ἐστὶν ὁ μεσαίτατος, καὶ τῶν φωστήρων τοῦ κόσμου ὁ διαπρύσιος; ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ δυοκαιδεκάς, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ κιθάρας ἐναρμονίου ἐφάμιλλος, ἴσον καὶ ὁμοιον ἀμφοτέρωθεν τὸν ἦχον τῆς θεολογίας ἀναπέμπουσα· εἰ βούλει δὲ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ἐνιαυσιαίου κύκλου ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἐπ' ἴσης τὸ χρήσιμον ἐν τῷ παντὶ συνεισφέροντος, κἂν ἰδίᾳ ἕτερος ἐτέρου ποσότητί τε καὶ ποιότητι ἔχῃ τὸ διάφορον.³⁴

(Not to mention the fact that <Bartholomew> is centermost of the divine twelve, and that among the luminaries of the world, his brilliance is far-reaching. For the number twelve in and of itself, a rival as it were of the tuned kithara, emits from both sides an equal and similar echo of theology. Or, if you wish, as in the case of the cycle of the year, each month contributes equally its usefulness to the whole, even if one month differs from another through its particular quantity and quality.)

We then realize that Theodore's discussion of the number twelve is to prepare us for his exegesis of the position of Bartholomew in the Gospel's enumeration of the apostles. In the list given in Luke 6:13–16, Bartholomew is named sixth, a position with mystical significance (μυστικὸν θεώρημα), as Theodore explains. Bartholomew's position is "perfect":

Οὐκ ὀλιγοστός ἡμῖν ὁ εὐφημούμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐπηρμένος τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος, ἔχων τι καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀπαριθμήσει μυστικὸν θεώρημα κατὰ ἀριθμητικὴν μέθοδον· μόνος γὰρ ὁ ἕξ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τέλειός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν, συμπληρούμενος ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἡμίσεως μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος.³⁵

(The object of our praise is not trifling, nay indeed he is exceedingly lofty in the power of his spirit, as he possesses even in his very <place in the> enumeration a certain subject for mystical contemplation, according to the arithmetic method. For of the numbers from the monad <i.e., single digit numbers>, only the number six is perfect in its own parts³⁶, being completed from them, as one half <of six> is the triad, a third is the dyad, and a sixth is the monad.)

Homilists invoke ancient "arithmology" and number theory occasionally from the Late Antique period on, for example when performing exegesis on the Hexaemeron, the first Six Days of Creation, and fancy can take full flight in discussions of Pentecost, which falls seven weeks, or seven times seven days, after Pascha³⁷. Here however, Theodore's elaboration of the significance of the perfect number six relies, I suggest, on discussions of the number six found in the prolegomena to the philosophical curriculum and Porphyry's *Isagoge*. These excursus on number theory in the Alexandrian commentators are themselves motivated by discussions of the various definitions of philosophy, and

³⁴ In Bartholomaeum Apostolum (PG 99, 792B9–C2).

³⁵ In Bartholomaeum Apostolum (PG 99, 792C3–9).

³⁶ That is, what we would call the number's factors.

³⁷ For early Christian interest in numbers, see J. KALVESMAKI, *The Theology of Arithmetic: Number Symbolism in Platonism and Early Christianity* (Hellenic Studies 59). Washington, DC 2013. As so often, Philo is a key figure in the transmission of these ideas to the Church Fathers; see J. ROGERS, *Didymus the Blind and the Alexandrian Christian Reception of Philo*. Atlanta 2017, 143–154. For numerical exegesis on Pentecost, see especially Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.2.

why it is that there are six of those definitions, a perfect number. Such passages can be found, for example, in the *Prolegomena* of both David and Elias³⁸. We cite here as a representative example from Pseudo-Elias's *Prolegomena* and *Commentary on Porphyry's Isagoge*:

Τούτων γὰρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀρτίων οἱ μὲν εἰσι τέλειοι, οἱ δὲ ἀτελεῖς. καὶ τέλειοι λέγονται ἀριθμοὶ ὧν τὰ μέρη συντιθέμενα ἀποτελοῦσι τὸ ὅλον καὶ οὔτε ἐλλείπουσιν οὔτε πλεονάζουσιν, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ ς´· οὗτος γὰρ συντιθέμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι τὸ ὅλον συνίστησιν, οἷον ἡμισυ ἔχει τὸ γ´, τρίτον τὸν β´, καὶ [ἕκτον] μονάδα, ὡς συντίθεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ γ´ β´ α´ τὸ ὅλον τοῦ [ἕκτου] ἀριθμοῦ.³⁹

(And of even numbers, some are perfect and others are imperfect. And numbers are said to be perfect whose parts, when added up, render the whole, and are neither deficient nor abundant, such as the number six. For this number, composed of its own parts, gives the whole. For as its half, it has the number three, as its third the number two, and as its sixth it has the number one, so that the whole of the number six is made up from the numbers three, two and one.)

We can compare the two passages to see how closely Theodore's language recalls this tradition: Theodore's phrase τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν συμπληρούμενος almost exactly reproduces the prolegomena's συντιθέμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι; and the way Theodore lists the factors of the number six (ἡμίσεως μὲν τριάδος, τρίτου δὲ δυάδος, ἕκτου δὲ μονάδος) closely parallels the way those same factors are listed in the prolegomena (ἡμισυ ἔχει τὸ γ´, τρίτον τὸν β´, καὶ [ἕκτον] μονάδα).

Further examples are available in the other *Prolegomena*. In Elias himself we find:

Θαυμάσαι δὲ ἔστιν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὁρισμῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας· ἕξ γὰρ εἰσιν, ὁ δὲ ἕξ τέλειος, ὡς ἴσος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι· τὰ γὰρ μέρη αὐτοῦ συνερχόμενα οὔτε πλεονάζει οὔτε ἐλλείπει. οὕτως ἡμισυ τῶν ἕξ τρία, τρίτον τῶν ἕξ δύο, ἕκτον ἢ μονάδα, καὶ ἰδοὺ τέλειος· τὰ γὰρ τρία καὶ τὰ δύο καὶ τὸ ἕν συντεθέντα ἕξ ἀποτελεῖ μόνον.⁴⁰

(One can also marvel at the number of the definitions of philosophy. For they are six, and six is a perfect number, as it is equal to its own parts <i.e., factors>. For its parts when they come together are neither abundant nor deficient. Thus half of six is three, a third of six is two, and a sixth is the monad, and behold, a perfect number. For three and two and one, when added together, make six only.)

Furthermore, in Elias we also learn that six “is the only number from the monad to the decade to be perfect” (ἀπὸ γὰρ μονάδος ἕως δεκάδος εἷς τέλειος ὁ ἕξ)⁴¹. We should compare this to how Theodore says “six is the only number from the monad to be perfect” (μόνος γὰρ ὁ ἕξ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος τέλειός ἐστιν). Now, one might counter here that Theodore would have been more likely to learn arithmology or number theory in Euclid or in some other textbook of mathematics than he would in the prolegomena to philosophy. We should note, however, that Theodore's passage corresponds in its arrangement and diction to the stereotyped treatments of the Alexandrian commentaries significantly more closely than it does to the fuller discussion of the same concepts to be found in a

³⁸ See David, *Prolegomena* (20–23 BUSSE), where the seventh of the ten chapters to be studied before beginning philosophy is concerned with why there are six definitions of philosophy; one of the reasons given is that six is a perfect number “because its parts add up to the whole”.

³⁹ Pseudo-Elias, *Prolegomena* (8.12 WESTERINK).

⁴⁰ Elias, *Prolegomena* (24.26–31 BUSSE).

⁴¹ Elias, *Prolegomena* (25.10–11 BUSSE).

mathematical treatise proper, such as that of Nicomachus of Gerasa⁴². It is the philosophical prolegomena, with their rambling explanations of how there are a perfect six definitions of philosophy, that are Theodore's more plausible inspiration for how Bartholomew, as the sixth apostle, occupies a mystically perfect position in the enumeration featured in Luke.

Theodore's discussion of six as a perfect number is a good example of how his philosophical culture seeps into his writings in various genres, and is not limited to his more explicitly theological or polemical treatises and letters. Additionally, it raises questions once again about Theodore's audience. Theodore's discussion of perfect numbers, with its fleeting mention of how in the case of the number six, "the triad, dyad and monad add up to create the whole", is brisk in its pace, and implies an audience that would not have required too much in the way of explanation. The section is difficult to follow unless one already knows that a perfect number in this case is equal to the sum of its divisors. Theodore's monastic audience at this saint's feast would likely have included others who received training in logic and philosophy, progressing at least through prolegomena after the fashion of those of the Alexandrian commentators.

This selection has highlighted moments in Theodore's homilies that reflect the different texts making up the logical curriculum, from Aristotle's *Categories* to Porphyry's *Isagoge* to the Late Antique prolegomena. Theodore's homilies let us see the influence of all these various strands of the logical tradition. Furthermore, in these texts we see the larger Aristotelian tradition working not so much as a weapon for polemic, which is the guise in which it is most familiar in studies of the philosophy of this period, but rather as a basic component of Byzantine intellectual culture as it was lived on a day-to-day basis. Whether Theodore was building arguments for theological polemic or composing homilies for the holiest days in the ecclesiastical calendar, he turned again and again to the same set of ideas and texts from the logical tradition. The fact that Theodore utilizes the same intellectual equipment for his roles as a theologian and as an orator is itself a measure of the importance of logical culture for his own self-presentation, as well as a clear if not wholly unexpected witness to the ninth-century revival of interest in the Aristotelian tradition⁴³.

⁴² Nicomachus' *Introductio Mathematica* (ed. R. HOCHÉ, *Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei introductionis arithmeticae libri ii*. Leipzig 1866). Note especially a) that Elias and Theodore have ἀπὸ μονάδος instead of Nicomachus's ἐν μονάσει (1.16.3.8 HOCHÉ); and b) that Nicomachus lists the factors of six in a different manner, nothing that "the number six has as its parts a half, a third, and a sixth, which are three, two, and one, which taken together add up to six", ὃ τε γὰρ ζ ἔχει μέρη ἡμισυ, τρίτον, ἕκτον, ἅπερ εἰσὶ γ, β, α, ἅπερ συγκεφαλαιωθέντα ὁμοῦ καὶ γενόμενα ζ ἴσα τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχει (1.16.2.7–11 HOCHÉ); while the prolegomena, as well as Theodore, render this idea by listing in series each of the fractions into which six can be divided together with the factor that it represents. Thus compare Theodore's "one half <of six> is the triad, a third is the dyad, and a sixth is the monad" and Elias's "half of six is three, a third of six is two, and a sixth is the monad".

⁴³ This paper was made possible through the support of the project "Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Traditions" (9 SALT), generously granted by the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (ERC CoG 648298). An earlier version was presented at the 2016 Byzantine Studies Conference at Cornell University, and I remain grateful to the audience as well as to Christophe Erismann and the anonymous readers for their helpful feedback.

KEN PARRY

Theodore the Stoudite: The Most “Original” Iconophile?

Abstract: Theodore the Stoudite’s theory of the icon has only recently attracted the attention it deserves, so perhaps it is now that we can make a proper assessment of it. The foundations of his iconology are still unclear, however, as he does not reference the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea of 787, which overturned the first period of iconoclasm in the eighth century. Also, the fact that he is not familiar with the iconophile writings of John of Damascus, probably means that his refutations of the iconoclasts are largely a product of his own thoughts and devising. Unlike his contemporary iconophile Nikephoros, who cites and refutes iconoclast sources firsthand, he uses the rhetorical question-and-answer genre to deliver his message. It is on this basis that we pose the question of Theodore’s original contribution to the iconophile cause, while examining some chosen themes he discusses during the course of his polemic.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

These introductory remarks are written in response to some statements published in 2002. I make them as a means of setting the scene for assessing Theodore’s contribution to Byzantine image theory. One of the statements in question suggests that Theodore’s works in defence of icon veneration lacks critical analysis, and that he has taken his arguments from “a stockpile of Aristotelian arguments”. Furthermore, the author suggests that his arguments do not demonstrate “original creative thinking”¹. My impression from this is that the author has not made a study of Theodore’s writings on icon veneration; if he had, I think he would have thought twice about making such remarks. In fairness, it should be said that the focus of his book is not on Theodore’s image theory², but on the practical aspects of his monastic teaching and reform. Nevertheless, such statements cannot go unchallenged.

The author is of the opinion Theodore was of a practical temperament and a man of action rather than a speculative theologian³, suggesting that the two are incompatible and mutually exclusive. Yet it is not difficult to think of other fathers who were speculative theologians as well as men of action; Cyril of Alexandria and Maximos the Confessor spring to mind. The author thinks Theodore’s strength lay in the practical application of Christian theology, but one could say that the theology of the icon is practical, in that it justifies the physical act of venerating an icon, so in that sense it may be said have a practical outcome. If nothing else, its purpose is to vindicate a devotional practice, so perhaps it ought to be categorised as liturgical theology. Yet in his polemic against the iconoclasts, Theodore does not discuss the liturgical role of the icon, although we know that from the seventh century icons were being hung on the sanctuary barrier (τέμπλον)⁴.

¹ R. CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness*. Oxford 2002, 25.

² See T. T. TOLLEFSEN, *St Theodore the Studite’s Defence of Icons: Theology and Philosophy in Ninth-Century Byzantium*. Oxford 2018; O. DELOUIS, *Expérience de l’icône et preuve par l’image chez Théodore Stoudite*, in: *Visibilité et présence de l’image dans l’espace ecclésial. Byzance et Moyen Age occidental*, ed. S. Brodbeck – A.-O. Poilpre (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 30). Paris, 2018, 151–170; D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Adoring Christ’s image: The icon theology of Leo of Chalcedon and Theodore of Stoudios*. *GRBS* 58 (2018) 423–444.

³ CHOLIJ, *Theodore the Stoudite*, 24. For more on Theodore’s life and work, see T. PRATSCH, *Theodoros Studites (759–826) – zwischen Dogma und Pragma (Berliner Byzantinische Studien 4)*. Frankfurt 1998.

⁴ V. CRISAFULLI – J. NESBITT, *The Miracles of St. Artemios: A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium*. New York 1997, 181.

The same author quotes a remark of Theodore's that he needed recourse to authority when faced with questions of a speculative nature, saying; "I have no understanding of difficult conceptual matters"⁵. But this should not be taken at face value, when it is clearly an expression of monastic humility and intrinsic to the Greek patristic mindset⁶. We may recall John of Damascus' statement in the preface to his *Fount of Knowledge*; "I shall say nothing of my own, but only what has been said by others"⁷. This was the patristic *modus operandi*, endorsed by Canon 19 of the Quinisext Council of 692⁸, whereas "original creative thinking" is a modern concept largely out of place in a ninth-century context.

The author's reference to "a stockpile of Aristotelian arguments" would appear to be taken from Paul Alexander's 1958 study of the patriarch Nikephoros⁹. Alexander discusses two examples he thinks demonstrate the use of Aristotelian terminology prior to the outbreak of second iconoclasm in 815. The first is a letter (*Epistle* 528) of Theodore's to John the Grammarian, the future iconoclast patriarch of Constantinople, in which he uses this terminology to explain an aspect of iconophile theory. He incorporates into this letter an earlier one (*Epistle* 428) to his disciple Athanasios, the contents of which seem to have fallen into the hands of John the Grammarian because Theodore responds to his criticism of it. In his original letter to Athanasios Theodore explains why Christ's image receives a relative worship. He discusses the relation of the prototype to the image by paraphrasing Aristotle's opening remarks in the *Categories*:

"Furthermore, we are taught according to the definition of philosophy that things are said to be named "homonymously" if, though they have a common name, the definition of being (λόγος τῆς οὐσίας) corresponding to the name differs for each, as in Christ himself and his portrait ..."¹⁰

Alexander then goes on to say why this letter is chronologically important because it speaks of Theodore's uncle, Plato, as living. If Plato died on 4 April 814 then the letter must have been written before that date and this would be evidence for the scholastic period of iconophile theory having begun before that time¹¹. Unfortunately, the reference to Plato in this letter is not to Theodore's uncle but to a Stoudite monk, a disciple of Theodore's¹². Consequently it cannot be cited as evidence for the use of Aristotelian terminology before 815.

Alexander's second example suggests that an earlier *terminus ante quem* may be inferred from the anonymous *Commentary on John the Evangelist* written before 812. However, this dating may no longer be tenable as the manuscript has recently been given a revised date in the second half of the ninth century. In addition, it has been proposed that the author of the *Commentary* was Metrophanes, bishop of Smyrna, an opponent of the patriarch Photios, although this attribution is

⁵ CHOLIJ, Theodore the Stoudite, 25, citing Epistula 219 (ed. G. FATOUROS, Theodori Studitae Epistulae, 2 vols [CFHB, Series Berolinensis 31]. Berlin 1990, 1992, II, 341).

⁶ CHOLIJ, Theodore the Stoudite, 25, quotes from I. HAUSHERR, Saint Théodore Studite: L'homme et l'ascète d'après ses catéchèses (*Orientalia Christiana* 6). Rome 1926, 16, understanding him to mean that Theodore employed a "lazy" method of doing theology which took no account of context, only conclusions and their expression.

⁷ John of Damascus, *Dialectica*, Recensio fusior 2 (ed. B. KOTTER, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, I: Institutio elementaris. Capita philosophica [Dialectica] [Patristische Texte und Studien 7]. Berlin 1969, 55). See further A. ALEXAKIS, The Modesty Topos and John of Damascus as a Not-so-modest Author. *BZ* 97 (2004) 521–530.

⁸ See G. NEDUNGATT – M. FEATHERSTONE, The Council in Trullo Revisited (*Kanonika* 6). Rome 1995, 94–96.

⁹ P. ALEXANDER, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire. Oxford 1958, 190–213.

¹⁰ Epistula 528 (II, 790 FATOUROS); ALEXANDER, Patriarch Nicephorus 195.

¹¹ ALEXANDER, Patriarch Nicephorus 196.

¹² Epistula 528 (II, 788 FATOUROS).

not certain¹³. If this is so, then Theodore’s “scholastic” contribution may be more worthy of comment, from the point of view of “original creative thinking” than was thought, making him less an imitator and more an initiator. The new dating puts a different complexion on the question regarding when this terminology was first adopted by iconophile authors. In the absence of other evidence, I am inclined to think it was on the curriculum of higher learning in the second half of the eighth century, when the iconophiles of second iconoclasm received their education, and that it became a focus of attention around the time of Nicaea II. In support of this I would cite the epitomes of Aristotelian logic terminology coming through from the sixth and seventh centuries, based mainly on Ammonius of Alexandria and his school¹⁴.

Incidentally, I think Alexander’s use of the term “scholastic trend” as well as “scholastic theory of images” in relation to the iconophile use of Aristotelian terminology needs refining¹⁵. The term “scholastic” has been used primarily in labelling John of Damascus, to whom it has been applied indiscriminately, mainly because of his influence on medieval Latin schoolmen, but it is neither a term appropriate to him nor one Theodore would recognise. An accommodation with Greek philosophical terminology is apparent in the writings of the Cappadocian fathers who bequeathed a long-lasting legacy to the Byzantine intellectual tradition¹⁶. This was later supplemented to some extent by the work of the Neoplatonic commentators of the Alexandrian school. John of Damascus amply demonstrates this heritage in his *Dialectica*, and although he does not apply his knowledge of Aristotle’s *Categories* to the image question, he might easily have done so¹⁷. The fact that the iconophiles of second iconoclasm, as well as the iconoclast patriarch John the Grammarian¹⁸, chose to make use of this terminology favours the point that it was integral to their thinking and not something extraneous or added on. But let us conclude these opening remarks and turn to Theodore and his iconophile contribution.

SOME ASPECTS OF THEODORE’S LIFE AND WORK

Theodore was undoubtedly a hardliner when it came to applying canon law to imperial behaviour. This was the case in relation to the stand he took against the second marriage of Constantine VI, as

¹³ See P. VAN DEUN, La chasse aux trésors: la découverte de plusieurs oeuvres inconnues de Métrophane de Smyrne (IXe–Xe siècle). *Byz* 78 (2008) 346–367.

¹⁴ See M. ROUECHÉ: Byzantine Philosophical Texts of the Seventh Century. *JÖB* 23 (1974) 61–76; IDEM, A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology. *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71–98; IDEM, The Definitions of Philosophy and a new fragment of Stephanus the Philosopher. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 107–12. See also K. PARRY, Aristotle and the Icon: The use of the Categories by Iconophile writers, in: Aristotle’s Categories in the Byzantine, Arabic and Latin Traditions, ed. S. Ebbesen – J. Marenbon – P. Thom. Copenhagen 2013, 34–56; and IDEM, Depicting the Word: Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries. Leiden 1996, 52–63.

¹⁵ ALEXANDER, Patriarch Nicephorus, 190, 194.

¹⁶ See, for example, J. PELIKAN, Christianity and Classical Culture: The Metamorphosis of Natural Theology in the Christian Encounter with Hellenism. New Haven – London 1993; M. DELCOGLIANO, Basil of Caesarea’s Anti-Eunomian Theory of Names: Christian Theology and Late Antique Philosophy in the Fourth Century Trinitarian Controversy. Leiden 2010; S. ELM, Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church: Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome. Berkeley 2012. For a contrasting position, see A. KALDELLIS, Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformation of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition. Cambridge 2007.

¹⁷ John discusses Aristotelian terminology in his *Dialectica*, which was most likely written after his *Orations* in defence of icons, but this need not mean he was unfamiliar with it at the time. In the early ninth century, the Melkite Theodore Abū Qurrah is said to have translated Aristotle’s *Prior Analytics* into Arabic, but he does not use Aristotelian terms in his apology for icons, see S. H. GRIFFITH, Theodore Abū Qurrah: A Treatise on the Veneration of the Holy Icons. Leuven 1997, 15–16. See also J. SIGNES CODOÑER, Melkites and Icon Worship during the Iconoclastic Period. *DOP* 67 (2013) 135–187.

¹⁸ There are fragments discussed by J. GOUILLARD, Fragments inédits d’un antirrétique de Jean le Grammairien. *REB* 24 (1966) 171–181, reprinted in his *La vie religieuse à Byzance*. London 1981, VIII. According to Photios John had been not only an iconophile but an iconographer before becoming an iconoclast, see *Homily XV* in C. MANGO, The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople. Harvard 1958, 246.

well as against the reintroduction of iconoclasm by Leo V¹⁹, but he was not the only iconophile to engage in *Kaiserkritik*. John of Damascus had done the same in the eighth century, although he was on safer ground than Theodore, being geographically remote from the sphere of imperial control emanating from Constantinople. He had referred ironically to Leo III's policy of iconoclasm as "the gospel according to Leo", as well as listing those emperors who had previously imposed heresy on the Byzantine Church²⁰. For Theodore, on the other hand, the price for opposing imperial authority was imprisonment, corporal punishment and exile from the Queen of Cities.

We do not know exactly when Theodore wrote his most substantial polemical work against the iconoclasts, the *Three Antirrhethici*, but it is assumed it was in the six years of exile from 815 to 821. We learn from his letters (*Epistiles* 132, 152) that he complained of not having access to books and writing materials on several occasions during his exile²¹. He tells us that his *Third Antirrheticus* was written as a follow up to the previous two, and it is clearly of a different order from the others, demonstrating his facility with syllogistic reasoning. Unlike his contemporary patriarch Nikephoros in his *Three Antirrhethici*, Theodore does not cite directly from the theological questions (πεύσεις) of Constantine V. His iconoclastic protagonist is a rhetorical mouthpiece who presents arguments for Theodore to knock down. He structures his arguments using the question-and-answer genre (ἐρωταποκρίσεις) and he is known to have written a lost work entitled *Questions and Answers*.

Commentators take for granted the influence of John of Damascus on the iconophiles of second iconoclasm, even though we are in the dark regarding the early reception of John's works in Constantinople²². In some manuscripts of his *Book of Heresies* John refers to the iconoclasts as lion-hearted (λεοντόθυμος), deriving the epithet from their heresiarch emperor Leo III. I say in some manuscripts, because we find the patriarch Nikephoros citing *Heresy* 102 on the Iconoclasts²³. The editor of John's works, Bonifatius Kotter, excludes *Heresy* 102 in his edition of the *Book of Heresies*, stopping at *Heresy* 100 on the Ishmaelites. Nikephoros' citation of *Heresy* 102 is in fact a later supplement to the *Book of Heresies*, which may have been added by John of Jerusalem and taken with him to Constantinople around 787²⁴. This is speculation of course, but it may indicate one channel by which some of John's writings reached the capital. Another might be through the arrival in Constantinople of the Palestinian monks, Michael the Synkellos and the Graptoi brothers, Theodoros and Theophanes, in the early ninth century²⁵. It would seem strange if John did not include the iconoclasts in his *Book of*

¹⁹ See further P. KARLIN-HAYTER, A Byzantine Political Monk: St. Theodore Studite. *JÖB* 44 (1994) 217–232; P. HATLIE, The Politics of Salvation: Theodore of Stoudios on Martyrdom (Martyrion) and Speaking out (Parrhesia). *DOP* 50 (1996) 263–287.

²⁰ John of Damascus, Oratio II, 16 (ed. B. KOTTER, Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, III: Contra imaginum calumia-tores orationes tres [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 17]. Berlin 1975, 113–114).

²¹ Epistolae 132, 152 (I, 132, 23–26; I, 152, 48–51 FATOUROS). On books and scribes at the Stoudios monastery, see K. PARRY, Theodore the Stoudite and the Stoudios Scriptorium in Ninth-Century Byzantium, in: *Observing the Scribe at Work: Scribal Practice in the Ancient World*, ed. M. Choat et al. (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*). Leuven (forthcoming).

²² Thomas Cattoi, the most recent translator of Theodore's anti-iconoclast writings, has in fact seen that this influence is far from clear. See T. CATTOI, Theodore the Studite: Writings on Iconoclasm (*Ancient Christian Writers* 69). New York 2015, 5–6. Alexander Alexakis has suggested that John's second oration in defence of icons may have been known before 770, see A. ALEXAKIS, Byzantine Florilegia, in: *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, ed. K. Parry. Oxford 2015, 15–50.

²³ Nikephoros, Third Antirrheticus 3, 82 (*PG* 100, 528C–533A). Perhaps we should note that the term "accusers of Christians" (Χριστιανοκατηγόρων) used for the iconoclasts in *Heresy* 102 is not found in John's *Orations*. It is used however by the bishops at Nicaea II and by Theodore in his *Testament*. For the latter see O. DELOUIS, Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite: édition critique et traduction. *REB* 67 (2009) 95.

²⁴ This is suggested by S. GERO, Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, with particular attention to the oriental sources (*CSCO* 346, *Subsidia* 41). Leuven 1973, 67–69.

²⁵ For these iconophiles see M. CUNNINGHAM, The Life of Michael the Synkellos (*Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations* 1). Belfast 1991, and C. SODE, Jerusalem – Konstantinopel – Rom: Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi. Stuttgart 2001. See also Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online (<https://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz>): Michael the Synkellos (#5059), Theodoros Graptos (#7526), and Theophanes Graptos (#8093).

Heresies, given that he had written his refutation of them prior to compiling this work. Nikephoros’ citation of *Heresy* 102 would appear to be evidence for at least some parts of the *Book of Heresies* being known in Constantinople in the early ninth century. Unfortunately, we still lack a study of John’s *Nachleben* in Byzantium²⁶.

As far as Theodore’s sources are concerned, it is not surprising that Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus top his list of patristic authorities²⁷. A study of the patristic citations included in his *Three Antirrhети*, shows that some passages were those cited by the Seventh Council of 787, but the impact of the *Acta* of Nicaea II on the iconophiles of second iconoclasm has still to be properly assessed²⁸. It is known that there were a number of iconophile florilegia going the rounds in the early ninth century, with the patriarch Nikephoros being an important witness to a major collection. On the whole Theodore uses a more restricted palette of citations than John of Damascus and Nikephoros. In his letter (*Epistle* 499) to Niketas of Medikion (d. 824), Theodore discusses the meaning of a passage from the sixth-century bishop, Hypatios of Ephesus, that Niketas was having trouble understanding²⁹. Niketas was a lapsed iconophile who was persuaded to return to the fold by Theodore and who is known to have compiled an iconophile florilegium for his monks³⁰.

Theodore’s uncle Plato was present at Nicaea II, but there is no mention in the *Vitae* by Michael the Monk that Theodore took the opportunity to accompany him, and there is no reference by Theodore himself to being there³¹. Theodore was 28 at the time of the council in 787 and had been living the spiritual life for six years with Plato in Bithynia. At Nicaea his uncle would have heard the *Horos* of the Iconoclast Council of 754 being read out in the sixth session and refuted passage by passage. He would also have heard the bishops lift the anathemas against John of Damascus, imposed by the iconoclasts at their council of 754³². In his *Testament* prepared shortly before his death in 826, Theodore confesses his acceptance of the six ecumenical councils as well as the seventh³³, but we know he expressed initial misgivings over the status of Nicaea II³⁴. However, with the outbreak of second iconoclasm in 815 he began to use the term holy (*ἁγία*) when referring to it³⁵, as well as speaking of it as ecumenical³⁶. It was not until the time of Photios, in his encyclical letter to the

²⁶ But see V. ADRAHTAS, John of Damascus, in: *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, ed. Parry, 264–277.

²⁷ For a list of patristic sources cited by Theodore in his three *Antirrhети* see PARRY, *Depicting the Word* 154. On further iconophile testimonia, see A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype (DOS 34)*. Washington, D.C. 1996.

²⁸ See A. ALEXAKIS, Some remarks on Dogmatic Florilegia based mainly on the Florilegia of the early Ninth Century, in: *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium: Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6–8 May 2009*, ed. P. van Deun – C. Macé. Leuven 2011, 45–55. For Nicaea II, see now R. PRICE, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787)*, 2 vols (*Translated Texts for Historians* 68). Liverpool 2018. On Nicaea II and the councils of the period, see H.-G. THÜMMEL, *Die Konzilien zur Bilderfrage im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert. Das 7. Ökumenische Konzil in Nikaia 787*. Paderborn 2005.

²⁹ *Epistula* 499 (II, 737 FATOUROS). For a discussion on the dating of the text attributed to Hypatios, see P. SPECK, *On the Fragment of Hypatios of Ephesus on Images, with an Appendix on the Dialogue with a Jew of Leontios of Neapolis*, in: P. SPECK, *Understanding Byzantium: Studies in Byzantine Historical Sources*. Aldershot 2003, VIII, first published in German in 1984.

³⁰ A. ALEXAKIS, A Florilegium in the Life of Nicetas of Medikion and a Letter of Theodore of Studios. *DOP* 48 (1994) 179–197. For a recent archaeological survey of the Medikion site, see M.-F. AUZÉPY – O. DELOUIS – J.-P. GRÉLOIS – M. KAPLAN, *À propos des monastères de Médikion et de Sakkoudiôn*. *REB* 63 (2005) 183–194.

³¹ On the Lives of Theodore, see D. KRAUSMÜLLER, The *Vitae* B, C and A of Theodore the Stoudite. Their Interrelation, Dates, Authors and Significance for the History of the Stoudios Monastery in the Tenth Century. *AnBoll* 131 (2013) 280–298. A translation of *Vita B* by Michael the Monk and other texts relating to Theodore by Robert Jordan and Rosemary Morris is forthcoming in the *Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library* series.

³² From the perspective of the bishops at Nicaea II these anathemas were hardly authoritative in the first place, irrespective of the claims made by the Council of 754 to be ecumenical. See PRICE, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea II*, 540–542.

³³ DELOUIS, *Le Testament* 95. See also IDEM, *Le Testament de Théodore Stoudite est-il de Théodore?* *REB* 66 (2008) 173–190, esp. 175.

³⁴ *Epistula* 38 (I, 110 FATOUROS).

³⁵ *Epistula* 71 (II, 189 FATOUROS).

³⁶ *Epistula* 475 (II, 684 FATOUROS).

Eastern patriarchs of 866, that the Seventh Council was officially promoted as ecumenical by the Byzantine Church³⁷.

SOME THEMES ADDRESSED BY THEODORE

I: THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE³⁸

An important issue raised by the iconoclasts was the authority of scripture and written tradition as a hallmark of orthodox practice and belief. They rightly asked where was it written that Christians should venerate the image of Christ, and went on to argue that if there was no such instruction, then there was no authority on which to base the cult of images. The iconophiles responded with various arguments, one of which was that icon veneration belonged to the unwritten tradition of the church, and that this was as much a source of authority as the written. Another was to limit the Mosaic prohibition against graven images to the time of the old dispensation, and to contextualize it within the Old Testament commandments imposed upon the Israelites³⁹. This was contrasted with the new dispensation presented in the Gospels that allowed a different reading of the prohibition. In other words, the iconophiles were selective in their interpretation of the commandments. Presumably other commandments, such as not committing murder or adultery, remained non-negotiable.

On the question of what was explicitly stated and what was implied by scripture, Theodore was able to write:

“The scriptures do not say anything about the Son being of the same substance as the Father, or that the Holy Spirit is God, or that Christ’s mother is Theotokos, but all these doctrines known from the later fathers (πρὸς τῶν Πατέρων ἔστερον) are in fact based on passages from scripture. Even if scripture does not say it in these exact words the necessities of the moment require it to be spelled out that Christ is the prototype of his image.”⁴⁰

This finds an echo in earlier authors such as Anastasios of Sinai in the seventh century who states that technical expressions, such as nature and hypostasis, should be understood according to what the prophets and Gospels say⁴¹. This is further endorsed by John of Damascus in his *Orations* against the iconoclasts:

“Where can you find in the Old Testament or in the Gospels explicit use of such terms as ‘Trinity’ or ‘consubstantial’ or ‘one nature of the Godhead’ or ‘three persons’, or anything about Christ as ‘one person with two natures?’ But nevertheless, the meanings of all these things are found, expressed in other phrases which the scriptures do contain, and the holy fathers have interpreted for us.”⁴²

³⁷ Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition, ed. J. PELIKAN – V. HOTCHKISS. New Haven – London 2003, I, 307.

³⁸ For discussion of this concept in Eastern Orthodox theology, see D. J. LATTIER, The Orthodox Rejection of Doctrinal Development. *Pro Ecclesia* 20, 4 (2011) 389–410.

³⁹ PARRY, Depicting the Word 125–132.

⁴⁰ Antirrheticus II, 7 (PG 99, 356CD). Theodore uses the term πατροπαραδότως, meaning handed down from the forefathers in the faith, on several occasions, for example, in his *Testament*, see DELOUIS, Le Testament 97.

⁴¹ Anastasios of Sinai, Hodegos VI, 2 (ed. K.-H. UTHEMANN, Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux [CCSG 8]. Turnhout – Leuven 1981, 102–103, 40–69).

⁴² Oration 3, 11 (III, 122 KOTTER).

Like Theodore, John used the idea of the development of doctrine in the context of convincing the iconoclasts that not everything Christians believed and practised was based on written authority. The notion that unwritten tradition was an acceptable means of verifying customs and practices had been promoted by Basil the Great and it was Basil who was cited as an authority by iconophiles on this issue⁴³.

It is to the exegesis of the fathers that we must turn to find the explanation of doctrines that developed over time. What scripture implied was made explicit by the fathers when the occasion demanded it. This was a well-established procedure in patristic literature and was viewed in relation to other sources of authority, such as church councils with their canons and decrees. The application of non-scriptural terms did not mean innovation in doctrine, especially when the works of the fathers themselves became sources of authority. However, investing in patristic authority had political implications. This can be seen in the way that iconoclasts and iconophiles used patristic texts in their war of words. Furthermore, Theodore was conscious that changes in imperial policy could affect his own authority. In the rules for the *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios contained in his *Testament*, Theodore emphasises the need to maintain the monastery’s independence from imperial interference, to the extent that he was expected to lay down his life if required to do so⁴⁴. Such an expectation is understandable given the volatile nature of church-state relations during Theodore’s lifetime.

The idea of the development of doctrine was outlined by Gregory of Nazianzus in his discussion on the divinity of the Holy Spirit, where he suggests that doctrine is progressive because divine matters are revealed and understood in stages⁴⁵. It implied that doctrine was opened-ended and had its own dynamic not discernible to the human mind. This was further elaborated by his fellow Cappadocian, Gregory of Nyssa, with his idea of spiritual progress being incremental and perpetual (ἐπέκτασις). This suggested that growth towards perfection occurred gradually, and that this could be understood at a doctrinal level as well as at a personal level. However, in the aftermath of iconoclasm the idea of doctrinal completion became embedded in the so-called Triumph of Orthodoxy of 843⁴⁶, along with the subsequent notion that iconoclasm represented the last of the Christological controversies and the end of heterodoxy.

Theodore was aware that the Gospels were written over a span of time and were not contemporary with Christ’s ministry. From this he was able to prioritise the image over the word because the apostles had been eyewitnesses to Christ before his words were written down⁴⁷. Here he was following the Greek notion that sight was the first of the senses. This is found in Aristotle’s opening remarks in the *Metaphysics* where he says that we rate sight over the other senses because it gives us immediate knowledge by distinguishing between things⁴⁸. Theodore used this idea to emphasise that Christianity was about a person who was seen and touched, not just about someone who could be read about in a book. Words by themselves were not sufficient to comprehend the reality of the incarnation; it was necessary to see Christ in his icon to verify his embodiment in the material world. This had nothing to do with images being the books of the illiterate, but with refuting the iconoclast focus on

⁴³ R. P. C. HANSON, Basil’s Doctrine of Tradition. *Vigiliae Christianae* 22 (1968) 249–252.

⁴⁴ DELOUIS, *Le Testament* 107.

⁴⁵ Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 31, 26–27 (tr. L. WICKHAM, St Gregory Nazianzus: On God and Christ. The Five Theological Orations and Two Letters to Cledonius. New York 2002, 137–138).

⁴⁶ See J. GOILLARD, Le Synodikon de L’Orthodoxie: Édition et Commentaire. *TM* 2 (1967) 1–136.

⁴⁷ Antirrheticus III, 1, 2 (*PG* 99, 392A).

⁴⁸ *Metaphysics* A I (980a). The patriarch Tarasios quotes “a certain wise man” to this effect, see S. EFTHYMIADIS, The Life of the Patriarch Tarasios by Ignatios the Deacon (BHG 1698) (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 4). Aldershot 1998, 194.

finding a text for everything Christians said and did⁴⁹. It is possible to extrapolate from Theodore's position that Christianity could exist without the Gospels because the icon of Christ alone suffices, but generally he stresses the complementary nature of word and image.

II: ICON AND IDOL

In countering the accusation of idolatry, as well as justifying their re-reading of the Exodus prohibition against images, the iconophiles drew a distinction between an icon and an idol. They utilised a distinction inherent in philosophical discussions of nominal definitions. In his *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle proposed the compound "goat-stag" (τραγέλαφος) as the name of a non-existent thing⁵⁰. However, Plato had earlier used the example of a goat-stag as painted by an artist who combines two animals in one⁵¹. These mythological creatures, such as gorgons, sirens and griffins, were to be seen in Greek art. This idea of an imaginary animal was discussed by Origen who gave the example of a centaur because it exists only in the imagination. In doing so, he drew a distinction between an image that is imaginary and an image that is a likeness⁵².

A similar distinction is found in Nikephoros, but the patriarch is unlikely to have read Origen's *Homily on Exodus* in which this distinction is found. This is what Nikephoros has to say:

"An idol is a work of fiction and the representation of a non-existent (ἀνυποστάτων) being, such things as the Hellenes out of their lack of good sense and atheism made into representations, namely tritons, centaurs and other phantasms which do not exist. And in this respect icons and idols are to be distinguished from one another; those not accepting the distinction should rightly be called idolaters."⁵³

Here the contrast is between a composite image of the imagination and icon of an existing archetype. In making his distinction Origen explicated Paul's statement that "an idol is nothing in the world" (1 Cor. 8:4), a remark that Celsus in his work *Against the Christians* seems to have known and which Origen criticised him for misappropriating⁵⁴. Origen interprets it to mean that because an idol is without a prototype it must lack historicity and therefore credibility. Paul's statement is discussed by Macarius Magnes in the late fourth century in his *Apocriticus*, in which he draws attention to the difference between an idol and a likeness painted on boards⁵⁵. For Theodore, Christian images deserve to be called icons because the definition of an icon implies a prototype which has a relative and homonymous relationship with its copy⁵⁶. But how does this definition apply to so-called icons

⁴⁹ It is of interest that Irenaeus in the second century was one of the first to suggest that the absence of written documents was no obstacle to believing in Christ, while at the same time condemning the Gnostic Carpocratians for venerating an image of him, see *Against the Heresies* 3, 4, 1–2; 1, 25, 6.

⁵⁰ *Posterior Analytics* II, 7 (92b4–8).

⁵¹ *Republic* VI (488a).

⁵² *Homily on Exodus* 8, 3. On this see K. PARRY, *Image-making*, in: *The Westminster Handbook to Origen*, ed. J. A. McGuckin. Louisville 2004, 128–131. Several centuries later Dionysius the Areopagite discusses biblical descriptions of the cherubim and seraphim as "incongruous images", that is, images that appear out of place which require us to transcend them in order to understand their divine meaning, see *Celestial Hierarchy* 2.5.

⁵³ Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus* I, 29 (PG 100, 277B).

⁵⁴ *Contra Celsum* VIII, 24 (tr. H. CHADWICK, *Origen: Contra Celsum*. Cambridge 1986, 469).

⁵⁵ J. M. SCHOTT – M. J. EDWARDS, *Macarius, Apocriticus (Translated Texts for Historians 62)*. Liverpool 2015, 194–195. Nikephoros appears to be the earliest witness to the *Apocriticus*, see J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Opening scenes of the Second Iconoclasm: Nicephorus's critique of the citations from Macarius Magnes*. *REB* 60 (2002) 65–111.

⁵⁶ *Antirrheticus* II, 16 (PG 99, 360D). See further, C. ERISMANN, *Venerating Likeness: Byzantine Iconophile Thinkers on Aristotelian Relatives and their Simultaneity*. *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 24, 3 (2016) 405–425.

not-made-by-hand (*ἀχειροποίητος*), in which there is no human intermediary between the prototype and the image?

According to Theodore, whatever is artificial imitates something natural, for nothing would be called artificial if it were not preceded by something natural⁵⁷. Although it is not strictly true that whatever is artificial imitates something natural, it may be conceded that a work of the imagination could be said to be natural, in so far as it has been conceived by an artist who is himself part of the natural world. But for Theodore a work of the imagination is not properly speaking an archetypal form; there is no place for abstract or non-representational imagery in his image theory⁵⁸. The mimetic theory that lies behind his iconology seems to preclude the representation of non-natural forms. It is the reality of the archetype that he is keen to emphasise because it legitimises Christian image-making over the images of the non-Christian world.

Although he suggests that mental as well as physical perceptions may be depicted⁵⁹, he would want to qualify this by adding that not everything that is depicted is an icon. It is the content and not the form that distinguishes the icon from other types of images. Nowhere does he state that the form of the icon must be two-dimensional or painted on a wooden panel. And because he does not specify what form the icon should take, it must be assumed that he takes the iconographic tradition for granted. This is to be expected, given that it is “who” is depicted rather than “how” they are depicted that defines the icon⁶⁰. From this we might infer that any image of Christ, regardless of whether it is two or three dimensions, constitutes an icon. In fact, it is not until the later period that Byzantine authors censure images in the round and do so largely in response to medieval western art⁶¹. Yet despite the decline in freestanding sculpture from the sixth century, there was no official church prohibition against three-dimensional images. And there is no evidence that iconoclasts, or iconophiles for that matter, wanted to destroy the ancient statues that adorned the boulevards of Constantinople⁶².

We know there is something of a mismatch between what we see in the Byzantine icon and what the Byzantines tell us they saw. Where we see semi-abstract and attenuated figures, which are far from naturalistic in the modern sense of the term, the Byzantines saw hyper-realistic renditions on the verge of speaking or weeping. The literary genre of the *ekphrasis* invariably speaks of the true likeness of the portrait, often blurring the distinction between archetype and image. The granting of a degree of autonomy to the icon is carried over into hagiographical works that discuss miracle-working icons⁶³. Theodore does not describe exactly what Christ should look like in his icon (*Epistle* 359); he is not interested in his physical features as such, even though he argues for his hypostatic individuality at the philosophical level⁶⁴. He might have described the types of portraits of Christ familiar to him⁶⁵, but for Theodore it was sufficient to claim that his icon (unlike the Gospels) was contemporaneous with his earthly sojourn. Given the absence of a physical description of Christ in the New

⁵⁷ Antirrheticus III, 2, 1 (PG 99, 417A).

⁵⁸ On Theodore’s iconographic programme at the Sakkoudion monastery and the Church of St John the Baptist at the Stoudios monastery, see DELOUIS, *Expérience de l’icône* 156–169.

⁵⁹ Antirrheticus I, 10 (PG 99, 341A).

⁶⁰ PARRY, *Depicting the Word* 27.

⁶¹ For example, Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429), see C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Era, 312–1453*. Toronto 1986, 253–254.

⁶² A compilation of the legendary powers of these statues was recorded in the eighth or ninth century, see A. CAMERON – J. HERRIN, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. Leiden 1984.

⁶³ Theodore cites the story of such an icon from Sophronius of Jerusalem’s *Miracles of Cyrus and John*, see Antirrheticus II, 19 (PG 99, 364C–365A).

⁶⁴ Antirrheticus III, 1, 34 (PG 99, 405B).

⁶⁵ For example, nomismata issued during the reigns of Justinian II (685–695, 705–711) show Christ first with long hair and full beard, then with short curly hair and wispy beard, see J. HERRIN, *The Formation of Christendom*. Oxford 1987, illus. 9.

Testament this descriptive gap was filled by icons not-made-by-hands. These images eliminated the human element regarding differences in style.

Returning for a moment to the depiction of individual physical features in the icon, there is a passage of interest in a work entitled *On the Constitution of Man* by the ninth-century iatrosophist and physician, Meletios the Monk, from the Holy Trinity Monastery at Tiberiopolis in Asia Minor. The title of Meletios' work shows his reliance on the Hippocratic tradition via Galen and Nemesis of Emesa⁶⁶, but his ninth-century date is far from certain⁶⁷. In talking about himself he refers to "my friend Meletios", and points out that nobody else may be mistaken for him because of his individual characteristics.

For the idiosyncrasies of Meletios, since he is an individual (ἄτομον), cannot be perceived in anyone else; such as being a Byzantine, a physician, short, blue-eyed, snub-nosed, suffering from gout, having a certain scar on the forehead, being the son of Gregory. For all these things together have constituted Meletios and they cannot be perceived in anybody else ... Meletios when, standing, he reads or bleeds or cauterises somebody, proves himself separate from the rest of the brethren⁶⁸.

This emphasis on personal characteristics or accidental properties may be directly related to the question of the nature of the hypostasis represented in icons. We may note John of Damascus on separable and inseparable accidents in his *Institutio elementaris*, where he speaks of the man with a snub nose and the man with the hooked nose, and the impossibility of them being the same person⁶⁹.

For Theodore, there is danger of idolatry from the icon as well as the idol⁷⁰. Distinguishing them theoretically is one thing but knowing the intention of the worshipper is another. The intentionality of the worshipper is central to the veneration of the icon because orthopraxis is concomitant with orthodoxy. The problem is that the outward act of veneration appears the same, whether we are offering veneration to the emperor or to Christ, but the intention is different. By understanding this intentional difference we are able to offer the proper worship due to God alone, from the veneration due to the Theotokos as Theotokos and to the saints as saints⁷¹. Theodore is here operating with the distinction between adoration (λατρεία) and veneration (προσκύνησις), which had been systematised by John of Damascus and taken for granted by the bishops at Nicaea II in 787⁷², and which was to some extent recognised by Theodulf of Orleans in the *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum* of the 790s⁷³. Theodore

⁶⁶ M. MORANI, La tradizione manoscritta del 'De natura hominis' di Nemesio. Milan 1981, 132–150.

⁶⁷ See A.-M. TALBOT, Meletios, *ODB* II, 1333. Meletios seems to have been known to John the Exarch in the early tenth century, who translated some works of John of Damascus into Slavonic, see R. BROWNING, John the Exarch, *ODB* II, 1069. See S. R. HOLMAN, On Phoenix and Eunuchs: Sources for Meletius the Monk's Anatomy of Gender. *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, 1 (2008) 79–101, and now C. ERISMANN, Meletius Monachus on individuality: a ninth-century Byzantine medical reading of Porphyry's Logic', *BZ* 110, 1 (2017) 37–60.

⁶⁸ On the Constitution of Man (ed. J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, vol. III. Oxford 1836, reprinted Amsterdam 1963, 154–155). Cited by O. TEMKIN, Byzantine Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism. *DOP* 16 (1962) 96–115.

⁶⁹ *Institutio elementaris* 5 (I, 23 KOTTER). This might not be true of Emperor Justinian II whose reconstructed nose earned him the nickname "Rhinotmetos".

⁷⁰ Antirrheticus I, 16 (*PG* 99, 345D–348A).

⁷¹ Antirrheticus I, 19 (*PG* 99, 348D). On the worship given to the hypostasis of the prototype and the image, see KRAUSMÜLLER, *Adoring the Divine Image*.

⁷² PRICE, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea*, vol. 1, 44–49. See J. PELIKAN, *Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for Icons*. Princeton 1990, 137–140; PARRY, *Depicting the Word* 166–177.

⁷³ See T. X. NOBLE, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. Philadelphia 2009, 181–183.

goes on to condemn those who do not acknowledge this difference and who refuse to offer the appropriate veneration due to those shown in their icons (*Epistle 551*)⁷⁴.

III. REPRESENTING ANGELS

It may be important to know the correct veneration due to images of Christ, the Theotokos and the saints, but there is one type of image that appears to lie outside the iconophile taxonomy of images, and that is images of intellectual or spiritual beings, notably angels. Christ, his mother, and the saints are circumscribed by time and place and are therefore able to be depicted, but angels, it would appear, being outside of time and place, are uncircumscribed and therefore beyond depiction. Time and place are *a priori* determinants of circumscription and circumscription is a prerequisite of representation. If something cannot be circumscribed it cannot be depicted, at least that is what the iconoclasts argued.

Theodore meets this objection in his *Third Antirrheticus* in the following way. He writes:

“In comparison with a dense body, the nature of angels is incorporeal, but in comparison with the divine nature, angels are neither incorporeal nor uncircumscribable (ἀπερίγραπτος), for what is properly incorporeal is unlimited and uncircumscribed, but this applies only to the divine nature. An angel, however, is limited by place (τόπος) and is thus circumscribable.”⁷⁵

The origin of the theory that angels are circumscribed by place, at least within the Greek patristic tradition, is most likely traceable to a passage in Basil the Great’s *On the Holy Spirit* where he writes:

“We believe that the Spirit is everywhere while the rest of the bodiless powers are circumscribed by place.”⁷⁶

This idea appears to be commonplace by the time of John of Thessalonica in the early seventh century, who is quoted during the fifth session of Nicaea II as saying:

“It is in truth the Godhead alone that is incorporeal and uncircumscribed (ἀπερίγραπτον), while the intellectual creatures are not entirely incorporeal and invisible like the Godhead, and therefore have a location and are circumscribed (ἐμπερίγραφα) ... for it is indeed the case that they [angels] are incorporeal compared to us. However, ... the fact that they are contained in a place shows them to be not wholly incorporeal in the way that the divine nature is. And so we do not sin in painting and honouring angels—not as gods but as intellectual creatures and ministers of God and not properly incorporeal. Painting them in human form had its origin in the fact that they were constantly seen in this way by those to whom they were sent by the one who alone is God.”⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Antirrheticus I, 20 (PG 99, 352A). Theodore in his *Letter to the nun Thomais* instructs her on the distinction between προσκύνησις and λατρεία with respect to icons, Epistula 551 (II, 839–840 FATOUROS). See K. DEMOEN, The Philosopher, the Call Girl and the Icon: Theodore the Studite’s (ab)use of Gregory Nazianzen in the iconoclastic controversy, in: *La Spiritualité de L’Univers Byzantin dans le Verbe et L’Image. Hommages offerts à Edmond Voordeckers à l’occasion de son éméritat*, ed. K. Demoen – J. Vereecken (*Instrumenta Patristica* 30). Turnhout 1997, 69–83.

⁷⁵ Antirrheticus III, 1, 47 (PG 99, 412A).

⁷⁶ De Spiritu Sancto XXIII, 54 (PG 32, 169AB). For Anastasios of Sinai in the seventh century an angel cannot find itself at the same time in different places, only God who is uncircumscribed can do that, see J. MUNITIZ, Anastasios of Sinai: Questions and Answers. (*Corpus Christianorum in Translation* 7). Turnhout 2011, 92.

⁷⁷ Acta Concilii Nicaeni, Actio V (ed. E. LAMBERTZ, Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum. Concilium Actiones IV–V [*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 3, 2]. Berlin 2012, 542–545); PRICE, Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea II, 394,

John is here making the point that because angels are not entirely incorporeal they can appear in human form, and because they can do that, images of them can be painted. If they did not make themselves visible in this way, then they would remain elemental and thus imperceptible to the human eye. I am aware that some texts cited at Nicaea II are problematic⁷⁸, among which may be this one attributed to John of Thessalonica.

The passage from Theodore just quoted comes close to what John of Damascus says about angels⁷⁹. For him, an angel is an intellectual substance (οὐσία), and it is by means of this substance that it has an incorporeal nature. It is incorporeal and immaterial in comparison with the density of matter, for only God is properly incorporeal and immaterial. Angels do not appear in their true nature to those who see them, for they do not have a bodily shape *per se*, nor are they extended in three dimensions. John speaks of place being intellectual (νοητός) as well as physical (σωματικός), and he uses the term “σωματικός” in relation to the intellectual place of angels, who, despite their spiritual nature, are circumscribed by several determinants. He writes:

“Although the angel is not contained physically in a place to take on form or shape, he is said to be in a place because of his being spiritually present there and acting according to his nature, and because of his being nowhere else but remaining spiritually circumscribed there where he acts ... Now to be circumscribed means to be determined by place (τόπος), time (χρόνος), and apprehension (κατάληψις), while to be contained by none of these is to be uncircumscribed ... The angel, however, is circumscribed by all three.”⁸⁰

This last term apprehension (κατάληψις), is known from Stoic philosophy where it means recognition by the intellect and is of epistemic significance. Time and place are Aristotelian categories necessary for beings and things to be circumscribed and apprehended. For Aristotle, the two categories of time and place belong to the category of quantity, but his inclusion of time and place under this category was disputed in Antiquity⁸¹. However, Simplicius devoted a special study of them⁸².

According to the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*, which may have been composed in preparation for the council of Nicaea in 787⁸³, Dionysius the Areopagite is a reliable witness to the depiction of angels. The text gives examples from both the Old and New Testaments of those who have seen angels. It says:

“You object that no one has ever seen an angel, but on the contrary, many have seen angels. The Mother of God often saw Gabriel and the myrrh-bearing women saw angels when they came to

translates ἀπερίγραπτον and ἐμπερίγραφα as “infinite” and “finite”, but I think “uncircumscribed” and “circumscribed” is better suited to the context of iconology. John of Thessalonica appears to be the author of the earliest surviving homily on the Dormition, see B. DALEY, *On the Dormition of Mary: Early Patristic Homilies*. New York 1998, 12–13, 47–70.

⁷⁸ On texts associated with Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug at Nicaea II, see PRICE, *Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea II*, 406–409, and K. PARRY, *The Doves of Antioch: Severus, Chalcedonians, Monothelites, and Iconoclasm*, in: *Severus of Antioch: His Life and Times*, ed. J. D’Alton – Y. Youssef. Leiden 2016, 138–159.

⁷⁹ *Expositio Fidei* 2, 3–4 (ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, II: Expositio Fidei [Patristische Texte und Studien 12]*. Berlin 1973, 45–49).

⁸⁰ *Expositio Fidei* 1, 13 (II, 38–39 KOTTER). The same three angelic determinants are found in Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus* II, 7 (PG 100, 345CD).

⁸¹ M. J. GRIFFIN, *Aristotle’s Categories in the Early Roman Empire*. Oxford 2015, 240.

⁸² J. O. URMSON, *Simplicius, Corollaries on Place and Time*. Ithaca 1992.

⁸³ L. BRUBAKER – J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850): An Annotated Survey (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 7)*. Aldershot 2001, 250–251. See also M.-F. AUZÉPY, *L’Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem*. BSL 56 (1995) 323–338.

the tomb ... The prophets ... and many saints likewise saw angels, each according to their capacity. It is on this basis that Dionysius the Areopagite described the orders of angels and represents them pictorially; he does not prohibit such representations but even explains why the angels are depicted in a fourfold manner as eagles and other animals.”⁸⁴

This last sentence is a reference to symbolic images of the seraphim and cherubim in the form of the four living creatures of the tetramorph. A human face appears among the symbols of the tetramorph and is associated with the evangelist Matthew, while the eagle, the lion, and the ox, are associated with John, Mark, and Luke respectively⁸⁵. The expression “according to their capacity”, is often found in conjunction with theophanies and angelic manifestations, stressing that only those who have attained a certain degree of spiritual discernment are worthy of seeing divine things⁸⁶.

Theodore does not explicitly cite the *Celestial Hierarchy* in his *Three Antirrhetici*, but there is a passage from the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* which he does reference on at least one occasion⁸⁷. The passage in question reads:

“In the realm of perceptible images, the artist keeps an eye constantly on the original and never allows his attention to be side-tracked, or diverted by any other visible object. If he does this, then one may presume to say that whatever the object which he wishes to depict, he will, in a manner of speaking, produce a second one, so that one entity can be taken for the other, though in essence they are in fact different.”⁸⁸

The expression “though in essence they are different” became an iconophile catchphrase. It is used by Theodore and Nikephoros on several occasions, and is found in Ulpius the Roman’s so-called painter’s handbook dated to the late ninth century, where he writes “the truth is shown by the likeness, the archetype in the image, each in the other, except for the difference in essence”⁸⁹. It approximates to Aristotle’s definition of homonymous in the *Categories* (which we quoted at the beginning), where he says that the definition of being differs for things with names in common, and gives as an example a man and his portrait; they both share the same name but not the same essence⁹⁰.

During the purported meeting between the emperor Leo V and the patriarch Nikephoros in the *Life* of the latter, there is a discussion regarding the depiction of angels with wings. The emperor asks the patriarch why angels are depicted with wings and Nikephoros replies that they are shown as such to distinguish them from men. In addition, they are fashioned with wings because of their ability to move swiftly between heaven and earth. He refers the emperor to the cherubim described by Moses (Ex. 25:20), and the opinion of Dionysius the Areopagite on their spiritual nature, as well as pointing out that because painted images of angels are created they are not to be thought of as being of the

⁸⁴ *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* 11 (PG 95, 328BC). We may note that Photios in his *Epistle* 157 (collated as Question 87 in his *Amphilochia*) discusses why the faces of the cherubim appear in the form of oxen, lions, eagles and humans. See *Epistula* 157 (ed. B. LAOURDAS – L. G. WESTERINK, *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani, Epistulae et Amphilochia*. Leipzig 1984, II, 12–13).

⁸⁵ First attested by Irenaeus of Lyons in the second century, *Against the Heresies* 3.11.8.

⁸⁶ John of Damascus, *Oratio* III, 24 (III, 131 KOTTER); Theodore the Stoudite, *Antirrheticus* I, 12 (PG 99, 344B).

⁸⁷ *Antirrheticus* II, 11 (PG 99, 357C).

⁸⁸ *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 4.3.1 (PG 3, 473BC).

⁸⁹ See J. LOWDEN, *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*. University Park 1988, 51–55.

⁹⁰ *Categories* 1a. It is worth mentioning that Aristotle in his *On Memory and Recollection* (450b.20–25), gives the example of a picture painted on a board to differentiate between contemplating something as something in itself, and contemplating it as a representation of something else.

essence of the angels themselves⁹¹. Macarius Magnes makes a similar point when he says that images of angels are not to be mistaken for their real nature⁹².

As far as representing angels is concerned, angelic corporeality exists on a continuum, and depending on their position on that continuum, angels may manifest themselves in bodily form. Thus, the closer they are to divinity the more ethereal they are, while the nearer they are to humanity the more material they become⁹³. The relativity of angelic corporeality involves degrees of embodiment determined by the level of density angels acquire in the process of carrying out their mediating tasks. But ultimately it is their anthropomorphic appearance that validates their depiction in images. Even if their nature is fiery and ethereal they need to show themselves in a recognisable form⁹⁴, like the anonymous angel who wrestled with Jacob (Gen. 32:22–32). In the time-frame we are dealing with, the line between the physical and the metaphysical, between the sensible and the intelligible, between the corporeal and the incorporeal, was finely drawn, meaning that both angels and demons, good and bad spirits, impinged upon people's everyday lives.

Theodore, like John of Damascus, notes that it is not angels who are on the agenda of salvation; Christ did not become incarnate to save angels, but to save humankind. In other words, human beings are higher on the soteriological scale than angels who, being spiritual creatures and ontologically superior, are not in need of salvation. In a letter (*Epistle* 15) addressed to Theodulos the Stylite, an icon-painter, Theodore castigates him for introducing an innovation into iconography by depicting angels crucified⁹⁵. Interestingly, John of Damascus thinks that because an angel is incorporeal it is not capable of repentance, even though it is rational and free and has the power to make moral choices. Just as there is no repentance for humans after death, he remarks, there is none for angels who are fallen⁹⁶, which suggests that he rejected the idea of their final restoration. In the case of fallen angels like Satan, there is no indication that Theodore would accept his restoration in line with the doctrine of *apokatastasis*, especially not as conceived by Origen. He does however discuss the doctrine of *apokatastasis* in one of his letters (*Epistle* 471) and quotes verbatim what Maximos the Confessor has to say regarding Gregory of Nyssa's teaching on the subject⁹⁷.

CONCLUSION

So how original was Theodore's contribution to iconophile thought? The question may be more rhetorical than literal, but Theodore deserves credit for the way he configures his arguments in the light of his sources, at least where these have been identified. However, it is still an open question which texts he consulted for his application of logic terminology. Much depends, of course, on what

⁹¹ See E. A. FISHER, *Life of the Patriarch Nikephoros I of Constantinople*, in: *Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot. Washington D.C. 1998, 98–100. For more on winged angels, see G. PEERS, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*. Berkeley 2001, 23–36.

⁹² *Apocriticus* (260 SCHOTT – EDWARDS).

⁹³ For Porphyry demons are corporeal with special kinds of bodies, which he understood became visible and tangible in relation to their distance from the Monad, see G. A. SMITH, *How Thin Is a Demon?* *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16, 4 (2008) 479–512.

⁹⁴ *Expositio Fidei* 2, 3 (II, 46 KOTTER).

⁹⁵ *Epistula* 15 (I, 45 FATOUROS).

⁹⁶ *Expositio Fidei* 2, 4 (II, 50 KOTTER). The fourth-century author Nemesisius of Emesa would appear to be John's source here, see R. W. SHARPLES – P. J. VAN DER EIJK, *Nemesisius: On the Nature of Man* (*Translated Texts for Historians* 49). Liverpool 2008, 44–45. Macarius Magnes maintains the same idea, see note 92.

⁹⁷ *Epistula* 471 (II, 676–678 FATOUROS). See K. PARRY, *Providence, Resurrection, and Restoration in Byzantine Thought, Eighth to Ninth Centuries*, in: *Studia Patristica* 97, vol. 23: *From the Fourth Century Onwards (Latin Writers)*; Nachleben, ed. M. Vincent. Leuven 2017, 295–304, and further I. RAMELLI, *The Christian Doctrine of Apokatastasis: A Critical Assessment from the New Testament to Eriugena*. Leiden 2013.

we mean by “original”, but this has not been a question asked in the past in relation to Byzantine theologians. In a collection of essays on the concept of originality in Byzantium published in 1995 there is no chapter on theology⁹⁸. To some extent scholars have been hoodwinked by the Byzantines themselves, because of their own insistence on their adherence to tradition and their supposed resistance to change and innovation. Yet we do not have to look far beneath the surface to see that their thinking was no less organic and incisive than other Christian theological traditions. Also, too often they have been seen and interpreted through Western eyes when they ought to be viewed *sui generis*. Some of the quotations I gave at the start of this paper indicate this.

The controversy over icons produced an extensive corpus of iconophile literature, some of which has still to be edited and evaluated. It has been said that a balanced assessment of the controversy is impossible because iconoclast texts were destroyed or reconfigured by iconophiles, but I do not think there is much more the iconoclast could have said in addition to what has come down to us. A glance at the arguments against images put forward by the Protestant Reformers in the sixteenth century does not expand the arsenal much, and they were acting without knowledge of the arguments of the Byzantine iconoclasts⁹⁹. The question of Theodore’s originality may not be one we are entitled to ask, given that it does not make much sense in a ninth-century context¹⁰⁰. I have mentioned just a few of the themes he discusses in the course of his refutation of the iconoclasts¹⁰¹, but it seems to me that he shows himself to be a cogent and effective polemicist who should be recognised for his intellectual acumen, along with his monastic reforms, his poetry, his letters, and his other writings. It may turn out that his special contribution *was* to pioneer the application of Aristotelian logic terminology to the image question. But we await confirmation of that.

⁹⁸ A. R. LITTLEWOOD (ed.), *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music: A Collection of Essays*. Oxford 1995. The recent paper by A. SPANOS, *Was Innovation Unwanted in Byzantium?* in: *Wanted Byzantium: The Desire for a Lost Empire*, ed. I. Nilsson – P. Stephenson. Uppsala 2014, 43–56, scratches the surface of the topic of theology.

⁹⁹ On Calvin’s knowledge of the *Libri Caroli*, see A. FREEMAN – P. MEYVAERT, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum: An Introduction*, in: *Theodulf of Orleans: Charlemagne’s Spokesman against the Second Council of Nicaea*, ed. A. Freeman. Aldershot 2003, I.

¹⁰⁰ Tollefsen remarks: “His doctrine of the icon makes him innovative in the history of Christian doctrine”, see *St Theodore the Studite’s Defence of Icons* 149.

¹⁰¹ For further themes, such as the centrality of the incarnation and use of the term hypostasis, see PARRY, *Depicting the Word*.

Besprechungen

The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium, ed. A. Kaldellis – N. Siniossoglou. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017. 798 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-04181-3.

This volume, recently edited, is a valuable contribution to the intellectual history of Byzantium, offering a satisfying introduction to students and outsiders who wish to learn about sciences and literacy in the Byzantine Empire.

In their introduction (pp. 1–24), the co-editors pinpoint the importance of Byzantium's intellectual history, defining the term as "the branch of historiography that focuses on the evolution of concepts and ideas within specific historical contexts and explores their political and rhetorical sources, entanglements and effects". These ideas, stemming mostly from Antiquity, are to be treated as a "way of being" and a worldview for Byzantine intellectuals. Of course, everyone has to keep in mind that speeches or dialogues were to be presented orally, and therefore *paideia* is not to be examined only in terms of texts. The editors also claim that the average Byzantine had acquired a religious education, so he could have possibly formulated a critical thought, even though he lacked the *ὑπάρθεν παιδεία*. Moreover, Byzantine authors were not always connected to the upper class or the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These "individual" authors are the main subject of this volume, whereas the editors state that social and religious identity should not be mixed up with intellectual identity. The purpose of this volume is to overcome the cliché that Byzantium was a monolithic world, thus examined as "an archetypical Orthodox and absolutist society" (p. 18) and to shed light on ideas that were opposed to ideological formal orders.

The editors' basic aim was to create a useful manual both for students and experts of each field included in this volume, as well as to give a modern synthetic survey on Byzantine Intellectual History, focusing especially on the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The book consists of six parts and includes thirty-eight chapters, ending up with a vast bibliography (divided into Byzantine sources and modern scholarship, in pp. 669–763), as well as an index of names (pp. 765–776) and a subject index (pp. 777–791). A short timeline of Byzantine intellectuals is attached to the back cover of the book.

The first part of this sizeable volume bears the title "The Transmission of Knowledge" and consists of five chapters. In the first study (Institutional Settings: The Court, Schools, Church and Monasteries, pp. 27–36), Jonathan Harris introduces the readers to the Byzantine institutions as centres of knowledge sharing. He also includes the various subjects a *curriculum* could incorporate. Emphasizing the role of the monasteries as centres for transmitting the knowledge is ab-

solutely justifiable, though the editors of the volume deny the predominance of clergymen concerning *paideia*¹. To the "struggling scholars" (p. 29) one should add the glaring case of Theodore Hyrtakenos². As for the education *curriculum* during the Komnenian era, a note on *schedography* is necessary³.

The second study entitled "Byzantine Books" (pp. 37–46) is a useful introduction to the meaning of the book in the Byzantine world. In her study, Inmaculada Pérez Martín speaks about the book's cost and preservation, the scribes and their own intellectual work in their *scholia marginalia*.

In the third essay of this chapter ("Questions and Answers", pp. 47–62), Stephanos Efthymiadis describes the way Christian writers utilized dialogue as a means for communicating their messages, usually under the title "Erotapokriseis". The essay embraces authors from Early Byzantium (Anastasios of Sinai), as well as Photios, Psellos, Michael Glykas and writers from Late Byzantium.

In the fourth study ("Classical Scholarship: the Byzantine Contribution", pp. 63–78) Eleanor Dickey highlights the contribution of Byzantines to the knowledge of classical literature, emphasizing their numerous exegetical, grammatical and lexicographical tools, which were necessary due to the gap between the written and the spoken language.

The last chapter of this part is an overview of the "Intellectual Exchanges with the Arab World" (pp. 79–98), written by Dimitri Gutas, Anthony Kaldellis and Brian Long. In this chapter, the writers examine the intercultural exchanges between Byzantium and the Arabic world from Late Antiquity till the 12th century, highlighting the effect of Arabic sources on Symeon Seth's work.

Part 2 "Sciences of the Word" is dedicated to words and their meaning and includes four chapters. In the first one ("Rhetoric and Rhetorical Theory", pp. 101–112), Stratis

¹ In the introduction, p. 13, we read that "... our texts were for the most part not generated on behalf of institutions ... for the most part our subject-matter was produced by individual authors ...".

² A. KARPOZELOS – G. FATOUROS, *The Letters of Theodoros Hyrtakenos*. Athens 2017, 11–26.

³ On *schedography*, see among other studies: P. AGAPITOS, John Tzetzes and the blemish examiners: a Byzantine teacher on *schedography*, everyday language and writerly disposition. *Medioevo Greco* 17 (2017) 1–57; also I. VASSIS, *Graeca sunt, non leguntur*. *BZ* 86/87 (1993/1994) 1–19; I. POLEMIS, Προβλήματα της βυζαντινής σχεδογραφίας. *Hell* 45 (1995) 277–302; F. NOUSIA, *Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period (StT 505)*. Vatican City 2016, 49–92.

Papaioannou offers an introduction to the meaning and the history of rhetoric in the Byzantine world, underlining the combination of Byzantine rhetoric with knowledge of politics.

The second chapter ("Byzantine Literary Criticism and the Classical Heritage", pp. 113–128) is about literary criticism by Byzantine scholars on several ancient treatises. Manolis Bourbouhakis gives prominence to Photios' criticism in his *Bibliothēke* and examines the exegetical works of Tzetzes and Eustathios on ancient poetry, ending up with Metochites' essays on ancient writers.

In the third essay ("Theories of Art", pp. 129–140), Charles Barber tries to fill the gap concerning the absence of an account about Byzantine visual aesthetics. In his work, he expounds the importance of Neo-Platonists' ideas in the early Byzantine period and their effect on John of Damascus' writings defending icons. The essay also presents the theories on icons of Theodore the Stoudite, Leo of Chalcedon and Eustratios of Nicaea, ending with the Hesychast controversy, when Palamas was charged with opposition to icons.

The last study of the second part ("Legal Thought", pp. 141–166) is a satisfying introduction to the law books of the Byzantine Empire. Bernard Stolte begins his survey from Justinian's codification. Having examined the role of scholars, poets and lawyers in the early Byzantine period, he analyzes the compilation of the *Basilika* in the so-called "Macedonian Renaissance", ending up with the legal texts of the 11th and 12th centuries.

After the so-called "Sciences of the Word", the volume proceeds in examining the "Sciences of the World" in Part 3. Dominic O'Meara ("Conceptions of Science in Byzantium", pp. 169–182) familiarizes readers with the meaning of the word "science" in the Byzantine period, justifying the inclusion of astrology, alchemy and magic under this term. Apart from underlining the frequent tension between pagan science and Christian belief, O'Meara examines the effect of Platonic and Neoplatonic works on prominent Byzantine scholars (Psellos, Italos, Pachymeres, Gregoras, Gemistos Plethon) and the way the "Aristotelian" conception of science managed to predominate over Platonic influences.

The second essay concerning Sciences of the World is about astronomy (pp. 183–197). Anne Tihon, an expert on Byzantine astronomy, points out the meaning of astronomy in the Byzantine intellectual history throughout the centuries. Having distinguished astronomy from astrology and cosmology, Tihon examines the way students were inducted to this science, beginning with spherical and then proceeding to mathematical astronomy. In her study, she does not omit to refer to the importance of both Ptolemaic and Arabic astronomical treatises that affected Byzantine thought.

Paul Magdalino focuses on the importance of astrology in Byzantine society (pp. 198–214), searching out its intellectual presence in treatises (beginning with the *Tetrabiblos*) and horoscopes, as well as in historical references and comments, which reflect a constant interest in this field. However, Magdalino reports negative references to astrology, especially on behalf of the Church Fathers.

The fourth study of this part explores "Magic and the Occult Sciences" in Byzantium (pp. 215–233). Richard Greenfield relates magic to religious beliefs and points out that even

emperors and courtiers employed astrologers and magicians, while seeking for some answers in periods of insecurity. In his essay, Greenfield does not describe thoroughly the written sources for Byzantine magic; he rather prefers to distinguish several purposes of occult sciences and to speak about material evidence concerning magic (amulets, phylacteries etc.) as well as about the influence of pagan and Judaic ideas on magic practices.

In the fifth chapter ("Alchemy", pp. 234–251), Gerasimos Merianos offers exhaustive information on the way Byzantium perceived and developed alchemy on the basis of early written sources (papyri and manuscripts) containing information about this science. He also traces references to the term *chymia* or the so-called "sacred art" in Byzantine sources and describes the two alchemical directions in Byzantine literature, especially in Psellos' work.

In the last chapter of Part III, Timothy Miller offers an introduction to Byzantine medicine ("Medical Thought and Practice", pp. 252–268), examining the perception of the medical classical tradition in Byzantium and the new treatises written throughout the Byzantine millennium. In addition to medical texts, the writer detects references concerning surgery or anatomical details in historic and hagiographic sources. He also summarizes information about hospitals.

Part IV of the volume is about "Philosophy and Theology in Middle Byzantium" and consists of two introductory chapters, five essays on Platonic and Aristotelian themes and four more under the title "Individuals in Context".

The first introductory essay written by D. Gutas and N. Siniosoglou ("Philosophy and Byzantine Philosophy", pp. 271–295) aspires to provide various views on the way Byzantines perceived philosophy. The writers classify Byzantine reports about philosophy as negative and positive, depending on whether the term was combined with a threat for Orthodoxy or not. They start their study with Early Christianity, when ancient philosophical texts were annotated according to Orthodox theology. Philosophy served polemical theology, while at the same period several scholars excelled at teaching philosophy (Psellos), though flirting always with the risk of coming in the line of fire of theologians' criticism (e.g. John Italos). In conclusion, everything should ultimately lead to acceptance of Christianity as the only truth, otherwise one could easily be condemned as heretical.

The second introductory study ("The formation of the Patristic Tradition", by J. McGuckin, pp. 296–312) discusses the configuration of the Orthodox doctrine in the 4th century, focusing on Church Fathers such as Athanasios and Cyril and the Cappadocians and the perception of the earlier patristic heritage throughout the following centuries.

Platonic themes included in Part IV are "The Byzantine Reception of Neoplatonism" (Tuomo Lankila), "Platonism from Maximos the Confessor to the Palaiologan Period" (Andrew Louth) and "Fate, Free Choice and Divine Providence from the Neoplatonists to John of Damascus" (Ken Parry). In the first essay (pp. 314–324), Tuomo Lankila examines the survival of Neoplatonic works (esp. Proklos, Porphyry and Pseudo-Dionysios) in the early Byzantine period, while in the second essay (pp. 325–340) Andrew Louth focuses on the way Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus and scholars in the

11th century (esp. Psellos and Italos) applied Neoplatonic ideas in their works. Louth examines also the way these ideas were used during the 14th century by Gregory Palamas' opponents. Finally, Ken Parry (pp. 341–360) undertakes the explanation of the terms “*εἰμαρμένῃ, προαίρεσις, θεία πρόνοια*”, using excerpts from writers (3rd to 8th century).

As for the second section of Part IV (“Aristotelian Themes”), there are three chapters devoted either to the reception of Aristotelian works or to their inclusion in school curricula. Christopher Erismann's essay (pp. 362–380) deals with Aristotelian Logic in Byzantium and its association with the configuration of the Patristic logical tradition (Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus), as well as with the renewal of logical studies in the 9th century (Leo the Mathematician, Photios). His retrospection about Aristotelian logic in Byzantium includes the contribution of the great masters of the 11th century (Psellos, Italos), the philosophical works of Blemmydes in the 13th century and the application of Aristotelian theories in Palamas' works defending Hesychasm in the 14th century. Concerning Gregoras' anti-Aristotelian attitude, Erismann seems to be rather dogmatic, writing that “Nikephoros Gregoras argued that logical studies should be dismissed”. As far as we are informed by his letters, Gregoras taught the so-called “Organon” in his school in the Chora monastery⁴, though he rejected several Aristotelian theories, defending his obvious preference for Plato⁵.

“The presence of Aristotle in Byzantine Theology” is the topic of another survey, examining the relationship between Byzantine Theology and Aristotle (pp. 381–396). David Bradshaw traces Aristotle's influence in the early Church writers, underlining the differences in the use of terms such as *nous*, *noetos*, *energein* etc. in patristic works. In this essay, the cases of John of Damascus and Photios are excellent examples of Aristotelian influence in theology.

In the last chapter on Aristotle, Michele Trizio examines the way Byzantines read and interpreted Aristotle, based either on Church Fathers or on late antique commentators. Trizio examines also how Aristotle was taught in schools and what sorts of criticisms were made of his writings (e.g. Metochites' criticism on Aristotle's inconsistencies). Trizio also refers explicitly to the various literary genres including references to Aristotle (pp. 397–412).

The last subsection of Part IV (IV.3, “Individuals in Context”) is dedicated to prominent philosophers. In the first essay, Phil Booth attempts to sketch the life of Maximos the Confessor, emphasizing his struggle against the monothelete doctrine (pp. 414–430), while in the second essay Anna Zhyrkova examines “John of Damascus' Philosophy of the Individual and the Theology of Icons”, which became an essential part of the

eastern Orthodox Tradition (pp. 431–446). The third study of the subsection is about Psellos' contribution to the intellectual history of Byzantium. David Jenkins also emphasizes Psellos' conception of ancient philosophers (pp. 447–461). Finally, Michele Trizio deals with “Trials on Philosophers and Theologians under the Komnenoi” (pp. 462–475), shedding light on the circumstances of these controversies and condemnations of several thinkers (Ioannes Italos, Neilos of Calabria etc).

Part V of the volume is about “Philosophy and Theology in Late Byzantium” and continues the topic of the previous part, focusing on Late Byzantium. Consisting of five studies, this part starts with “Theological Debates with the West (1054–1300)”, where Tia Kolbaba analyzes the reasons of the failure of Church Union in Lyon (1274), starting from the turning point of the schism between the Latin and Orthodox Churches in 1054 (pp. 479–493). In the following study (“The Hesychast Controversy”), Norman Russell describes the phases of the big theological debate between Palamites and anti-Palamites in the 14th century from Barlaam Kalabros up to the case of Demetrios Kydones, justifying it as a conflict of two philosophical traditions within Orthodoxy (pp. 494–508). Connected to this, the next essay (Andrew Louth “Orthodox Mystical Theology and its Intellectual Roots”, pp. 509–523) traces early sources of mystical and ascetic tradition concluding that the predominance of Hesychasm came as a result of the earlier mystical theology.

Moshe Idel's chapter on “Kabbalah in Byzantium” (pp. 524–541) focuses on several Jewish intellectuals that came from Spain and composed Kabbalistic works on Byzantine soil during the Palaiologan period. Focusing on the cases of Abulafia and Isaiah Ben Joseph, Idel detects a rising interest for the Kabbalah in late Byzantium.

In the next study (“Aquinas in Byzantium”, pp. 542–556), Marcus Plested examines the great interest Byzantines showed in Aquinas' works, especially after Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones' translations of the *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*. Plested refers to Neilos Kabasilas' works against Aquinas, as well as to references in John Kantakouzenos' studies. The essay subsequently highlights Aquinas' impact on the conflict between Palamites and anti-Palamites as well as on the rivalry among Unionists and anti-Unionists in the 15th century.

The last chapter of Part V is entitled “Theology, Philosophy, and Politics at Ferrara-Florence” (pp. 557–572). Here Marie-Hélène Blanchet focuses on both political and religious aspects of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, underlining the importance of the Council as a case of exchanging ideas between the Byzantine and the Latin representatives. Under this perspective, although the Council failed in its basic aim and divided Byzantium even more, it is crucial that some Byzantine scholars (among them Bessarion, Theodore of Gaza and John Argyropoulos) played an important role in the Renaissance as transmitters of humanistic studies.

The last part of the volume (“Politics and History”) consists of five studies. In the first one, under the heading “*Basileia*: The Idea of Monarchy in Byzantium, 600–1200”, Paul Magdalino gives an excellent review of the Byzantine monarchical idea as presented in historiography and law texts (pp. 575–598). Dimitris Krallis in “Historiography as Political

⁴ On Gregoras' lectures about Aristotle's Logic see Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae, ed. P.A.M. LEONE. Matino 1982, vol. II, ep. 111,7–10; see also A. SKLAVENTI, Το διδασκαλείον του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά. *Byzantina Symmeikta* 28 (2018) 141–167, esp. 148–149.

⁵ D. MOSCHOS, Πλατωνισμός ή χριστιανισμός; Οί φιλοσοφικές προϋποθέσεις του Άντισυγχασμού του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά (1293–1361). Athens 1998, 103–157.

Debate" (pp. 599–614) examines the way Byzantine historians used their works in order to express their own position or to criticize public affairs. Krallis claims that historians after 1204 often "approached contemporary events through the prism of not so distant past" offering as an example the successful reign of John III Batatzes, often quoted by Pachymeres and George of Pelagonia as a benchmark for their contemporary rulers (esp. Andronikos II). He also states that "late Byzantine historians kept their distance from contemporary events". Even if this statement is more true in the case of Pachymeres than in Akropolites, it does not stand in the cases of Gregoras and Kantakouzenos, as they both often criticize public affairs⁶. As for the previously mentioned claim that ideal rulers were found in near-contemporary history, one can quote numerous passages in Gregoras' "Rhomaïke Historia" demonstrating how ideal rulers and governors were identified in ancient Greek or Roman History⁷.

The next study is about "Theories of Decline from Metochites to Ibn Khaldūn" (pp. 615–632). Here Teresa Shawcross detects similar thoughts in the works of either Muslim (Ibn Khaldūn) or Christian writers of 14th century (Metochites, Gregoras, Kydones). Shawcross attributes these similarities to the harsh political circumstances e.g. the expansion of Turks and Mongols and the imminent threat of foreign invasion for both Egypt and Byzantium. Faced with this threat, Metochites deplores the constant decline of the Empire, recognizing the "Scythian" omnipotence as something inevitable. This situation is also reflected in Ibn Khaldūn's writings with the concept of an uncontrollable corruption of the civilized world, also symbolised in the outbreak of the plague in 1347.

The next essay bears the title "Plethon, Scholarios, and the Byzantine State of Emergency" (pp. 633–652). N. Siniosoglou accesses Plethon's contribution to the Byzantine intellectual history and its relationship with pagan theories, referring also to Gennadios Scholarios' reaction against "polytheism" and "Hellenism" represented by Plethon.

In the last study of the volume under the title "The Byzantine Legacy in Early Modern Political Thought" (pp. 653–668), Paschalis Kitromilides approaches the phenomenon of Byzantium's survival in the European culture till the 18th century. Thus, he examines the adaptation of Byzantine political ideas in Europe, as well as the adaptation of spiritual life in Russia, a region, which was strongly attached to Orthodoxy and therefore inherited the Byzantine religious culture (the so-called idea of "Third Rome").

To sum up, this volume attempts to give a new perspective on the examination of Byzantine intellectual life, and it

succeeds to a great extent. Of course, in such an effort, one cannot aim to include every aspect of intellectual life in a single volume. For example, several literary genres lack attention in this book, e.g. hagiographical texts, poetry, epistolography and texts written in the vernacular Byzantine language⁸, where individuality is more apparent. Another particularity of this work is that some chapters could absolutely serve as a didactic tool (chapters 1, 2, 10, 11 etc.), while others are addressed mostly to experts (18, 20, 36).

In such a huge collection of studies, there may be some omissions; apart from the remarks already made above, I shall cite an example from Normann Rusell's study ("The Hesychast Controversy", pp. 494–508), where the writer claims that Dexios was "a former pupil" of Gregoras (p. 504), although no testimonies about being his disciple exist, unlike for Isaak Argyros, who is clearly mentioned as Gregoras' pupil. However, any omissions or mistakes cannot diminish the value of the book as a modern survey of Byzantium's intellectual history. What is more noteworthy is the inconsistencies between the introduction (pp. 1–26) and the studies of the volume concerning the "autonomy" of ideas in Byzantium, as well as the claims that Byzantine "authors generally did not come from the super-elite" (p. 13) and that "Intellectual identity can be different from social or religious identity" (p. 14). In my view, many studies have been made about the small number of literati in Byzantium originating mostly from the upper class (or reaching the upper class using their *paideia*)⁹, whereas the autonomy of ideas in a society characterized by the omnipotence of the Orthodox dogma can easily be disputed, as seen in the cases of Ioannis Italos, Nikephoros Gregoras or Plethon, some of them analysed in this volume.

Anna Sklaveniti

⁸ A treatment of vernacular literature could have been expected, since in the introduction we read that "the ability to think critically about the content of that education did not necessarily require a familiarity with, say Aristotle, any more than it does now ..." (Introduction, p. 13).

⁹ See, for example, A. KARPOZELOS, The Correspondence of Theodoros Hyrtakenos. *JÖB* 40 (1990) 283; I. SEVČENKO, Society and Intellectual Life in the 14th century, in: *Actes du XIV Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, ed. M. Berza – E. Stănescu. Bucharest 1974, 69–92, esp. 69–76.

⁶ Krallis (p. 614 of the present volume) isolates only Kantakouzenos' case, saying that his history has the form of a personal political apologia, which would also be correct for the case of Gregoras.

⁷ On Gregoras' obvious preference for ancient rulers, see E. KOUNTOURA-GALAKE, Πρότυπα αρχαίων νομοθετών κατά τις επιστολές του Νικηφόρου Γρηγορά. Δίκαιο και πολιτική πρακτική, in: *Αντικίνησες, τιμητικός τόμος Σπύρου Ν. Τρωιάνου για τα ογδοηκοστά γενέθλιά του*. Athens 2013, 679–704.

S. GADOR-WHYTE, *Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium: The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017. X+237 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-14013-4.

Romanos Melodos, as poet, preacher and orator, has continuously received more attention than any other hymn writer in Byzantium. A recently published extensive bibliography compiled by Johannes Koder (2015; see full reference at the

end) offers conclusive evidence of this. Certainly, there are still many issues concerning Romanos' life, education, source of inspiration, aims, not to mention the reception of his work, that need further investigation. Hence, the present volume by Sarah Gador-Whyte with the promising title "Theology and Poetry in Early Byzantium" and the clarifying subtitle "The Kontakia of Romanos the Melodist" justifiably claims a place in this special field. It should, however, be made clear from the start that it does not represent a systematic study of Romanos' theology, nor is it a survey of all the rhetorical devices used in his hymns, as implied by its title. In fact, the focus is on specific rhetorical techniques and literary devices employed by Romanos, in order to effectively convey the doctrines of Christ's incarnation and the restoration of humanity, as well as to encourage listeners' engagement. In this context, it is stressed that Romanos is following the biblical and Greek and Syriac Christian tradition.

The book is a revised version of Gador-Whyte's doctoral thesis (University of Melbourne) and follows four other contributions she has published on related issues. It is structured in four chapters, preceded by a preface and an introduction, and followed by general conclusions, a bibliography, an index of biblical passages and a general index. Each chapter is subdivided into sections with an introduction and a conclusion.

Taking a closer look at the content, the introduction discusses information about Romanos' life, the narrative and dialogic character of the kontakion in general and the debt the genre owes to the Syriac and Greek literary tradition. As regards the liturgical setting of his kontakia, Gador-Whyte bases her arguments on the Typikon of the Great Church (p. 14), which only dates back to the ninth-tenth century. That this primary source does not reflect the situation of Romanos' period is clear from the study by Jean Grosdidier de Matons (*Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance*. Paris 1977, 48–66), in which he reviewed the changes in the hymn form and its liturgical setting after its flowering in the time of Romanos and his immediate successors and up to its final reduction to two strophes with the introduction of the kanon. Hence, the assumption made by Gador-Whyte that "The vigil service in which the kontakia were performed continued in Constantinople until the Latin invasion of 1204 and, although no new kontakia were being composed, the kontakion probably retained its place in that service" (p. 17) is not well founded.

The first chapter, explicitly aiming to serve "as an introduction to Romanos' poetry" (p. 53), focuses on a single kontakion, *On the passion of Christ*, discussing the rhetorical devices employed by Romanos to develop the theological concepts of the incarnation of Christ and the new creation of man. It is a selective commentary dealing with the role of Romanos as a narrator, especially focusing on rhetorical devices such as personifications of the natural world, direct addresses, dialogues, *ethopoeia* and *ekphrasis*, used to give a vivid and dramatic narrative of the biblical events. In this respect, it is pointed out that *ekphrasis* (vivid description) appeals to the senses (sight, taste) and physical and spiritual feelings (thirst). The chapter is divided into fourteen sections, each focusing on a single rhetorical device or theme.

In the second chapter, Gador-Whyte examines the use Romanos makes of typology, comparison and metaphor to highlight the concept of Christ as a second Adam and the redeemer of man from sin. Metaphors concerning nakedness, blindness, thirst, hunger or illness are used to describe the state of sinfulness. They are discussed in separate sections, while the Bible, Syriac and Greek texts are presented as possible sources. Though Gador-Whyte points out that Romanos draws on earlier traditions, for the most part she identifies similarities or draws parallels with the teaching of earlier theologians, rather than identifying differences or variations which would lead to her stated aim, which is to "situate Romanos' distinctive poetry within a tradition" (p. 62; cf. also pp. 54–79, 84–96).

The third chapter, in nine sections, focuses chiefly on paradox and typology, which Romanos uses to expand the concept of the second creation. It is stressed that he is following the tradition, especially the works of Ephraim the Syrian.

The fourth chapter also focuses on a single theme, namely the *Second Coming of Christ* and the *Final Judgement*, and on the rhetorical techniques of *ekphrasis*, *ethopoeia* and *apostrophe*, employed to enhance the participation of the congregants in the theological teaching, i.e. to prompt them to participate in the life of Christ. This chapter is divided into seven sections and ten subsections, in which these techniques are treated separately.

Some methodological issues need to be mentioned: while the chapter titles focus on the theological content, their division into sections and subsections is based principally on rhetorical, literary, structural and other characteristics of Romanos' kontakia. The recurring topics (e.g. typology, paradox, anti-Judaism, characterization, vivid description, direct address) in the section-headings indicate a fragmented analysis of these themes, accompanied by numerous cross-references and inevitable repetitions (not to mention the post hoc explanations of the methodology). A critical synthesis of the techniques employed for theological teaching would make for a clearer presentation.

The analysis of the kontakion in the first chapter appears likewise fragmentary, because it does not follow the order of the strophes in the hymn, but rather focuses on single passages, which are mentioned in a different order each time depending on the individual topic. Hence, passages are often repeated. This sort of presentation impedes the understanding of the whole structure of the hymn, the place of the rhetorical tools used in it, as well as their interrelationship, e.g. *ekphrasis*, paradox and word play. On the other hand, when something is seen out of context, as these passages are, it can lead to misunderstandings of Romanos' teaching, as e.g. in the case of his criticism of Jews. Thus, the proposed aim of showing the kontakion as a "carefully constructed" hymn remains to be realized.

In the first and third chapter, one and two sections respectively focus in particular on *paradox*. However, the term—and its cognate "paradoxical" as an attribute of the "nature of Christ", p. 24, "language", p. 25, "statement", p. 27, "imagery", p. 37, "rhetorical question", p. 38—used in various senses, is not defined or described in relation to the *oxymorons* and

the *antitheta* appearing in the quoted examples. Only in the third chapter is there a remark about paradox not being “merely a descriptive tool”, but rather “a vehicle for the changed reality” (p. 110). But it is not explicitly distinguished from the notion of the theological mystery or the miracle to which it is related (e.g. p. 111).

Gador-Whyte repeatedly stresses Romanos’ anti-Judaism, dedicating two separate sections, in the first and third chapter, to the subject. Referring to his polemic against Jews, it is noted that “Romanos excludes the Jews from the new creation, blaming them collectively for the death of Jesus” (p. 29; cf. pp. 49, 118f., 136f., 142). In a rather generalizing manner, it is observed that “throughout his kontakia, Romanos characterizes the Jews as subhuman; he presents them as murderers and liars and paints them with images of bitterness and poison” (p. 48). Elsewhere, it is concluded that his attitude “resonates with contemporary violence against Jews and other non-Christian groups, and encourages listeners to maintain this stance against Judaism” (p. 33; cf. p. 51), and assumed that his listeners “would certainly have been aware of the contemporary situations and his comments would therefore have played into existing hatred, fear and unease about the Jewish people living in Constantinople” (p. 144). However, such assumptions are somewhat simplistic, if one reads Romanos’ implications to biblical and homiletic texts in the framework of the traditional anti-heretical discourse (cf. Ps. 21, 14: ὡς λέων ὁ ἀρπάζων καὶ ὠρυόμενος for 36,13,1–3, Gr. de Matons). Moreover, his position in his other kontakia should be taken into consideration. He does not reject the Jews as a people as a whole. Scholars have already pointed out that Romanos’ references to Judaism involve three groups of people (Hebrews, Israelites and Jews), of which for the most part only “Jews” is used in negative statements (Koder, 2008, 35, 36, 39f.; full reference at the end). In one case in particular, Romanos acknowledges that a Jew had obtained a place in paradise (39,21,2–3, Gr. de Matons), while, in another, he predicts the Jews’ subsequent remorse (50,3,8–9, *ibidem*). In these circumstances, suggesting that Romanos encouraged violence against the Jews is hardly convincing.

Some awkwardly formulated assumptions can distort the meaning of a hymn, especially when they are presented as self-evident realities, e.g. “The life of Christ and his death and resurrection are the fulfilment of all history. But Romanos is aware that the world does not look very different, that it is necessary to argue strongly for a changed reality in a still very broken world” (p. 145, etc.). In another case, the distortion is the result of a misreading, e.g. the hesitation in the penitential monologue of the bleeding woman: “How will I be seen by my all-seeing one, bearing the shame of my sins?” This is misinterpreted: Gador-Whyte notes that “there is an irony in the first line of this speech in that the ‘all-seeing’ Christ of the Gospel did not see the woman until she had touched him” (p. 172). Lastly, the inclusion of typology among the “main rhetorical techniques” used by Romanos (p. 54) disregards the fact that for Romanos it is not about a simple “rhetorical technique” (figure of thought according to H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*. Stuttgart 1990, §91), but a method of Biblical exegesis used extensively in Christian theology.

Concerning the quotations from Romanos’ hymns, they are cited throughout on the basis of the earlier Maas–Trypanis’ edition (1963) and not of the more recent one by J. Grosdidier de Matons (1964–1981), recognized in many respects as the better one. Of course, Gador-Whyte admits that she also consulted the latter and adopted emendations (p. 1, fn. 1 and p. 50, fn. 80). However, the latter edition including translation and comments could also be useful for the English translation and interpretation of the quotations. For example, on one occasion, the rendering of indirect speech has confused the meaning: the lines “Ψόγον ἠκούσατε ἐκ πολλῶν τῶν παροικούντων κύκλῳ / ὡς τηροῦντες σάββατα καὶ νοσοῦντες” (36,11, Gr. de Matons) are translated “You have heard blame from the many who dwell around you, that ‘they observe the Sabbath and [yet] are sick’” (pp. 32–33). The blame in quotation marks should be corrected to ‘you observe the Sabbath and [yet] are sick’ (cf. also Gr. de Matons, IV, p. 217).

An inadvertent mistake resulting from the commingling of two phrases is found in the sentence “Greek had long since moved away from classical accent-based metrics” (p. 13), which was probably meant to be “... from classical syllable-based towards accent-based metrics”. The word κούοντας (p. 38) for ἀκούοντας is a typographical error.

In conclusion, this book, which offers some interesting remarks about the “clever use of rhetorical techniques and literary devices” (p. 2) in promoting biblical and doctrinal teaching, could have greatly profited from taking into consideration earlier studies on Romanos’ kontakia from the viewpoint of theology, as well as of language and rhetoric. Some useful bibliographical references are listed here: on Romanos’ teaching reflecting the Christological discourse of the sixth century: J. KODER, *Positionen der Theologie des Romanos Melodos. Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 143, 2 (2008) 25–56; and the more recent article J. KODER, *Romanos Melodos*, in: *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. I/1 (VIe–VIIe s.), ed. C.G. Conticello (*Corpus Christianorum. La Théologie byzantine* I.1). Turnhout 2015, 115–194, with exhaustive bibliography. More specifically, on the image of Mary as a second Eve and as Mother of God or as the gate opened by Christ, there is an article by L.M. PELTOMAA, *Roles and Functions of Mary in the Hymnography of Romanos Melodos. Studia patristica* vol. 44 (2010) 487–498; and a more recent one in *Presbeia Theotokou. The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium (4th–9th Century)*, ed. L.M. Peltomaa – A. Külzer – P. Allen. Vienna 2015. For the sections on rhetorical devices and linguistic style the following studies are relevant: K. MITSAKIS, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist*. Munich 1967; and H. HUNGER, *Romanos Melodos – Dichter, Prediger, Rhetor – und sein Publikum. JÖB* 34 (1984) 15–42, where among other characteristics special reference is made to irony. Last but not least, the comments on metre and rhythm, made *en passant* and not always entirely accurate (“kontakia have accentual metres”, p. 10, “Romanos’ kontakia are verse”, p. 13, “metre and structure combine to play the role of much of Romanos’ rhetoric”, p. 43), could have profited from the study on accentual poetry and metrics by M. LAUXTERMANN, *The Spring of*

Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres (*BV* 12). Vienna 1999, which discusses the metric and colon structure of Romanos' kontakia.

Antonia Giannouli

Derek KRUEGER, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion)*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2014. 311 pp. ISBN 978-0-8122-4644-5.

Derek Krueger's latest book, which appeared as a paperback in 2018, deals with the "intersection of Byzantine Christian religious culture and contemporary critical approaches to the history of subjectivity" (p. 6), employing Byzantine liturgical hymnography to understand the individual in Byzantine society. Byzantinists and other medieval and late antique historians have shied away from liturgy, often finding it difficult to understand or not seeing the potential of liturgical material for analysing questions well beyond the scope of liturgy, theology, and religion. While hagiography can shed light on daily life and the individual within Byzantine society, liturgy was the place of first-hand religious experience, where the people sang hymns and said prayers. Thus, Krueger's book is an example of the insights a closer examination of Byzantine liturgy—the common prayer of the whole church, from lay people to clergy, men and women, where all levels of society, from slaves to emperors, could spend much of their time—can offer.

The book's seven chapters cover texts and liturgical services throughout the Christian life, particularly focusing on hymns sung during Lent. The author rightly notes at the outset that "focusing on hymns means focusing on the services where they were sung" (p. 5). Chapter 1, "Shaping Liturgical Selves" (pp. 1–28), introduces the reader to the book's goal: an overview of major figures—namely Romanos the Melodist, Andrew of Crete, Theodore the Stoudite, and Symeon the New Theologian—and their influence in the "establishment and transformation of liturgical models for the self," tracing continuities and developments from the sixth to ninth centuries, a period referred to as the "so-called Dark Age" from the rise of Islam to the "slow renaissance of Byzantine culture" (p. 3). Thus, theories of the "formation of the self" are seen in a "long trajectory" (p. 3). The liturgical rituals, specifically the genres of liturgical hymnography known as kanons and kontakia that are studied in this book, have a geographical focus on Constantinople, but Krueger makes the reader aware of the development of Byzantine ritual that incorporated elements from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the monasteries of the Judean Desert. In the second chapter, "Romanos the Melodist and the Christian Self" (pp. 29–66), the author examines kontakia of Romanos likely sung during Lent, specifically *On the Ten Virgins*, *On the Second Coming*, *On the Harlot*, as well as *On Doubting Thomas* (Sunday after Easter), *On the Samaritan*

Woman (after Easter?), *On the Healing of the Leper* (second Wednesday after Easter), and *On the Hemorrhaging Woman*. Chapter 3, "Calendar and Community in the Sixth Century" (pp. 67–105), looks at other kontakia by Romanos from the liturgical year, noting that most Christians "never went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but all had sojourned through the story" (p. 72) told through the liturgical celebrations of events from the life of Christ. Nevertheless, liturgy bridged the gap between past and present, "allowing something more than a re-enactment of the ritual drama" (p. 85).

Chapter 4, "Eucharistic Prayers: Compunction and the History of Salvation" (pp. 106–129), departs from hymnography and focuses on the Divine Liturgy through the lens of Justinian's Novel 137, which gave instructions on the recitation of the Anaphora so that those hearing it "may be moved to greater compunction." Here, the author claims that, after the trend to recite the Anaphora "silently" (μυστικῶς), "the Eucharist retained its character as a penitential rite" (p. 127). This is a surprising claim, firstly, because the text of the Anaphora itself often speaks of praise and doxology, and, secondly, because later canonical legislation at the Council in Trullo proscribes the Anaphora on weekdays during Great Lent, the penitential period *par excellence*, and instead prescribes the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts.

The next chapters, Chapter 5, "The Penitential Bible and the Great Kanon of Andrew of Crete" (pp. 130–163), and Chapter 6, "The Voice of the Sinner in First-Person Hymns of the Lenten Triodion" (pp. 164–196), address Great Lent directly and introduce the reader to the genre of hymnographic kanon and the themes of the Great Kanon specifically. The final chapter, "Liturgies of the Monastic Self in Symeon the New Theologian" (pp. 197–214), focuses on monastic piety at the Stoudios Monastery through hymns, catechetical discourses, and letters that "scripted and choreographed" (p. 208) monastic life, speaking of the monastery as "a sort of Actors Studio" (p. 197) to form the subject—the Byzantine Christian. Regarding scripts, choreographies, and actors, Andrew Walker White's subsequent study of performance and theatre in Byzantium contextualizes early Christian and Byzantine views of liturgy and "acting"¹.

Overall, Krueger knows the liturgical material and its history well and, thus, is cautious when describing practices in lesser-known sixth-century liturgical contexts in Constantinople and careful when considering later or contemporary practices in the Byzantine Rite (p. 31).

A few statements, however, require comment. The author's dependence upon the thought of Michel Foucault is stated at the outset. The "technologies of the self" through recognition of one's sinfulness and the verbalization of this state that Foucault theorized for Western Christianity are applied here to Byzantium. Although Krueger notes that such a method has limitations, he does not elaborate. A passing discussion of David Brakke's criticism of the "Foucaultian model for interior self-formation" notes that certain monastic authors avoided such verbalization, seeing it as exterior and

¹ A. W. WHITE, *Performing Orthodox Ritual in Byzantium*. Cambridge 2015.

foreign to the self, preferring instead to adopt the words of Scripture, specifically the Psalms. Brakke notes that in reality a categorization or representation of one type of “self” was impossible, although each person had the same goal—losing one’s “self” (cf. Matthew 10:39 *inter alia*) in order to attain the transcendent goal of a life directed to unity with the Trinity², what David Fagerberg has called “liturgical asceticism,” or an eschatological reorientation in worship³. Brian A. Butcher has recently applied the philosophy of Paul Ricoeur—equally foreign to Byzantine liturgy as Foucault—to an analysis of the Byzantine Great Blessing of Waters on Theophany⁴. But rather than a penitent self, Ricoeur’s “summoned self”—the human being recognized as “*capax Dei*, ‘summoned’ to a doxological vocation”—guides Butcher’s investigation of subjectivity in relation to Byzantine liturgical rites. Thus, the application of modern theory to Byzantine liturgical texts can bring out varying perspectives, although not all of them may be equally useful.

Regarding the selection of Byzantine liturgical texts used for analysing the self in this book, it seems the pool may be too limited or selective for the conclusions proposed here to be completely convincing. In the introduction, the author states that hymnography written in the first person, or “‘I’-speech” is “clustered especially around Lent” in Byzantine liturgy (p. 26). Certainly, Krueger masterfully presents the reader with numerous examples of hymnography in the first person from the Lenten cycle, but one finds this throughout Byzantine hymnography. At Christmas, for example, the ninth ode of the kanon of Kosmas of Maiouma proclaims “A strange and wonderful mystery I see, the cave is heaven, the virgin the cherubim throne, the manger the place in which Christ, the God whom nothing can contain, is laid ...”⁵ In a kanon for the Dormition of the Theotokos by John Damascene, the ‘I’-speech appears again: “I will open my mouth and it will be filled with the Spirit, and I will utter a word for the queen and mother, and I will be seen keeping glad festival, and rejoicing I will sing of her Dormition.”⁶ For many of the major feasts of the liturgical year, the refrain of the ninth ode of the kanon often begins with “Magnify, O my soul ...” and the hymns are far from penitential. Such examples raise the question

of the relationship between the source texts studied and the conclusions made about the self. Most of the examples that the author presents are from Lent and penitential. But the same hymnographers that wrote penitential hymns also wrote just as many—if not more—hymns for various celebrations for other seasons of the year, expressing not just “Orthodox guilt” (esp. pp. 2 and 13–15) but also Christian joy. One might also ask how the themes expressed in the hymnography of, for example, Romanos compare with other literature from the same period (cf. esp. pp. 44 and 59), especially with regard to notions of guilt, penance, and the individual.

In the presentation of some of the liturgical context, certain information is also selective. The incomplete outline of Sabaitic Morning Prayer (p. 22), or Orthros, emphasizes all the penitential parts of the service without mentioning that it concludes with psalms of praise (Pss 148–150 [LXX]) and a doxology composed of a list of laudatory exclamations from various books of the Bible. Likewise, the focus on Psalm 50 (LXX) as an “essential script” for repentance in the daily liturgy overlooks the joyous festal hymns sung after Psalm 50 during the liturgical year that repeat biblical verses such as “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace” (Christmas, cf. Luke 2:14) and “‘Release me, for my eyes have seen your salvation.’ You have come into the world to save the human race. Lord, glory to you” (Hypapante, cf. Luke 2:29)⁸, and even speaking of angels marvelling at human nature being taken up into the heavens in the hymn after Psalm 50 for Christ’s ascension⁹.

This penitential focus in Krueger’s book is nuanced by his conclusion, “A Communion of Savable Sinners” (215–221): although, “by focusing on the self’s construction, this volume has illustrated the history and constitution of a ‘negative self-image’ in Byzantium,” the author admits that “the Byzantine liturgy taught that God would not be angry forever” and the liturgy provided a model for a “savable self” (p. 220). One might ask, however, if the actual “formation” of the Christian was not understood by the Byzantines to take place earlier in life, during the rites of initiation, namely baptism, chrismation, and the Eucharist. In the prayers of the baptismal rite itself, already found in prayers extant in eighth-century manuscripts and contemporaneous with some of the hymnography examined in this book, the priest explicitly asks God to “form your Christ in the one who is about to be reborn”¹⁰. Thus, in order to more fully understand the “Byzantine ritual theory” that “undergirded Byzantine ritual practice” (p. 221), scholars should also look beyond kontakion and kanon hymnography

² D. BRAKKE, *Making Public the Monastic Life: Reading the Self in Evagrius Ponticus’ Talking Back*, in: *Religion and the Self in Antiquity*, ed. D. Brakke – M. L. Satlow – S. Weitzman. Bloomington – Indianapolis 2005, 222–233.

³ D. W. FAGERBERG, *On Liturgical Asceticism*. Washington, D.C. 2013.

⁴ B. A. BUTCHER, *Liturgical Theology after Schmemmann: An Orthodox Reading of Paul Ricoeur (Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Thought)*. New York 2018.

⁵ Μυστήριον ξένον ὁρῶ καὶ παράδοξον οὐρανὸν; Μηναία τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, II. Rome 1889, 670; E. FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae (StT 212–215bis)*. Vatican 1960–1966, II, 452.

⁶ Ἀνοίξω τὸ στόμα μου καὶ πληρωθήσεται Πνεύματος, καὶ λόγον ἐρεῶμαι τῇ βασιλίδι Μητρὶ; Μηναία τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, VI. Rome 1901, 413; FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum I*, 125.

⁷ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη. Σήμερον; Μηναία τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, II. Rome 1889, 661; FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum I*, 320.

⁸ Ἀνοιγέσθω ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; Μηναία τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, III. Rome 1896, 482; FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum I*, 123.

⁹ Σήμερον ἐν οὐρανοῖς αἱ ἄνω Δυνάμεις; Πεντηκοστήριον. Rome 1883, 313; FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum III*, 486.

¹⁰ Vatican Library, Barb. gr. 336 (*Diktyon* 64879), fol. 97v; E. VELKOVSKA – S. PARENTI, *Evchologij Barberini Gr. 336*. Omsk 2011, 337 (§ 121).

to include prayers and rites of life-cycle rituals and the sacramental life of Byzantine Christians in their investigation of the self in Byzantium.

While more classically minded liturgical scholars may be critical of other aspects of this book or find it challenging¹¹, it nevertheless has already provoked discussion within the field of Byzantine liturgy and is beautifully written in a way that invites others into that discussion.

Daniel Galadza

¹¹ A. AVDOKHIN, *Caught in Transition: Liturgical Studies, Grand Narratives, and Methodologies of the Past and Future*. *Scrinium* 12 (2016) 329–339.

The Syriac Manuscripts of Tur 'Abdin in the Fondo Grünwald, ed. V. Ruggieri. Roma: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana – Valore Italiano 2017. 488 pp. ISBN 978-88-97789-47-5.

This is a problematic volume. The first problem arises from the fact that the book does not readily convey to which genre it belongs. Since the genre of the book is not defined, it is not exactly clear what the contributors wanted to achieve and hence how to evaluate the work. The volume leaves the reader to define its genre and the reviewer is in the same position. The book is most probably going to be classified as a manuscript catalogue but, strangely enough, the contributors of the volume do not use that word, either in the title or in the introduction. It may well be that this decision was deliberate because if it is a manuscript catalogue, then it was produced in a very idiosyncratic way, which cannot be accepted. According to the subtitle, the volume contains “texts” and, indeed, one can describe the volume as a collection of studies focusing on different aspects of a selected group of Syriac (and one Garshuni, that is Arabic in Syriac script) manuscripts from the Tur 'Abdin region.

A total of thirty-four manuscripts are covered in the volume. The manuscripts themselves are preserved in six different locations in the Tur 'Abdin region (south-eastern Turkey) – the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin (23 manuscripts), Mor Gabriel monastery (3 manuscripts), an uncertain number of private owners in the Midyat region (4 manuscripts) and in Yemişli / Enhil (2 manuscripts), a family in Gülgöze / Aynwardo (1 manuscript) and Mar Saba church in Ḥaḥ (1 manuscript) – and are divided in the volume into two groups: those from the Mardin region (Ma) and those from the region of Mor Gabriel monastery (MG). It may be that at least some of the manuscripts from the region of Mor Gabriel monastery have changed their location (for example, the manuscript MG 10 was consulted at the Mor Gabriel monastery but was digitized few years ago in Enhil). The manuscripts were studied by the participant scholars based on the microfilms made in the years 1990/1991 by Vincenzo Ruggieri who also did an initial material description *de visu*. The microfilms belong

today to the “Fondo Grünwald” (the title of the volume is for that reason very misleading), although no details about its other holdings and, most importantly, physical location of the “Fondo” are provided. Only the miniatures were photographed in colour, whereas the rest was done in black and white; some manuscripts were not photographed in full. Some manuscripts were chosen for their age and art historical significance; besides those, the reasons that guided the choice remain unexplained¹. To be more precise, the volume addresses lectionaries (8 manuscripts), *Fenqūthō* (6 manuscripts), prayer books (2 manuscripts), New Testament (4 manuscripts), a collection of saints' lives (1 manuscript), collections of canonical works (2 manuscripts), patristic and theological works (10 manuscripts), the *Lexicon* of Bar Bahlul (1 manuscript). There are six manuscripts datable to the 7th–10th centuries, twenty-seven from the 12th–15th and one from the 18th century. Twenty manuscripts are on parchment (the indication of parchment as writing material for Ma 13 is not correct).

Any description of a manuscript is first of all assessed against the earlier descriptions. Nowhere in the volume can one find a clear indication of vital significance: which of the manuscripts were already described and studied and which are being introduced for the first time. As a matter of fact, the collection of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin formerly belonged to the patriarchal library housed at the monastery Deir al-Za'faran and was catalogued twice, by the future Patriarch Afrām Baršūm (1887–1957)² and by the Metropolitan of Mardin Yūḥannā Dōlabānī (1885–1969)³. It goes without saying that those catalogues do not correspond to the modern standards applied to the cataloguing of manuscripts, but nevertheless, they usually manage to present the basic information that one needs to know. Furthermore, many of the manuscripts from that collection were studied by scholars during the 20th century, and one would expect not only to find a relevant bibliography, but also the use or at least acknowledgement of the achieved results (for justice's sake it must be noticed that some of relevant publications were in fact used in different chapters, but remain hidden in the footnotes).

Eleven manuscripts from the Mor Gabriel monastery and surrounding area (referred to under the abbreviation MG in the volume) are less known. One cannot exclude, however, that a careful reading of the aforementioned earlier catalogues (and others dealing with the Syriac manuscripts of Tur 'Abdin) could help to identify those and to clarify the provenance of seven manuscripts, which are now in private ownership (for

¹ Hill Museum & Manuscript Library (www.vhmdl.org) digitized a total of 875 manuscripts in Syriac script preserved at the collection of the church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin. Being formerly a part of the Patriarchal collection it is widely known for a large number of valuable Syriac manuscripts.

² A. BARŠŪM, *Srīṭōṭ d-Dayrō d-Kūrkmō / Maḥṭūṭāṭ Dayr al-Za'faran*. Damascus 2008.

³ F. Y. DÖLABĀNĪ, *Mḥawwyōnō da-ktōbē srīṭē d-bēt arkē d-Dayrō d-Mōr Ḥananyō – Za'faran (Syriac Patrimony 9)*. Damascus 1994.

instance, one can easily identify three manuscripts, MG 4, MG 5 and MG 6 in the catalogue of Baršūm⁴).

The volume opens with an introduction (pp. 9–12) describing the history of the project. Then follows an overview of the manuscripts (pp. 13–36), next comes a group of studies: codicological, liturgical and textual analysis of the Gospel and New Testament manuscripts written by M. Pavan (pp. 39–158), an essay on the “ninth century Syriac culture between Greeks and Arabs” and three chapters on individual 9th century authors, Moshe bar Kepha, John of Dara, and David bar Paulos (pp. 159–202), all written by E. Braidā. Afterwards comes a chapter containing the basic information about each manuscript (pp. 203–247). Finally follows the longest chapter on miniatures and ornament (pp. 249–370), written by M. Bernabò. The studies are followed by colour plates (pp. 371–485) and an index (pp. 487–488).

Already this survey of contents suggests that much attention was devoted to the New Testament manuscripts, lectionaries and the manuscripts containing illuminations. Indeed, M. Pavan did his best to describe twelve Gospel Books and lectionaries in all possible details (however, saying nothing about folio/page numbers, quire signatures, catchwords, ruling technique, not providing a collation; only rarely indicating a quire structure, writing material and particularities of the handwriting and binding—the analytical description of the lectionary systems contextualizes those more broadly). Another well-covered aspect concerns the miniatures and ornament. In fact, the chapter by Bernabò with an exhaustive art historical description of nine manuscripts is the most coherent (Ma 1, Ma 2, Ma 3, Ma 4, MG 3, MG 4, MG 5, MG 6, MG 7).

The other groups of manuscripts were studied disproportionately poorly. What one can find about the content of those manuscripts is limited to a basic description (pp. 205–247) but even that is done in an unacceptably unsatisfactory manner. It will not be an exaggeration to say that none of the remaining twenty-two liturgical, theological and literary manuscripts were properly described and identified (a lack of detailed description of the rich collections of texts on monasticism—Ma 21, Ma 22, MG 10—is particularly regrettable). Provided the text has a full title with an explicit indication of the author, the author’s name and the title (sometimes only in Syriac, sometimes only in English translation) was documented. However, the information taken from a manuscript was not verified critically. Since the *incipits* and *desinits* are never provided, a user has no other choice but to consult the manuscript and to study on his own if it is indeed that very work, if the text is complete and if the text form (redaction) is already known. None of those points were even touched upon in the description. Unexpectedly, additional information about the contents of those manuscripts appears in the introductory survey of the manuscripts (pp. 13–36).

Even less fortunate were the texts where neither a title nor an author is indicated, not to mention fragments or texts

illegible on a microfilm. In those cases we learn only about the presence of an “unidentified text” or “Patristic texts”. An important 13th century collection of texts on monasticism (MG 10) did not deserve any attention at all: none of these texts is listed and a relevant study by Vööbus is not mentioned (see below). Even the brief title given to the manuscript (“*Vitae patrum*”) is absolutely misleading.

Such negligence is very disappointing because most of those manuscripts are old and will undoubtedly be of interest to scholars, e.g. manuscripts on parchment: six *Fenqūthō* (Ma 6, Ma 9, MG 1, MG 2, MG 8, MG 9), two collections of canonical texts (Ma 7, Ma 8), the oldest copy of John of Dara’s theological works (Ma 10), the homilies of Jacob of Serugh (Ma 11) and Gregory of Nazianzus (Ma 12).

One would expect, seeing the presence of special chapters dealing with three Syriac authors, Moshe bar Kepha, John of Dara, and David bar Paulos, to find a proper description of at least the manuscripts under consideration. Yet, even those were not adequately described (it is therefore not surprising that the presence of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius in the manuscript Ma 20 containing Moshe bar Kepha’s *On Paradise* was overlooked). A reader will find identification of the works and information about other extant copies of the texts, but the essential information is not provided anywhere. Since in case of Moshe bar Kepha’s *Hexaameron* and *On Paradise* we are dealing with extensive works that consist of many chapters and sometimes with further subdivisions, one would expect to see the relevant information: title, *incipit* and *desinit* for each chapter. In practical terms, it means that if somebody is interested in comparing the content of those manuscripts with other manuscript copies, he/she will have to consult a manuscript, because the description turns out to be useless. The description of a manuscript containing the letters of David bar Paulos is particularly disappointing. Whereas on pp. 228–229 one can find a list of the works (in Syriac only), the chapter on that author discusses the manuscript copies of the letters⁵, shares some details about his life and works and concludes, rather unexpectedly, with some observations on “epistolography as a genre in 9th cent. Near Eastern literature”. Again, for somebody interested in obtaining precise information about the texts of David bar Paulos included in the manuscript all that proves useless.

The overall idiosyncratic character of the volume is also reflected in the index. Instead of providing a guide through the rich material of the manuscripts, it lists the names of the ancient authors disregarding whether the name appears in the description of a manuscript or in the context of a study. All kinds of historical information (mentioned for at least some manuscripts in the volume) was not put to good use.

Besides the problems noticed above, the volume has a large number of editorial shortcomings, only some of which will be mentioned below:

⁴ A. BARŠŪM, *Srīṭōṭō d-Ṭūr ‘Abdīn / Maḥtūtāt Ṭūr ‘Abdīn*. Damascus 2008, 131, 131–133 (both belonging to the church of Mart Shmoni in Midyat), 343 (belonging to the church in ‘Aynwardo).

⁵ It is stated that the current whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown, but the manuscript is present in the collection and its copy is available at the Virtual Reading Room of HMML.

– The volume was produced by Italian scholars in English and definitely did not go through the hands of a native speaker who could improve the language (e.g. the word “font” was inappropriately used for “handwriting / book hand / script”, the phrase “binding is in quinions” (p. 51) instead of “manuscript is composed of quinions / quires consist of five bifolia”).

– Lack of internal coherence between the chapters by different authors: for example, manuscript MG 7, according to a brief description (p. 243) contains a commentary by Dionysius bar Šalibi on the Four Gospels but then, suddenly we find its treatment among the New Testament manuscripts and lectionaries with more detailed description of its contents (pp. 59–63). The two descriptions drastically contradict each other and there are also contradictions within each description (e.g. the total number of folios is indicated as 310, whereas the last text ends on fol. 316!).

– Lack of consistency in transliterations, terminology and even in the references to the manuscripts (while usually following the introduced formula Ma<number> or MG<number> one comes across all possible deviations: Ma <number>, MG <number>, MaG <number>, M <number>, Mardin <number>, Mor Gabriel <number>).

– Inconsistency in renderings of names (p. 52: “monastery of Mar Ya’qūb the Winner, the Egyptian and the Recluse”, p. 53: “monastery of Mor Ya’qūb ‘the glorious, the Egyptian, the Recluse’”, pp. 60–63: Dyonisius bar Salibi, elsewhere: Dionysius).

– All the Syriac manuscripts presented by the volume were written either in Estrangela or in Serto, but throughout the volume only an East Syriac typeface was used (sometimes the Estrangela characters slip in and must have been corrected).

– Quotations from Syriac contain a disappointingly large number of typos and false readings that lead to wrong renderings in the translation (randomly selected and compared against the manuscript, the eight-lines long colophon on p. 226 contains twelve mistakes; the Harklean colophon on p. 46 n. 153 contains six, including one in the year).

– The English translation from Syriac is often wrong (one of the most terrible examples is provided by the translation of the colophon on p. 219 which begins with the words “[...] of the terrible God” whereas in reality the text says⁶: “Glory to the Father who strengthened”; Syriac *d-hayyel* (particle followed by Pa‘‘el Pf. from the verb √HYL) was confused for *dhil* (part. pass. of the verb √DHL)).

– Transliteration from Syriac was made in an odd manner (p. 216: John Bar Qwrwsws > John bar Qūrsōs, Syriac name is also wrongly transcribed) and inconsistently (p. 226: Mor Abay – Mar Abay, Qellith – Kalit).

– In many cases the folio and page references do not correspond to the foliation / pagination present in the manuscripts (for example, out of seven manuscripts from the church of the Forty Martyrs that are analysed in detail by M. Pavan the folio

references of only one, Ma 4, correspond to the foliation of the manuscript).

It will be useful for a reader of the volume to know that all the manuscripts belonging to the church of the Forty Martyrs as well as many other collections in Tur ‘Abdin are now available online at the Virtual Reading Room of HMML (www.vhmml.org)⁷. Not all of those were recognized by the participating scholars and it is worthwhile providing the project numbers for those that remained unidentified: CFMM 718 (Ma 6), CFMM 310 (Ma 8), CFMM 751 (Ma 9), CFMM 158 (Ma 16), CFMM 455 (Ma 21), CFMM 426 (Ma 22), CFMM 181 (Ma 23), CET 2 (MG 8), CET 3 (MG 9).

Throughout the volume one feels a somewhat artificial attachment to the microfilms of “Fondo Grünwald”. On the one hand, the authors openly and on many occasions admit that the imperfect quality of the black and white microfilms meant that they were unable to describe the manuscripts fully; on the other hand, they were aware that at least some manuscripts were digitized by HMML and hence could prove more useful for their project. And yet, despite occasionally consulting the digital copies produced by HMML they preferred to use the microfilms, whilst the digital copies could have been provided to them instantly. The entire collection of the church of the Forty Martyrs was digitized by HMML in the period between 2005 and 2009 and became freely available through the Virtual Reading Room in 2016.

Thus, inside a heavy and a very expensive volume (€220 at the time of writing) hides a collection of disconnected essays unequally describing a selection of Syriac manuscripts from Tur ‘Abdin. Whereas some aspects of the manuscripts under consideration are presented in detail, the content and significance of most (and especially of the MG group) remained undisclosed. By any academic standards, the volume was badly conceived and carelessly executed. The book would have benefited immensely from a professional peer-review, typesetting and book design. Given the association of the project with the Pontifical Oriental Institute, which is, as a rule, deservedly credited for its rigorous scholarship, the overall inferior quality of the volume and lack of editorial supervision is all the more surprising. The price charged by the publisher would imply intensive engagement in the production of the book on its part. The volume leaves a contrary impression and is not worth the money.

For convenience’s sake, I provide below a concordance of the manuscripts studied in the volume with their corresponding HMML project numbers (abbreviations: CFMM – Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin, CET – Churches in Enhil, MGMT – Mor Gabriel monastery). I follow the dating as given in the volume and indicate the relevant secondary literature.

⁶ Consultation of a digital copy at the Virtual Reading Room of HMML facilitates reading of the colophon much better than a reading based on black and white microfilm.

⁷ See C. STEWART, HMML and Syriac Manuscripts, in: *Manuscripta Syriaca. Des sources de première main*, ed. F. Briquel Chatonnet – M. Debié. Paris 2015, 49–63; C. STEWART, An Update on the Digitization and Cataloging Work of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (HMML). *Christianskij Vostok* 8 [14] (2017) 153–170.

Ma 1 – CFMM 38

Illuminated Harklean Gospel lectionary (CE 1229/30)

Ma 2 – CFMM 41

Illuminated Harklean Gospel lectionary (13th c., scribe Dioscoros Theodoros)

J. LEROY, Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient. Paris 1964, 371–383; A. KAPLAN, Le lectionnaire de Dioscoros Théodoros (*Mardin Syr.* 41/2). Bruxelles 2013.

Ma 3 – CFMM 39

Harklean Gospel lectionary (13th c.)

Ma 4 – CFMM 37

Harklean Gospel lectionary (CE 1272/3)

LEROY, *ibidem* 383–389; A. VÖÖBUS, Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, vol. II (*CSCO* 496, *Subs.* 79). Louvain 1987, 143–144.

Ma 5 – CFMM 40

Harklean Gospel lectionary (13th c.)

Ma 6 – CFMM 718

Fenqithō (12th c.)

Ma 7 – CFMM 309

Collection of texts on canon law (7th–8th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, Syrische Kanonensammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde. I. Westsyrische Originalurkunden I, B (*CSCO* 317; *Subs.* 38). Louvain 1970, 443–447; W. SELB, Orientalisches Kirchenrecht, Band II. Wien, 1989, 98–110; H. KAUFHOLD, Griechisch-syrische Väterlisten der frühen griechischen Synoden. *Oriens Christianus* 77 (1993) 1–96, *passim*.

Ma 8 – CFMM 310

Collection of texts on canon law (8th c.)

VÖÖBUS, Kanonensammlungen, 447–452; SELB, *ibidem*; KAUFHOLD, *ibidem*.

Ma 9 – CFMM 751

Fenqithō (CE 1208/9)

Ma 10 – CFMM 356

John of Dara, theological works (9th–10th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, Important Manuscript Discoveries on Iwannīs of Dārā and his Literary Heritage. *JAOS* 96 (1976) 576–578; A. VÖÖBUS, Die Entdeckung von Überresten der altsyrischen Apostelgeschichte. *Oriens Christianus* 64 (1980) 32–35.

Ma 11 – CFMM 138

Jacob of Serugh, *Mēmre* (13th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmre-Dichtung des Ja'qōb von Serūg. I. Sammlungen: Die Handschriften (*CSCO* 344, *Subs.* 39). Louvain 1973, 53–54.

Ma 12 – CFMM 129

Gregory of Nazianzus, Orations (9th c.)

A. SCHMIDT & M. QUASCHNING-KIRSCH, Die syrischen Handschriften der Homilien des Gregor von Nazianz. *Le Muséon* 113 (2000) 87–114, here 90–91.

Ma 13 – CFMM 34

Harklean New Testament (13th c.)

VÖÖBUS, Studies 193.

Ma 14 – CFMM 35

Peshitta New Testament with Harklean Apocalypse (12th–13th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, The Apocalypse in the Harklean version. A facsimile Edition of Ms. Mardin Orth 35, fol. 143r-159v, with an Introduction (*CSCO* 400, *Subs.* 56). Louvain 1978; VÖÖBUS, Studies 167.

Ma 15 – CFMM 16

Psalter and excerpts from patristic texts (CE 1474)

Ma 16 – CFMM 158

David bar Paulos, Letters (14th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, Entdeckung des Briefkorpus des Dawid bar Paulos. *Oriens Christianus* 58 (1974) 45–50.

Ma 17 – CFMM 102

Moshe bar Kepha, Commentary on Luke (14th–15th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, Discovery of Exegetical Works of Mōšē bar Kēphā. Stockholm 1973, 19–22.

Ma 18 – CFMM 366

Cause of all Causes (CE 1473)

Ma 19 – CFMM 371

Moshe bar Kepha, *Hexaemeron* (15th c.)

Ma 20 – CFMM 368

Moshe bar Kepha, *On Paradise*; Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius (CE 1364/5)

A. VÖÖBUS, New Manuscript Discoveries for the Literary Legacy of Mōšē bar Kēphā: the Genre of Theological Writings, *HTHR* 68 (1975) 377–384, here 379; A. VÖÖBUS, Discovery of an Unknown Syrian Author, Methodios of Petrā. *Abr-Nahrain* 17 (1976–1977) 1–4; G. REININK, Die Syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius (*CSCO* 540–1; *Syri* 220–1). Louvain, 1993.

Ma 21 – CFMM 455

Monastic prayer book with texts on monasticism (13th c.)

Ma 22 – CFMM 426

Collection of texts on monasticism (15th c.)

A. VÖÖBUS, History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East, vol. 3 (*CSCO* 500; *Subs.* 81). Louvain 1988, see index 446)

Ma 23 – CFMM 181

Homilies by John Chrysostom and Ephrem the Syrian (14th c., in Garshūnī)

MG 1 (belongs to a private owner in Midyat region)

Fenqithō (12th–13th c.)

MG 2 (belongs to a private owner in Midyat region)

Fenqithō (12th–13th c.)

MG 3 (belongs to a private owner in Midyat region)

Harklean Gospel lectionary (CE 964)

MG 4 (belongs to a private owner in Midyat region)

Harklean New Testament (CE 840/1)

P. HARB, Unbekannte Handschriften im Tur 'Abdin, in: III Symposium Syriacum, 1980, ed. R. Lavanant (*OCA* 221). Roma, 1983, 349–354, here 353–354.

MG 5 (belongs to Mor Sobo Church in Ḥaḥ)

Illuminated Harklean Gospel lectionary (CE 1226/7)

LEROY, *ibidem* 321–332; HARB, *ibidem* 351–353.

MG 6 (belongs to a private owner in 'Aynwardo)

Illuminated Gospel lectionary (CE 1201)

HARB, *ibidem* 349–350.

MG 7 (preserved at the Mor Gabriel monastery)

Dionysius bar Ṣalibi, Commentary on the Four Gospels (with miniatures) (CE 1457)

LEROY, *ibidem* 419.

MG 8 – CET 2

Fenqithō (12th c.)

MG 9 – CET 3

Fenqithō (12th c.)

MG 10 – CET 76

Collection of texts on monasticism (CE 1207/8)

A. VÖÖBUS, Die Entdeckung eines Florilegiums der asketischen und mystischen Schriften im Syrischen, in: *Erkenntnisse und Meinungen*, ed. G. Wiessner. Wiesbaden 1978, 263–271.

MG 11 – MGMT 177

Bar Bahlul, *Lexicon*; Bar ʿEbroyo, *Book of Splendors* (CE 1780/1)

Grigory Kessel

CORPUS FONTIUM HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

Stand der Publikationen (Februar 2019)

Erschienen:

- 1: Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio, ediderunt Gy. MORAVCSIK – R. J. H. JENKINS. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks ²1967 (Reprint 2008) (*DOT 1*).
- 2: Agathiae Myrinaei historiarum libri quinque, edidit R. KEYDELL. Berlin, de Gruyter 1967 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 2A: Agathias, The Histories, translated by J. D. FREND. Berlin, de Gruyter 1975 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 3: Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae, edidit J. A. VAN DIETEN. Berlin, de Gruyter 1972 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 4: Ioannis Caminiatae De expugnatione Thessalonicae, edidit G. BÖHLIG. Berlin, de Gruyter 1973 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 5: Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum, edidit I. THURN. Berlin, de Gruyter 1973 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 6: Nicolai I Constantinopolitani Patriarchae epistolae, ediderunt R. J. H. JENKIS – L. G. WESTERINK. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1973 (*DOT 2*).
- 7: Athanasii I Patriarchae Constantinopolitani epistulae CXV, edidit, anglice vertit et commentario instruxit A.-M. M. TALBOT. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1975 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 3*).
- 8: Manuelis II Palaeologi epistulae, edidit, anglice vertit et adnotavit G. T. DENNIS. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1977 (Reprint 2000) (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 4*).
- 9: Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor, edidit P. GAUTIER. Bruxelles, Byzantion 1975 (*Series Bruxellensis*).
- 10: Ignoti auctoris Chronica Toccozum Cephallenensium, recensuit et italice vertit J. SCHIRÒ. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 1975 (*Series Italica*).
- 11/1–2: Nicetae Choniatae Historia, edidit J. A. VAN DIETEN. Berlin, de Gruyter 1975 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 12/1–3: Chronica Byzantina Breviora, edidit P. SCHREINER. 1. Einleitung und Text. 2. Historischer Kommentar. 3. Teilübersetzung, Indices. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1975. 1977. 1979 (*Series Vindobonensis*).
- 13: Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History. Text, translation, and commentary by C. MANGO. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1990 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 10*).
- 14: Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor, recensuerunt A. LESMUELLER-WERNER et I. THURN. Berlin, de Gruyter 1978 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 15: Synodicon Vetus, ediderunt, anglice verterunt et adnotaverunt J. DUFFY – J. PARKER. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1979 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 5*).
- 16/1–2: Theophylacti Achridensis orationes, tractatus, carmina; epistulae. Recensuit, gallice vertit, notis indicibusque instruxit P. GAUTIER. Thessalonike, Association de recherches byzantines 1980. 1986 (*Series Thessalonicensis*).
- 17: Mauricii Strategicon. Edidit et introductione instruxit G. T. DENNIS. Germanice vertit E. GAMILLSCHEG. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1981 (*Series Vindobonensis*).

- 18: *vacat*
- 19/1–3: Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani. I, ediderunt H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN; II, ediderunt H. HUNGER – O. KRESTEN – E. KISLINGER – C. CUPANE, Indices digesserunt C. CUPANE – E. SCHIFFER – E. KISLINGER; III, ediderunt J. KODER – M. HINTERBERGER – O. KRESTEN. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1981. 1995. 2001 (*Series Vindobonensis*).
- 20: Nicolai I Constantinopolitani Patriarchae opuscula diversa edidit L. G. WESTERINK. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1981 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 6*).
- 21: Gregorii Acindyni epistulae, edidit, anglice vertit et adnotavit A. C. HERO. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1983 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 7*).
- 22: Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae, recensuit D. R. REINSCH. Berlin, de Gruyter 1983 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 23: Leonis Synadorum metropolitae et syncelli epistolae, recognovit, anglice vertit et commentario instruxit M. P. VINSON. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1985 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 8*).
- 24/1–5: Georgii Pachymeris relationes historicas edidit, introductione notisque instruxit A. FAILLER, gallice vertit V. LAURENT [3–5: ed., gallice vertit notisque instruxit A. FAILLER]. 1: L. I.–III ; 2: L. IV–VI; 3: L. VII–IX; 4: L. X–XIII; 5: Index. Paris, Les Belles Lettres 1984 [1–2]; Paris, Institut français d'études byzantines 1999 [3–4]. 2000 [5] (*Series Parisiensis*).
- 25: Three Byzantine Military Treatises. Text, translation and notes by G. T. DENNIS. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1985 (Reprint 2008) (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 9*).
- 26: Manuel II Palaeologus, Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore. Introduction, text, translation and notes by J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES. Thessalonike, Association for Byzantine Research 1985 (*Series Thessalonicensis*).
- 27: Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica, recensuit O. LAMPSIDIS. Athen, Academia Atheniensis 1990 (*Series Atheniensis*).
- 28: Constantini Porphyrogeniti tres tractatus de expeditionibus militaribus imperatoris, introductione instruxit, edidit, anglice vertit et adnotavit I. F. HALDON. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1990 (*Series Vindobonensis*).
- 29: Georgii Sphrantzae Chronicon edidit R. MAISANO. Roma, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei 1990 (*Series Italica*).
- 30: Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos, recensuit, anglice vertit et commentario instruxit W. J. AERTS. Berlin, de Gruyter 1990 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 31/1–2: Theodori Studitae epistulae, recensuit G. FATOUROS. Pars 1.2. Berlin, de Gruyter 1992 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 32: Eustathii Thessalonicensis opera minora recensuit P. WIRTH. Berlin, de Gruyter 2000 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 33: Leonis Sapientis Librum Praefecti edidit germaniceque vertit et introductione instruxit J. KODER. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1991 (*Series Vindobonensis*).
- 34: Ioannis Mauropodis Euchaitorum Metropolitae epistulae, edidit, anglice vertit et adnotavit A. KARPOZILOS. Thessalonike, Association for Byzantine Research 1990 (*Series Thessalonicensis*).
- 35: Ioannis Malalae Chronographia, recensuit I. THURN. Berlin, de Gruyter 2000 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 36/1–2: Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum, recensuit O. LAMPSIDIS. Pars prior praefationem et textum continens. Pars altera indices continens. Athen, Academia Atheniensis 1996 (*Series Atheniensis*).

- 37: Anonymi Professoris epistolae, ed. A. MARKOPOULOS. Berlin, de Gruyter 2000 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 38: Demetrii Chomateni ponemata diaphora, edidit G. PRINZING. Berlin, de Gruyter 2002 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 39: Ignatii Diaconi epistolae, ediderunt C. MANGO – St. EFTHYMIADIS. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 1997 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 11*).
- 40/1–2: Annae Comnenae Alexias, recensuerunt D. R. REINSCH – A. KAMBYLIS. 1: Prolegomena et textus; 2: Indices digesserunt F. KOLOVOU – D. R. REINSCH. Berlin, de Gruyter 2001 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 41: Michaelis Choniatae epistolae, recensuit F. KOLOVOU. Berlin, de Gruyter 2001 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 42: Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber quo vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur, recensuit, anglice vertit, indicibus instruxit I. ŠEVČENKO, nuper repertis schedis Caroli de Boor adiuvantibus. Berlin, de Gruyter 2011 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 43/1–5: Stephani Byzantii Ethnica, vol. I: A–Γ, vol. II: Δ–Ι, vol. III: Κ–Ο, vol. IV: Π–Υ, vol. V: Φ–Ω, recensuit, germanice vertit, adnotationibus indicibusque instruxit M. BILLERBECK (*et. al.*). Berlin, de Gruyter 2006. 2011. 2014. 2015. 2017 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 44/1: Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon, recensuit St. WAHLGREN. Berlin, de Gruyter 2006 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 45: Eustathii Thessalonicensis de emendanda vita monachica, recensuit, germanice vertit indicibusque instruxit K. METZLER. Berlin, de Gruyter 2006 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 46: Theodori Scutariotae chronica. Editio princeps. Recensuit et indicibus instruxit R. TOCCI. Berlin, de Gruyter 2015 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 47: Ioannis Antiocheni fragmenta quae supersunt omnia, recensuit, anglice vertit, indicibusque instruxit S. MARIEV. Berlin, de Gruyter 2008 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 48: Theodori metropolitae Cyzici epistolae, accedunt epistolae mutuae Constantini Porphyrogeniti, recensuit M. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI. Berlin, de Gruyter 2010 (*Series Berolinensis*).
- 49: The Taktika of Leo VI edited and translated by G. T. DENNIS. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 2010 (revised paperback edition 2014) (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 12*).
- 50: Michaelis Attaliatae Historia, recensuit E. Th. TSOLAKIS. Athen, Academia Atheniensis 2011 (*Series Atheniensis*).
- 51: Niketas David. The Life of Patriarch Ignatius. Text and Translation by A. SMITHIES, with notes by J. M. DUFFY. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 2013 (*Series Washingtonensis – DOT 13*).
- 53: Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur libri I–IV. Recensuerunt, anglice verterunt, indicibus instruxerunt M. FEATHERSTONE et J. SIGNES-CODOÑER, nuper repertis schedis Caroli de Boor adiuvantibus. Berlin, de Gruyter 2015 (*Series Berolinensis*).

In Vorbereitung:

- Anonymous Benaki 58, History of the World from the Creation to 1143, ed. D. SAKEL
 Chronicon Paschale, ed. Chr. GASTGEBER, unter Mitarbeit von E. JUHÁSZ (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae libri duo, edd. G. DAGRON† *et al.*
 Dukas, ed. S. KOTZABASSI (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Georgios Akropolites, ed. E. KALTSOGIANNI (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Gregorii Antiochi opera omnia, ed. A. SIDERAS (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 Hagiographical-Homiletic Sources on St Christodulos of Patmos, edd. Th. ANTONOPOULOU – I. POLEMIS (*Series Vindobonensis*)

- Ioannes Anagnostes, ed. J. TSARAS† – fortgeführt von F. KOLOVOU (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Ioannes Apokaukos, ed. B. KATSAROS (*Series Thessalonicensis*)
 Ioannes Kantakuzenos, ed. S. SCHÖNAUER (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Ioannes Kinnamos, ed. R. TOCCI (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Ioannes Zonaras, ed. P. LEONE (*Series Italica*)
 Laonikos Chalkokondyles, edd. H. WURM – M. GRÜNBART (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 Leon Diakonos, ed. N. M. PANAGIOTAKIS† – fortgeführt von A. MARKOPOULOS (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Logothetes-Chronik B, ed. St. WAHLGREN (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Manganeios Prodromos, edd. E. et M. JEFFREYS
 Michael Glykas, Chronik, ed. M. HINTERBERGER
 Nikephoros Gregoras, ed. F. KOLOVOU (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Nikephoros Patriarches, Chronikon Syntomon, edd. J.M. FEATHERSTONE – J. SIGNES-CODONER
 (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Nikephoros Xanthopoulos, edd. A. BERGER – Ch. GASTGEBER – S. PANTEGHINI (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 Ps.-Symeon Logothetes, ed. A. MARKOPOULOS (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Registrum Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani 4, ed. Ch. GASTGEBER (*Series Vindobonensis*); 5, edd.
 Ch. GASTGEBER – E. MITSIOU – J. PREISER-KAPPELLER (*Series Vindobonensis*); 6, edd. Ch. GAST-
 GEBER – V. ZERVAN (*Series Vindobonensis*); 7–8, ed. Ch. GASTGEBER (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio, ed. A. MARKOPOULOS (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Terrae Sanctae descriptiones graecae, ed. A. KÜLZER (*Series Vindobonensis*)
 Theodoros Skutariotes, Synopsis Chronike, ed. R. TOCCI (*Series Berolinensis*)
 Theophanes Continuatus VI, ed. J. M. FEATHERSTONE – J. SIGNES-CODONER (*Series Berolinensis*)

Freie Texte:

Chronik von Monembasia

Andreas Rhoby

VERZEICHNIS DER MITARBEITER/INNEN DIESES BANDES

Fabio ACERBI, CNRS, UMR8167 Orient et Méditerranée, équipe “Monde Byzantin”, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, F-75231 Paris cedex 05; fabacerbi@gmail.com

Panagiotis A. AGAPITOS, University of Cyprus, Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, P.O.Box 20537, CY-1678 Nicosia; p.a.agapitos@ucy.ac.cy

Pietro D’AGOSTINO, Labex RESMED; Paris IV Sorbonne; KU Leuven; pietro.dagostino89@gmail.com

Dimitar ANGELOV, Harvard University, Department of History, Robinson Hall M01, USA, Cambridge, MA 02138; dangelov@fas.harvard.edu

Börje BYDÉN, University of Gothenburg, Department of Philosophy, Linguistics and Theory of Science, Box 200, SE-405 30 Gothenburg; borje.byden@gu.se

Arne EFFENBERGER, Lindauer Allee 21, D-13407 Berlin; ArneEffenberger@t-online.de

Christophe ERISMANN, Universität Wien, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, ERC-Project 9 SALT, Postgasse 7/1/3, A-1010 Wien; christophe.erismann@univie.ac.at

Daniel GALADZA, Universität Regensburg, Centre for Advanced Studies „Jenseits des Kanons: Heterotopien religiöser Autorität im spätantiken Christentum“, SGLG 319, D-93040 Regensburg; daniel.galadza@theologie.uni-regensburg.de

Antonia GIANNOULI, University of Cyprus. Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, P.O.Box 20537, CY-1678 Nicosia; agiannou@ucy.ac.cy

Grigory KESSEL, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung/ Abteilung Byzanzforschung, ERC-Projekt: HUNAYNNET, Hollandstraße 11–13, 4. Stock, A-1020 Wien; Grigory.Kessel@oeaw.ac.at

Johannes KODER, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung/ Abteilung Byzanzforschung, Hollandstraße 11–13, 4. Stock, A-1020 Wien; johannes.koder@oeaw.ac.at

Karin KRAUSE, The University of Chicago Divinity School, Swift Hall, 1025 East 58th Street, USA, Chicago, IL 60637; krause@uchicago.edu

Dirk KRAUSMÜLLER, Universität Wien, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, ERC-Project 9 SALT, Postgasse 7/1/3, A-1010 Wien; dirk.krausmueller@univie.ac.at

Byron MACDOUGALL, Brown University, Department of Classics, 48 College Street, Providence, Rhode Island 02906; byron.macdougall@gmail.com

Divna MANOLOVA, Centre for Medieval Literature, University of Southern Denmark and University of York, University of York, Heslington, YO10 5DD York; divna.manolova@york.ac.uk

Vincent NICOLINI, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Histoire et Civilisations; Université de Montréal, Histoire; vincent.nicolini@ehess.fr

Ken PARRY, Macquarie University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Ancient History, Australia, Sydney NSW 2109; ken.parry@mq.edu.au

Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, CSIC, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y del Oriente próximo, C/ Albasanz, 26-28, 1ª Planta, E-28037 Madrid; inmaculada.perez@cchs.csic.es

Anna SKLAVENITI, Institute for Historical Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 48 Vasileos Constantinou Ave., GR-11635 Athens; anniesk2@gmail.com